

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION and CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

VOLUME II. PART I.

THE
HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION AND CIVIL WAR

IN
ENGLAND

By JOHN RUSSELL

Author of "The History of the Reformation in France"



*Edward Earl of CLARENDON, Lord High CHANCELLOR of England
and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. An Dni. 1667.*

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HISTORY
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With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honourable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High Chancellor of *England*, Privy Counsellor in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

Κηρυξ ἐς αἰῶνι. Thucyd.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

VOLUME II. PART I.

O X F O R D,

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Vice-Can. Oxon.

Sept. 15. 1703.



TO THE QUEEN.

MADAM,

TO Your Majesty is most humbly Dedicated this Second Part of the History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars, written by Edward Earl of Clarendon. For to whom so naturally can the works of this Author, treating of the times of Your Royal Grandfather, be address'd, as to Your self; now wearing, with Lustre and Glory, that Crown, which, in those unhappy days, was treated with so much contempt and barbarity, and laid low even to the Dust?

This Second Part comes with the greater confidence into Your presence, by the advantage of the favourable reception, the First hath met with in the World; since it is not to be doubted, but the same truth, fairness, and impartiality, that will be found throughout the whole thread of the History, will meet with the same Candour from all equal Judges.

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'Tis true, some few Persons, whose Ancestors are here found not to have had that part during their lives which would have been more agreeable to the wishes of their surviving posterity, have been offended at some particulars, mention'd in this History, concerning so near Relations, and would have them pass for mistaken Informations. But it is to be hoped, that such a concern of Kindred for their Families, though not blameable in them, will rather appear partial on Their side; since it cannot be doubted, but this Author must have had his materials from undeniable, and unexceptionable hands, and could have no temptation to insert any thing but the truth in a work of this nature, which was design'd to remain to Posterity, as a faithful record of Things and Persons in those times, and of his own unquestionable sincerity in the representation of them.

In this assurance it is humbly hoped, it will not be unprofitable to Your Majesty to be here inform'd of the fatal and undeserv'd misfortunes of one of Your Ancestors, with the particular and sad occasions of them; the better to direct Your Royal Person through the continual uncertainties of the Greatness of this World. And as Your Majesty cannot have a better Guide, throughout the whole Course of Your Reign, for the good Administration of Your Government, than History in general, so there cannot be a more useful one to Your Majesty than this of Your own Kingdoms; and it is presum'd, without lying under the Imputation of misleading Your Majesty, it may be asserted that no Author could have been better instructed, and have known more of the Times and Matters of which he writes, than this who is here presented to You.

Your Majesty may depend upon his Relations to be true in Fact; and You will find his Observations just; his Reflections made with judgement and weight; and his Advices given upon wise and honest Principles; not capable of being now interpreted as subservient to any Ambition or Interest of his own; and having now outliv'd the Prejudices and Partialities of the Times in which they were Written. And Your Majesty thus Elevated, as by God's blessing You are, from whom a great
many

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many Truths may be industriously conceal'd, and on whom a great many wrong Notions under false Colours may with equal care be Obtruded, will have the greater Advantage from this faithful Remembrancer.

This Author, once a Privy Counsellor and Minister to two Great Kings, and, in a good degree, Favourite to one of Them, hath some pretence to be admitted into Your Majesties Council too, and may become capable of doing You Service also; whilst the Accounts he gives of Times past, come seasonably to guide You through the Times present, and those to come.

This History may lie upon Your Table unenvied, and Your Majesty may pass hours and days in the perusal of it, when, possibly, They who shall be the most useful in Your Service, may be reflected on for aiming too much at influencing Your Actions, and engrossing Your Time.

From this History Your Majesty may come to know more of the nature, and temper of Your own People, than hath yet been observ'd by any other hand. Neither can any Living Conversation lay before Your Majesty in one view, so many Transactions necessary for Your observation. And seeing no Prince can be endued in a moment with a perfect Experience in the Conduct of Affairs, whatever knowledge may be useful to Your Majesties Government, if it may have been concealed from You in the Circumstances of Your Private Life, in this History it may be the most effectually supplied; where Your Majesty will find the true Constitution of Your Government, both in Church and State, plainly laid before You, as well as the Mistakes that were committed in the management of both.

Here Your Majesty will see how both those Interests are inseparable, and ought to be preserv'd so, and how fatal it hath prov'd to both, whenever, by the Artifice and Malice of wicked and self-designing Men, they have happen'd to be divided. And though Your Majesty will see here, how a Great King lost his Kingdoms, and at last his Life, in the Defence of this Church, You will discern too, that it was by Men who were no better

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Friends to Monarchy than to true Religion, that his Calamities were brought upon Him; and as it was the method of those Men to take exceptions first to the Ceremonies and outward Order of the Church, that they might attack her the more surely in her very Being and Foundation, so they could not destroy the State, which they chiefly design'd, till they had first overturn'd the Church. And a truth it is which cannot be controverted, That the Monarchy of England is not now capable of being Supported, but upon the Principles of the Church of England; from whence it will be very natural to conclude, that the preserving them both firmly United together is the likeliest way for Your Majesty to Reign happily over Your Subjects.

The Religion by Law Establish'd is such a Vital part of the Government, so constantly woven and mixed into every branch of it, that generally Men look upon it as a good part of their Property too; since that, and the Government of the Church, is secured to them by the same provision. So that it seems that, next to Treason against Your Sacred Person, an Invasion upon the Church ought to be watched and prevented by those who have the Honour to be trusted in the Publick Administration, with the strictest Care and Diligence, as the best way to preserve Your Person and Government in their just Dignity and Authority.

Amongst all the observations, that may be made out of this History, there seems none more Melancholick, than that, after so much misery and desolation brought upon these Kingdoms by that unnatural Civil War, which hath yet left so many deep and lamentable marks of it's Rage and Fury, there have hitherto appear'd so few signs of Repentance and Reformation.

Some Persons will see, they are design'd to be excepted out of this Remark, whose Conduct hath happily made amends for the mistakes of their Ancestors, and whose practice in the Stations they are now in, does sufficiently distinguish them. Happy were it for the Nation, had all the rest thought fit to follow so good Examples, and that either Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion,

or

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or Acts of Grace and Favour, or Employments of Authority, Riches, and Honour, had hitherto been able to recover many of them to the temper of good Subjects. The truth of this observation is set forth by this Author in so lively a manner, that one hath frequent occasions to look on him as a Prophet as well as an Historian, in several particulars mention'd in this Book.

That this Remark may not look froward or angry, with great submission to Your Majesty, it may be consider'd, what can be the meaning of the several Seminaries, and as it were Universities, set up in divers parts of the Kingdom, by more than ordinary Industry, contrary to Law, supported by large contributions; where the Youth is bred up in Principles directly contrary to Monarchical and Episcopal Government? What can be the meaning of the constant Solemnizing by some Men, the Anniversary of that dismal Thirtieth of January, in scandalous and opprobrious Feasting and Jesting, which the Law of the Land hath Commanded to be perpetually observ'd in Fasting and Humiliation? If no sober Man can say anything in the defence of such Actions, so destructive to the very Essence of the Government, and yet impossible to be conducted without much Consultation and Advice, it is hoped this Reflection will not be thought to have proceeded from an uncharitable and ill natur'd Spirit, but from a dutiful and tender regard to the good of the Nation, and the prosperity of Your Majesties Reign.

In the mean time, whether this does not look like an industrious Propagation of the Rebellious Principles of the last Age, and on that score render it necessary that Your Majesty should have an Eye toward such unaccountable Proceedings, is humbly submitted to Your Majesty; who will make a better judgement upon the whole than any others can suggest to You: You have a greater Interest to do it; You have much more to preserve, and much more to lose; You have the happiness of Your Kingdoms, Your Crown, and Your Government to secure, in a time of as great difficulties, as ever were yet known, under a very Expensive War at present, and some circumstances attending it in relation to these Nations,

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that may continue even after a Peace; besides the danger of a future Separation of the two Kingdoms, very uncomfortable to reflect on; which yet, in all probability, will have Influence upon the present times too, if it comes once to be thought that it is inevitable.

God give Your Majesty a safe and prosperous passage through so many appearances of Hazard; You can never want Undertakers of divers sorts, who, according to their several Politicks, will warrant You Success if You will trust 'em: But Your real happiness will very much depend upon Your self, and Your choosing to Honour with Your Service such Persons as are Honest, Stout, and Wise.

If Informations of times past may be useful, this Author will deserve a share of Credit with You, whose Reputation and Experience were so great in his Life time, that they will be Recorded in times to come for the real Services he did, besides the Honour, and great Fortune, unusual to a Subject, of having been Grandfather to two great Queens, Your Royal Sister and Your Self; both so well belov'd, and esteem'd by Your People; both so willing, and zealous to do Good. Her power indeed was more limited and dependent; but Her early Death made room for Your Majesties more unrestrain'd and Sovereign Authority, and resign'd to Your Self alone the more lasting dispensation of those Blessings that came from Heaven to You both.

If the benefit Your Majesty may reap by the perusal of this History, shall prove serviceable to after times, it will be remember'd to the praise and honour of his Name; and Your Majesty Your self will not be displeased to allow his Memory a share of that advantage; nor be offended with being put in mind, that Your English Heart, so happily own'd by Your self, and Ador'd by Your Subjects, had not been so Entirely English, without a communication with His Heart too, than which there never was one more devoted to the good of his Country and the firm Establishment of the Crown.

It being design'd by this Dedication only to Introduce this Noble Author into Your Presence, it would be contrary

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trary to the Intention of it to take up more of Your Majesties time here; it is best therefore to leave this faithful Counsellor alone with You. For God's sake, Madam, and Your own, be pleased to read Him with attention, and serious and frequent Reflections; and from thence, in Conjunction with Your own Heart, prescribe to Your Self the methods of true and lasting Greatness, and the solid Maxims of a Sovereign truly English: That during this Life, You may exceed in Felicities and Fame, and after this Life, in Reputation and Esteem, that Glorious Predecessor of Your Majesties, the Renown'd First Semper Eadem, whose Motto You have chosen, and whose Pattern You seem to have taken for Your great Example, to Your own Immortal Glory, and the Defence, Security, and Prosperity of the Kingdoms You Govern.

And God grant You may do so long.

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THE EPICUREAN

THE EPICUREAN is a weekly paper published for the purpose of disseminating the principles of Epicurean philosophy, and of promoting the interests of the human race. It is published by the Epicurean Society, and is sold by subscription only. The price of the paper is one shilling per annum, in advance. The paper is published on the first day of each month, and is sent to the subscribers by post free. The paper is published in the English language, and is sold in all the principal bookshops and newsagents. The paper is published by the Epicurean Society, and is sold by subscription only. The price of the paper is one shilling per annum, in advance. The paper is published on the first day of each month, and is sent to the subscribers by post free. The paper is published in the English language, and is sold in all the principal bookshops and newsagents.

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T H E
History of the Rebellion, &c.
B O O K VI.

Isa. XVIII. 2.

*Go, ye swift Messengers, to a Nation scattered and
peeled, to a People terrible from their beginning
hitherto: a Nation meted out and troden down,
whose Land the Rivers have spoiled.*

Isa. XIX. 13, 14.

*The Princes of Zoan are become fools.
The Lord hath mingled a perverse Spirit in the midst
thereof.*

WHEN the King set up his Standard at *Nottingham*, which was on the 25th of *August*, as is before remember'd, he found the place much emptier than he thought the fame of his Standard would have suffer'd it to be; and receiv'd Intelligence the next day, that the Rebel's Army, for such now he had declared them, was Horse, Foot, and Cannon, at *Northampton*; besides that Party which, in the end of the Fifth Book, we left at *Coventry*: whereas His few Cannon and Ammunition were still at *York*, being neither yet in an equipage to march, though *Sr John Heydon*, his Majesty's faithful Lieutenant of the Ordnance, used all possible diligence to form and prepare it; neither were there Foot enough levied to guard it: and at *Nottingham*, besides some few of the Train'd-bands, which *Sr John Digby*, the active Sheriff of that County, drew into the old ruinous Castle there, there were not of Foot levied for the Service Yet three hundred Men. So that they who were not over much given

*The King's
condition at
Notting-
ham.*

to fear, finding very many places in that great River, which was looked upon as the only strength and security of the Town, to be easily fordable, and nothing towards an Army for defence but the Standard set up, begun sadly to apprehend the danger of the King's own Person. Infomuch that *St Jacob Astley*, his Serjeant-Major-General of his intended Army, told him, "that he could not give any assurance against his Majesty's being taken out of his bed, if the Rebels should make a brisk attempt to that purpose. And it was evident, all the Strength he had to depend upon was his Horse, which were under the Command of Prince *Rupert* at *Leicester*, and were not at that time in Number above eight hundred, few better arm'd than with Swords; whilst the Enemy had, within less than twenty Miles of that place, double the Number of Horse excellently arm'd and appointed, and a Body of five thousand Foot well train'd, and disciplin'd; so that, no doubt, if they had advanced, they might at least have disperfed those few Troops of the King's, and driven his Majesty to a greater distance, and expos'd him to notable hazards and inconveniences.

Portsmouth besieged by the Parliament Forces.

WHEN Men were almost confounded with this prospect, his Majesty receiv'd Intelligence, that *Portsmouth* was so streightly besieged by Sea and Land, that it would be reduced in very few days, except it were relieved. For the truth is, Colonel *Goring*, though he had sufficient warning, and sufficient supplies of Money to put that place into a posture, had relied too much upon probable and casual assistance, and neglected to do that Himself which a vigilant Officer would have done: and albeit his chief dependence was both for Money and Provisions from the Isle of *Wight*, yet he was careless to secure those small Castles and Block-houses, that guarded the passage; which revolting to the Parliament as soon as he declared for the King, cut off all those dependences; so that he had neither Men enough to do ordinary duty, nor Provisions enough for those few, for any considerable time. And at the same time with this news of *Portsmouth*, arrived certain Advertisements, that the Marquis of *Hertford*, and all his Forces in the West, from whom only the King hoped that *Portsmouth* should be relieved, was driven out of *Somersetshire*, where his power and interest was believed unquestionable, into *Dorsetshire*; and there besieged in *Sherborne-Castle*.

The Marquis of Hertford's Actions in Somersetshire, &c.

THE Marquis, after he left the King at *Beverly*, by ordinary Journeys, and without making any long stay by the way, came to *Bath*, upon the very edge of *Somersetshire*, at the time when the General Assizes were there held; where, meeting all the considerable Gentlemen of that great County, and finding them well affected to the King's Service, except very few

few who were sufficiently known, he enter'd into consultation with them from whom he was to expect assistance, in what place he should most conveniently fix himself for the better disposing the Affections of the People, and to raise a strength for the resistance of any attempt which the Parliament might make, either against them, or to disturb the Peace of the Country by their Ordinance of the Militia, which was the first power they were like to hear of. Some were of opinion, "that *Bristol* would be the fittest place, being a great, rich, "and populous City; of which being once possessed, they "should be easily able to give the Law to *Somerset* and *Glo-* " " " *cester-shire*; and could not receive any Affront by a suddain "or tumultuary Insurrection of the People. And if this advice had been follow'd, it would, probably, have proved very prosperous. But, on the contrary, it was objected, that it "was not evident, that his Lordships reception into the City "would be such as was expected; Mr *Hollis* being Lieutenant "thereof, and having exercised the Militia there; and there "being visibly many disaffected people in it, and some of Eminent Quality; and if he should attempt to go thither and be "disappointed, it would break the whole Design: Then that "it was out of the County of *Somerset*, and therefore that they "could not Legally draw that people thither; besides, that it "would look like fear and suspicion of their own power, to "put themselves into a walled Town, as if they fear'd the "power of the other Party would be able to oppress them. "Whereas, except *Popham* and *Horner*, all the Gentlemen of "Eminent Quality and Fortune of *Somerset-shire*, were either "present with the Marquis, or presumed not to be inclin'd to "the Parliament. And therefore they propos'd, "that *Wells*, "being a pleasant City, in the heart and near the center of "that County, might be chosen for his Lordship's residence. Which was accordingly agreed on, and thither the Marquis and his Train went, sending for the nearest Train'd-bands to appear before him; and presuming that in little time, by the industry of the Gentlemen present, and his Lordship's reputation, which was very great, the affections of the people would be so much wrought upon, and their understandings so well inform'd, that it would not be in the power of the Parliament to pervert them, or to make ill impressions on them towards his Majesty's Service.

WHILST his Lordship in this gentle way endeavour'd to compose the fears and apprehensions of the people, and by doing all things in a peaceable way, and according to the Rules of the known Laws, to convince all Men of the Justice and Integrity of his Majesty's proceedings and Royal intentions; the other Party, according to their usual confidence and activity,

activity, wrought under-hand to persuade the people that the Marquis was come down to put the Commission of Array in execution, by which Commission a great part of the Estate of every Farmer or substantial Yeoman should be taken from them; alledging, that some Lords had said, "that Twenty pounds by the year was enough for every Peasant to live on; and so, taking advantage of the Commission's being in Latin, translated it into what English they pleased; persuading the substantial Yeomen and Freeholders, that, at least, two parts of their Estates would, by that Commission, be taken from them; and the meaner and poorer sort of People, that they were to pay a Tax for one days labour in the week to the King; and that All should be, upon the matter, no better than Slaves to the Lords, and that there was no way to free and preserve themselves from this insupportable Tyranny, but by adhering to the Parliament, and submitting to the Ordinance for the Militia; which was purposely prepar'd to enable them to resist these horrid Invasions of their Liberties.

It cannot easily be believ'd, how these gross Insufions generally prevail'd. For though the Gentlemen of Ancient Families and Estates in that County were, for the most part, well affected to the King, and easily discern'd by what Faction the Parliament was govern'd; yet there were a People of an inferior degree, who, by good husbandry, Clothing, and other thriving Arts, had gotten very great Fortunes; and, by degrees, getting themselves into the Gentlemen's Estates, were angry that they found not themselves in the same esteem and reputation with those whose Estates they had; and therefore, with more industry than the other, studied all ways to make themselves considerable. These, from the beginning, were fast friends to the Parliament; and many of them were now entrusted by them as Deputy Lieutenants in their new Ordinance of the Militia, and having found when the People were ripe, gather'd them together, with a purpose on a suddain, before there should be any suspicion, to surround and surprize the Marquis at *Wells*. For they had always this advantage of the King's Party and his Counsels, that their Resolutions were no sooner publish'd, than they were ready to be executed, there being an absolute implicate obedience in the inferior sort to those who were to Command them; and their private Agents, with admirable industry and secrecy, preparing all persons and things ready against a call: Whereas all the King's Counsels were, with great formality deliberated, before concluded: and then, with equal formality, and precise caution of the Law, executed; there being no other way to weigh down the prejudice, that was contracted against the Court, but by the most barefaced publishing all conclusions, and fitting them

them to that apparent justice and reason, that might prevail over the most ordinary understandings.

WHEN the Marquis was thus in the midst of an Enemy that almost cover'd the whole Kingdom, his whole strength was a Troop of Horse, rais'd by Mr *John Digby*, Son to the Earl of *Bristol*, and another by *Sr Francis Hawley* (both which were levied in those parts to attend the King in the North) and a Troop of Horse and a small Troop of Dragoons, rais'd and armed by *Sr Ralph Hopton* at his own charge; and about one hundred Foot gather'd up by Lieutenant Colonel *Henry Lunsford* towards a Regiment, which were likewise to have march'd to the King. These, with the Lord *Pawlet*, and the Gentlemen of the Country; which were about eight and twenty of the prime Quality there, with their Servants and Retinue, made up the Marquis's force. Then their proceedings were with that exceeding caution, that upon advertisement that the active Ministers of the contrary party had appointed a general meeting at a Town within few Miles of *Wells*, *Sr Ralph Hopton* being advis'd with his small Troop and some Voluntier Gentlemen to repair thither, and to disappoint that Convention, and to take care that it might produce the least prejudice to the King's Service; before he reach'd the place, those Gentlemen who stay'd behind (and by whose advice the Marquis thought it necessary absolutely to govern himself, that they might see all possible wariness was used in the entrance into a War, which being once enter'd into, he well knew must be carried on another way) sent him word, "that he should forbear any hostile Act, otherwise they would disclaim whatsoever he should do. Whereas the Courage and Resolution of those few were such, and the Cowardize of the undisciplin'd seditious Rabble and their Leaders was so eminent, that it was very probable, if those few Troops had been as actively employ'd as their Commanders desired, they might have been able to have driven the Bigots out of the Country, before they had fully possess'd the rest with their own rancour: which may be reasonably presum'd by what follow'd shortly after, when Mr *Digby*, *Sr John Stawell* and his Sons, with some Voluntier Gentlemen, being in the whole not above fourscore Horse, and fourteen Dragoons, charged a greater Body of Horse, and above six hundred Foot of the Rebels, led by a Member of the House of Commons; and without the loss of one Man, killed seven in the place, hurt very many, took their Chief Officers, and as many more Prisoners as they would; and so routed the whole Body, that six Men kept not together, they having all thrown down their Arms.

BUT this good fortune abated only the Courage of those who

who had run away, the others making use of this overthrow as an argument of the Marquis's bloody purposes; and therefore, in few days, *Sr John Horner* and *Alexander Popham*, being the principal Men of Quality of that Party in that County, with the assistance of their friends of *Dorset*, and *Devon*, and the City of *Bristol*, drew together a body of above twelve thousand Men, Horse and Foot, with some pieces of Cannon, with which they appear'd on the top of the Hill-over *Wells*; where the Marquis, in contempt of them, stay'd two days, having only Barricadoed the Town; but then, finding that the few Train'd-bands, which attended him there, were run away, either to their own Houses, or to their fellows, on the top of the Hill; and hearing that more Forces, or, at least, better Officers were coming from the Parliament against him, he retir'd in the noon day, and in the face of that Rebellious Herd from *Wells* to *Somerton*, and so to *Sherborne*, without any loss

He retires to or trouble. Thither, within two days, came to his Lordship Sherborne. Sr John Berkely, Colonel Ashburnham, and some other good Officers, enough to have form'd a considerable Army, if there had been no other want. But they had not been long there (and it was not easy to resolve whither else to go, they having no reason to believe they should be any where more welcome than in Somerset-shire, from whence they had been now driven)

The Earl of Bedford comes against him.

when the Earl of *Bedford*, General of the Horse to the Parliament, with *Mr Hollis*, *Sr Walter Earl*, and other *Ephori*, and a compleat Body of seven thousand Foot at least, order'd by *Charles Essex*, their Serjeant-Major-General, a Soldier of good experience and reputation in the low Countries, and eight full Troops of Horse, under the Command of Captain *Pretty*, with four pieces of Cannon, in a very splendid equipage came to *Wells*, and from thence to *Sherborne*. The Marquis, by this time having encreased his Foot to four hundred, with which that great Army was kept from entering that Town, and perswaded to encamp in the Field about three quarters of a Mile North from the Castle; where, for the present, we must leave the Marquis and his great spirited little Army.

It could never be understood, why that Army did not then march directly to *Nottingham*; which if it had done, his Majesties few Forces must immediately have been scatter'd, and himself fled, or put himself into their hands, which there were enough ready to have advis'd him to do; and if he had escap'd, he might have been pursued by one Regiment of Horse till he had quitted the Kingdom. But it pleas'd God, that they made not the least advance toward *Nottingham*. They about the King began now to wish that he had stay'd at *York*, and propos'd his return thither; but that was not hearken'd to; and they who advis'd his stay there, and against the advance

OF THE REBELLION, &c.

to *Nottingham*, were more against his return thither, as an absolute flight; but urged the advance of the Levies, and a little patience, till it might be discern'd what the Enemy did intend to do. In this great anxiety, some of the Lords desired, "that his Majesty would send a Message to the Parliament, "with some overture to incline them to a Treaty; which proposition was no sooner made, but most concurr'd in it, and no one had the confidence to oppose it. The King himself was so offended at it, that he declared, "he would never "yield to it, and broke up the Council, that it might be no longer urged. But the next day, when they met again, they renew'd the same advice with more earnestness. The Earl of *Southampton*, a Person of great prudence, and of a reputation at least equal to any Man's, pressed it, "as a thing that might "do good, and could do no harm: and the King's reasons, with reference to the insolence it would raise in the Rebels, and the dishonour that would thereby reflect upon Himself, were answer'd, by saying "their insolence would be for the "King's advantage; and when they should reject the offer of "Peace, which they believ'd they would do, they would make "themselves the more odious to the People, who would be "thereby the more inclin'd to serve the King. So that they took it as granted, that the proposition would be rejected, and therefore it ought to be made. It was farther said, "that his "Majesty was not able to make resistance; that the Forces "before *Sherborne*, *Portsmouth*, and at *Northampton*, were "three several Armies, the least of which would drive his "Majesty out of his Dominions; that it was only in his power "to choose, whether, by making a fair offer himself, he would "seem to make Peace, which could not but render him very "gracious to the People, or suffer himself to be taken Prisoner (which he would not long be able to avoid) which "would give his Enemies Power, Reputation, and Authority "to proceed against his Majesty, and, it might be, his Posterity, according to their own engaged Malice.

YET this motive made no impression in him. "For, he "said, no misfortune, or ill success that might attend his endeavour of defending himself, could expose him to more "inconveniences than a Treaty at this time desired by him, "where he must be understood to be willing to yield to whatsoever they would require of him; and how modest they "were like to be, might be judged by their nineteen Propositions, which were tender'd, when their power could not be "reasonably understood to be like so much to exceed his Majesty's, as at this time it was evident it did; and that, having "now nothing to lose but his honour, he could be only excusable to the world, by using his industry to the last to oppose

The King consults at Nottingham of sending a Message for Peace.

“pose the Torrent, which if it prevail’d would overwhelm him. This compos’d Courage and Magnanimity of his Majesty seem’d too Philosophical, and abstracted from the Policy of self preservation, to which most others were passionately addicted: and that which was the King’s greatest disadvantage, how many soever were of his mind (as some few, and but few there were) no Man durst publicly avow that he was so; a Treaty for Peace being so popular a thing, that whosoever oppos’d it would be sure to be, by general consent, a declar’d Enemy to his Country.

THAT which prevail’d with his Majesty very reasonably then to yield (and indeed it proved equally advantageous to him afterwards) was, “that it was most probable (and his whole fortune was to be submitted at best to probabilities) “that, out of their pride, and contempt of the King’s weakness and want of power, the Parliament would refuse to “treat; which would be so unpopular a thing, that, as his Majesty would highly oblige his People by making the offer, so They would lose the hearts of them by rejecting it; “which alone would raise an Army for his Majesty. That if “they should embrace it, the King could not but be a gainer; “for by the Propositions which they should make to him, he “would be able to state the Quarrel so clearly, that it should “be more demonstrable to the Kingdom, than yet it was, that “the War was, on his Majesty’s part, purely defensive; since “he never had, and now would not deny any thing, which “they could in reason, or justice ask: That this very overture would necessarily produce some pause, and delay in “their preparations, or motions of their Armies; for some “debate it must needs have; and during that time, men’s “minds would be in suspense; whereas his Majesty should be “so far from slackning his preparations, that he might be more “vigorous in them, by hastning those Levies, for which his “Commissions were out. For these reasons, and almost the concurrent desire, and importunity of his Council, the King was prevail’d with to send the Earls of *Southampton*, and *Dorset*. *St John Colepepper*, Chancellor of his Exchequer, and *St William Udall* (whom his Majesty gave leave under that pretence to intend the business of his own fortune) to the two Houses with this Message, which was sent the third day after his Standard was set up.

The King
sends to the
two Houses a
Message for
Peace by the
Earl of
Southampton, &c.

“WE have, with unspeakable grief of heart, long beheld the distractions of this our Kingdom. Our very Soul is full of Anguish, until We may find some remedy to prevent the miseries, which are ready to overwhelm this whole Nation by a Civil War. And though all our Endeavours, tending
“to

OF THE REBELLION, &c.

"to the composing of those unhappy differences betwixt Us
 "and our two Houses of Parliament (though pursued by Us
 "with all Zeal and sincerity) have been hitherto without that
 "success We hoped for; yet such is our constant and earnest
 "care to preserve the publick Peace, that We shall not be
 "discouraged from using any expedient, which, by the blessing
 "of the God of Mercy, may lay a firm foundation of Peace
 "and Happiness to all our good Subjects. To this end, ob-
 "serving that many mistakes have arisen by the Messages, Pe-
 "titions, and Answers, betwixt Us and our two Houses of
 "Parliament, which happily may be prevented by some other
 "way of Treaty, wherein the matters in difference may be
 "more clearly understood, and more freely transacted; We
 "have thought fit to propound to you, that some fit Persons
 "may be by You enabled to treat with the like Number to be
 "Authorised by Us, in such a manner, and with such free-
 "dom of debate, as may best tend to that happy conclusion
 "which all good Men desire, the Peace of the Kingdom.
 "Wherein, as We promise, in the word of a King, all safety
 "and encouragement to such as shall be sent unto Us, if You
 "shall choose the place where We are, for the Treaty, which
 "We wholly leave to You, presuming the like care of the
 "safety of those We shall Employ, if You shall name another
 "place; so We assure You, and all our good Subjects, that,
 "to the best of our understanding, nothing shall be therein
 "wanting on our part, which may advance the true Protestant
 "Religion, oppose Popery and Superstition, secure the Law
 "of the Land (upon which is built as well our just Preroga-
 "tive, as the Propriety and Liberty of the Subject) confirm
 "all just Power and Privileges of Parliament, and render Us
 "and our People truly happy by a good understanding betwixt
 "Us and our two Houses of Parliament. Bring with you as
 "firm Resolutions to do your Duty; and let all our good
 "People joyn with us in our Prayers to Almighty God, for
 "his blessing upon this work. If this Proposition shall be re-
 "jected by you, We have done our duty so amply, that God
 "will absolve Us from the Guilt of any of that blood which
 "must be spilt; and what opinion soever other Men may have
 "of our Power, We assure you nothing but our Christian and
 "Pious care to prevent the effusion of blood, hath begot this
 "motion; Our Provision of Men, Armes, and Money, being
 "such as may secure Us from farther Violence, till it pleases
 "God to open the Eyes of Our People.

THIS Message had the same reception his Majesty believ'd
 it would have; and was indeed receiv'd with unheard of In-
 solence and Contempt. For the Earl of *Southampton*, and *St*

*How it was
 receiv'd by
 them.*

John Colepepper, desiring to appear themselves before any notice should arrive of their coming, made such hast, that they were at *Westminster* in the morning shortly after the Houses met. The Earl of *Southampton* went into the House of Peers, where he was scarce fate down in his place, when, with great passion, he was called upon to withdraw; albeit he told them he had a Message to them from the King, and there could be no exception to his Lordships sitting in the House upon their own grounds; he having had leave from the House to attend his Majesty. However he was compell'd to withdraw; and then they sent the Gentleman Usher of the House to him, to require his Message; which his Lordship said, he was by the King's Command to deliver himself, and refused therefore to send it, except the Lords made an Order that he should not deliver it himself; which they did; and thereupon he sent it to them; which they no sooner receiv'd, than they sent him word, "that he should, at his Peril, immediately depart the Town, and that they would take care that their Answer to the Message should be sent to him. And so the Earl of *Southampton* departed the Town, reposing himself at the House of a Noble Person seven or eight miles off. Whilst the Earl had this skirmish with the Lords, *Sr John Colepepper* attended the Commons, forbearing to go into the House without leave, because there had been an Order (which is mention'd before) that all the Members, who were not present at such a day, should not presume to sit there, till they had paid a hundred pounds, and given the House satisfaction in the cause of their absence. But he sent word to the Speaker, "that he had a Message from the King to them, and that he desired to deliver it in his place in the House. After some debate (for there remain'd yet some, who thought it as unreasonable as irregular to deny a Member of the House, against whom there had not been the least publick objection, and a Privy Counsellor who had been in all times us'd there with great respect, leave to deliver a Message from the King in his own place as a Member) it was absolutely resolv'd, "that he should not sit in the House, but that he should deliver his Message at the Bar, and immediately withdraw; which he did accordingly.

THEN the two Houses met at a Conference and read the King's Message with great superciliousness; and within two days, with less difficulty and opposition than can be believ'd, agreed upon their Answer. The King's Messengers, in the mean time, though of that Quality, did not receive ordinary civilities from any Members of either House; they who were very willing to have done it, not daring for their own safety to come near them; and the others, looking upon them, as
Servants

OF THE REBELLION, &c.

11

Servants to a Master whom they had, and meant farther to oppress. Private Conferences they had with some of the principal Governours; from whom they receiv'd no other advice, but that, if the King had any care of Himself or his Posterity, he should immediately come to *London*, throw himself into the Armes of his Parliament, and comply with whatsoever they proposed. The Answer which they return'd to the King was this.

*The Answer of the Lords and Commons to his Majesties Their Answer.
Message of the 25th of August 1642.*

"May it please your Majesty :

"THE Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled, having receiv'd your Majesties Message of the 25th of August, do with much grief resent the dangerous and distracted State of this Kingdom; which We have by all means endeavour'd to prevent, both by Our severall Advices and Petitions to your Majesty; which hath been not only without success, but there hath followed that which no ill Counsel in former times hath produced, or any Age hath seen, namely those severall Proclamations and Declarations against both the Houses of Parliament, whereby their Actions are declared Treasonable, and their Persons Traitors. And thereupon your Majesty hath set up your Standard against them, whereby you have put the two Houses of Parliament, and, in Them, this whole Kingdom, out of your Protection; so that until your Majesty shall recal those Proclamations and Declarations, whereby the Earl of *Essex*, and both Houses of Parliament, and their Adherents, and Assistants, and such as have obeyed and executed their Commands and Directions, according to their duties, are declared Traitors or otherwise Delinquents: and until the Standard, set up in pursuance of the said Proclamation, be taken down, your Majesty hath put us into such a condition, that whilst we so remain we cannot, by the fundamental Privileges of Parliament, the publick trust reposed in us, or with the general good and safety of this Kingdom, give your Majesty any other Answer to this Message.

WHEN the King's Messengers return'd with this Answer to *Nottingham*, all Men saw to what they must trust; and the King believ'd, he should be no farther moved to make Addresses to them. And yet all hopes of an Army, or any ability to resist that violence seem'd so desperate, that he was privately advised by some, whom he trusted as much as any, and whose whole affections were as entire to him as any Mens, to give all

other thoughts over, and instantly to make all imaginable hast to *London*, and to appear in the Parliament House before they had any expectation of him. And they conceived there would be more likelyhood for him to prevail that way, than by any Army he was like to raise. And it must be solely imputed to his Majesties own resolution, that he took not that course. However he was contented to make so much farther use of their pride and passion, as to give them occasion, by another Message, to publish more of it to the People; and therefore, within three days after the return of his Messengers, he sent the Lord *Falkland*, his Principal Secretary of State, with a reply to their Answer in these words.

*The King
sends another
Message to
the two
Houses.*

"WE will not repeat, what means We have used to prevent the dangerous and distracted Estate of the Kingdom, nor how those means have been interpreted; because, being desirous to avoid the effusion of blood, We are willing to decline all memory of former bitterness, that might render our offer of a Treaty less readily accepted. We never did declare, nor ever intended to declare, both our Houses of Parliament Traitors, or set up our Standard against them; and much less to put them and this Kingdom out of our Protection. We utterly profess against it before God, and the world; and farther to remove all possible Scruples, which may hinder the Treaty so much desired by us, We hereby promise, so that a day be appointed by you for the revoking of your Declarations against all Persons as Traytors, or otherwise, for assisting us; We shall with all cheerfulness, upon the same day recal Our Proclamations and Declarations, and take down our Standard. In which Treaty, We shall be ready to grant any thing, that shall be really for the good of our Subjects: conjuring you to consider the bleeding condition of *Ireland*, and the dangerous condition of *England*, in as high a degree, as by these Our Offers We have declared Our self to do. And assuring you, that our chief desire in this world, is to beget a good understanding, and mutual confidence betwixt Us and Our two Houses of Parliament.

THIS Message had no better effect, or reception than the former; their principal Officers being sent down since the last Message to *Northampton* to put the Army into a readiness to march. And now they required the Earl of *Essex* himself to make hast thither, that no more time might be lost, sending by the Lord *Falkland*, within two days, this Answer to the King.

To

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty ;

Their Answer.

The humble Answer and Petition of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, unto the Kings last Message.

" May it please your Majesty :

" If We, the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, should repeat all the ways We have taken, the endeavours We have used, and the expressions We have made unto your Majesty, to prevent those distractions, and dangers, your Majesty speaks of, We should too much enlarge this reply. Therefore, as We humbly, so shall We Only let your Majesty know, that We cannot recede from our former Answer, for the reasons therein express'd. For that your Majesty hath not taken down your Standard, recalled your Proclamations and Declarations, whereby you have declared the Actions of both Houses of Parliament to be Treasonable, and their Persons Traytors ; and you have published the same since your Message of the 25th of August, by your late Instructions sent to your Commissioners of Array ; which Standard being taken down, and the Declarations, Proclamations, and Instructions recalled, if your Majesty shall then, upon this our humble Petition, leaving your Forces, return unto your Parliament, and receive their faithful advice, your Majesty will find such expressions of our fidelities, and duties, as shall assure you, that your safety, honour, and greatness, can only be found in the affections of your People, and the sincere counsels of your Parliament ; whose constant and undiscouraged endeavours and consultations have passed through difficulties unheard of, only to secure your Kingdoms from the violent mischiefs and dangers now ready to fall upon them, and every part of them ; who deserve better of your Majesty, and can never allow themselves (representing likewise your whole Kingdom) to be ballanced with those Persons, whose desperate dispositions and Counsels prevail still to interrupt all Our Endeavours for the relieving of bleeding Ireland ; as we may fear Our Labours, and vast expences will be fruitless to that distressed Kingdom. As your presence is thus humbly desired by us, so it is in our hopes your Majesty will in your reason believe, there is no other way than this, to make your Majesties self happy, and your Kingdom safe.

AND lest this Overture of a Treaty might be a means to allay and compose the distempers of the People, and that the hope and expectation of Peace might not dishearten their

Party, in their preparations and contributions to the War, the same day they sent their last Answer to the King, they published this Declaration to the Kingdom.

*The two
Houses De-
claration to
the King-
dom.*

“WHEREAS his Majesty, in a Message receiv’d the 5th of September, requires that the Parliament would revoke their Declarations against such Persons, as have assisted his Majesty in this unnatural War against his Kingdom; it is this day ordered, and declared by the Lords and Commons, that the Armes, which they have been forced to take up, and shall be forced to take up, for the preservation of the Parliament, Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, shall not be laid down, until his Majesty shall withdraw his Protection from such Persons as have been voted by both Houses to be Delinquents, or that shall by both Houses be voted to be Delinquents, and shall leave them to the justice of the Parliament to be proceeded with according to their demerit; to the end that both this and succeeding Generations may take warning, with what danger they incur the like heynous crimes: and also to the end that those great charges and damages, wherewith all the Common-wealth hath been burthen’d in the premisses, since his Majesties departure from the Parliament, may be borne by the Delinquents, and other Malignant and Disaffected Persons: and that all his Majesties good and well affected Subjects, who by Loan of Monies, or otherwise at their charge, have assisted the Common-wealth, or shall in like manner hereafter assist the Common-wealth in time of extreme danger, may be repayed all Sums of Money lent by them for those purposes, and be satisfied their charges so sustained, out of the Estates of the said Delinquents, and of the Malignant and Disaffected Party in this Kingdom.

THIS Declaration did the King no harm; for besides that it was evident to all Men, that the King had done whatsoever was in his power, or could be expected from him, for the prevention of a Civil War, all Persons of Honour and Quality plainly discerned, that they had no safety but in the preservation of the Regal power, since their Estates were already disposed of by them who could declare whom they would Delinquents, and would infallibly declare all such who had not concurred with them. And the advantage the King receiv’d by those overtures, and the pride, frowardness, and perverseness of the Rebels, is not imaginable; his Levies of Men, and all other preparations for the War, being incredibly advanced from the time of his first Message. Prince *Rupert* lay still with the Horse at *Leicester*; and though He, and some of

of the principal Officers with him, were discontented to that degree, upon the King's first Message and desire of a Treaty, as likely not only to destroy all hopes of raising an Army, but to sacrifice those who were raised, that they were not without some thoughts, at least discourses, of offering violence to the principal Advisers of it, he now found his Numbers increased, and better resolv'd by it; and from *York-shire*, *Lincoln-shire*, and *Stafford-shire*, came very good recruits of Foot; so that his Cannon and Munition being likewise come up from *York*, within twenty days his Numbers began to look towards an Army; and there was another Air in all Mens faces; yet *Nottingham* seem'd not a good Post for his Majesty to stay longer at; and therefore, about the middle of *September*, the Earl of *Essex* being then with his whole Army at *Northampton*, his Majesty march'd from *Nottingham* to *Derby*; being not then resolv'd whither to bend his course to *Shrewsbury* or *Chester*, not well knowing the temper of those Towns, in both which the Parliament Party had been very active; but resolving to sit down near the borders of *Wales*, where the power of the Parliament had been least prevalent, and where some Regiments of Foot were Levying for his Service. Before his leaving *Nottingham*, as a farewell to his hopes of a Treaty, and to make the deeper sense and impression, in the hearts of the People, of those who had so pertinaciously rejected it, his Majesty sent this Message to the Houses.

"WHO have taken most ways, used most endeavours, and made most real expressions to prevent the present distractions and dangers; let all the world judge, as well by former passages, as by Our two last Messages, which have been so fruitless, that, though We have descended to desire and press it, not so much as a Treaty can be obtained; unless We would denude our self of all force to defend us from a visible strength marching against us; and admit those Persons as Traytors to us, who, according to their Duty, their Oaths of Allegiance, and the Law, have appear'd in defence of Us, their King and Leige Lord (whom We are bound in conscience and honour to preserve) though We disclaimed all our Proclamations, and Declarations, and the erecting of our Standard, as against our Parliament. All we have now left in Our power, is to express the deep sense We have of the publick misery of this Kingdom, in which is involved that of our distressed Protestants of *Ireland*; and to apply our self to our necessary defence, wherein We wholly rely upon the providence of God, the Justice of our Cause, and the Affection of our good People; so far We are from putting them out of our Protection. When
you

Another
Message from
the King to
the two
Houses in
Reply to their
Answer.

“you shall desire a Treaty of us, We shall piously remem-
 “ber, whose blood is to be spilt in this quarrel, and cheer-
 “fully embrace it. And as no other reason induced Us to
 “leave our City of *London*, but that, with honour and safety
 “We could not stay there; nor to raise any force, but for
 “the necessary defence of our Person and the Law, against
 “Levies in opposition to both; so We shall suddainly and
 “most willingly return to the One, and disband the Other,
 “as soon as those causes shall be remov’d, The God of Heaven
 “direct you, and in mercy divert those judgements, which
 “hang over this Nation; and so deal with Us, and our Po-
 “sterity, as We desire the preservation, and advancement of
 “the true Protestant Religion; the Law, and the Liberty of
 “the Subject; the just Rights of Parliament, and the Peace
 “of the Kingdom.

The King
 removes to
 Derby.

WHEN the King came to *Derby*, he receiv’d clear infor-
 mation from the well affected Party in *Shrewsbury*, that the
 Town was at His devotion; and that the very rumour of his
 Majesties purpose of coming thither, had driven away all
 those who were most inclined to sedition. And therefore, as
 well in regard of the strong and pleasant situation of it (one
 side being defended by the *Severn*, the other having a secure
 passage into *Wales*, the confines of *Montgomery-shire* extend-
 ing very near the Town) as for the correspondence with
Worcester, of which City he hoped well, and that by his be-
 ing at *Shrewsbury*, he should be as well able to secure *Chester*, as
 by carrying his whole Train so far North; besides that the
 other might give some apprehension of his going into *Ireland*,
 which had been formerly mention’d, his Majesty resolv’d for
 that Town; and, after one days stay at *Derby*, by easy marches
 he went thither, drawing his whole small Forces to a Ren-
 dezvous at *Wellington*, a days march short of *Shrewsbury*; and
 that being the first time that they were together, his Majesty
 then caus’d his Military Orders for the Discipline and Go-
 vernment of the Army to be read at the head of each Regi-
 ment; and then, which is not fit ever to be forgotten, putting
 himself in the middle, where he might be best heard, not
 much unlike the Emperour *Trajan*, who when he made *Sura*
 Great Marshal of the *Empire*, gave him a Sword, saying, “Re-
 “ceive this Sword of me, and if I command as I ought, em-
 “ploy it in my defence; if I do otherwise, draw it against
 “me, and take my life from me, his Majesty made this Speech
 to his Soldiers.

The King’s
 Speech and
 Protestation
 at the head
 of his Forces,
 after the
 reading his
 Orders of
 War.

“GENTLEMEN, you have heard those Orders read: it
 “is Your part, in your several places, to observe them ex-
 “actly; the time cannot be long before We come to Action,
 “therefore

“therefore you have the more reason to be careful; and I
 “must tell you, I shall be very severe in the punishing of
 “those, of what condition soever, who transgress these In-
 “structions. I cannot suspect your Courage and Resolution;
 “your Conscience and your Loyalty hath brought you hither,
 “to Fight for your Religion, your King, and the Laws of
 “the Land. You shall meet with no Enemies but Traytors,
 “most of them *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and *Atheists*; such who
 “desire to destroy both Church and State, and who have al-
 “ready condemn’d You to ruin for being Loyal to Us. That
 “you may see what use I mean to make of your Valour if
 “it please God to bless it with success, I have thought fit
 “to publish my Resolution to you in a Protestation; which
 “when you have heard me make, you will believe you can-
 “not fight in a better Quarrel, in which I promise to live and
 “dye with you.

THE Protestation his Majesty was then pleased to make
 was in these words.

“I do promise in the presence of Almighty God, and as I
 “hope for his blessing and protection, that I will, to the ut-
 “most of my power, defend and maintain the true Reform’d
 “Protestant Religion, establish’d in the Church of *England*;
 “and, by the grace of God, in the same will live and dye.

“I desire to govern by all the known Laws of the Land,
 “and that the Liberty, and Property of the Subject, may be
 “by them preserv’d with the same care, as my own just Rights.
 “And if it please God, by his blessing upon this Army, rais’d
 “for my necessary defence, to preserve me from this Rebel-
 “lion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of
 “God, to maintain the just Privileges and Freedom of Parlia-
 “ment, and to govern by the known Laws of the Land to
 “my utmost power; and particularly, to observe inviolably
 “the Laws consented to by me this Parliament. In the mean
 “while, if this time of War, and the great necessity, and
 “straits I am now driven to, beget any violation of those, I
 “hope it shall be imputed by God and Men to the Authors of
 “this War, and not to Me; who have so earnestly labour’d
 “for the preservation of the Peace of this Kingdom.

“WHEN I willingly fail in these particulars, I will expect
 “no aid or relief from any Man, or Protection from Heaven.
 “But in this resolution, I hope for the chearful assistance of
 “all good Men, and am confident of God’s blessing.

THIS Protestation, and the manner and solemnity of
 making it, gave not more life and encouragement to the little
 Army, than it did comfort and satisfaction to the Gentry and
 Inha-

The King
comes to
Shrews-
bury.

Inhabitants of those parts; into whom the Parliament had infused, that, if his Majesty prevailed by force, he would, with the same power, abolish all those good Laws, which had been made this Parliament; so that they look'd upon this Protestation, as a more ample security for their enjoying the benefit of those Acts, than the Royal Assent he had before given. And a more general, and passionate expression of affections cannot be imagin'd, than he receiv'd by the People of those Counties of *Derby*, *Stafford*, and *Shropshire*, as he pass'd; or a better reception, than he found at *Shrewsbury*; into which Town he enter'd on *Tuesday* the 20th of *September*.

IT will be, and was then, wonder'd at, that since the Parliament had a full and well form'd Army, before the King had one full Regiment, and the Earl of *Essex* was Himself come to *Northampton*, some days before his Majesty went from *Nottingham*, his Lordship neither disquieted the King whilst he stay'd there, nor gave him any disturbance in his march to *Shrewsbury*; which if he had done, he might either have taken him Prisoner, or so dispersed his small power, that it would never have been possible for him to have gotten an Army together. But as the Earl had not yet receiv'd his Instructions, so they, upon whom he depended, avoided that expedition out of meer pride, and contempt of the King's Forces; and upon a presumption, that it would not be possible for him to raise such a power, as would be able to look Their Army in the face; but that, when he had in vain tried all other ways, and those, who not only follow'd him upon their own charges, but supported those who were not able to bear their own (for his Army was maintain'd and paid by the Nobility and Gentry, who serv'd likewise in their own Persons) were grown weary and unable longer to bear that burthen, his Majesty would be forced to put himself into Their Arms for Protection and Subsistence; and such a Victory without blood had crown'd all their designs. And if their Army, which they pretended to raise only for their defence, and for the safety of the King's Person, had been able to prevent the King's raising any, or if the King, in that Melancholick conjuncture at *Nottingham*, had return'd to *White-Hall*, he had justified all their proceedings, and could never after have refused to yield to whatsoever they propos'd.

AND it is most certain, that the Common Soldiers of their Army were generally perswaded, that they should never be brought to fight; but that the King was in truth little better than imprison'd by evil Counsellors, Malignants, Delinquents, and Cavaliers (the terms applied to his whole Party) and would gladly come to his Parliament if he could break from that company; which he would undoubtedly do, if their Army

my came once to such a distance, that his Majesty might make an escape to them. In this kind of discourse they were so fottish, that they were perswaded, that those Persons of whose Piety, Honour, and Integrity, they had receiv'd heretofore the greatest Testimony, were Now turn'd Papiſts; and that the small Army, and Forces the King had, consisted of no other than Papiſts. Inſomuch as truly those of the King's Party, who promised themselves any support, but from the comfort of their own consciences, or relied upon any other means than from God Almighty, could hardly have made their expectations appear reasonable; for his Enemies were in a manner possessed of the whole Kingdom.

PORTSMOUTH, the strongest and best fortified Town then in the Kingdom, was surrender'd to them; Colonel Goring, about the beginning of September, though he had seem'd to be so long resolv'd, and prepared to expect a Siege, and had been supplied with Moneys according to his own proposall, was brought so low, that he gave it up, only for liberty to transport Himself beyond Seas, and for his Officers to repair to the King. And it were to be wish'd that there might be no more occasion to mention him hereafter, after this repeated treachery; and that his incomparable dexterity and sagacity had not prevailed so far over those, who had been so often deceiv'd by him, as to make it absolutely necessary to speak at large of him, more than once, before this discourse comes to an end.

THE Marquis of Hertford, though he had so much discredit the Earl of Bedford's Soldiery, and dishearten'd his great Army, that the Earl (after lying in the Field four or five Nights within less than Cannon shot of the Castle, and Town, and after having refused to fight a duel with the Marquis, to which he provoked him by a Challenge) sent Sr John Norcot, under pretence of a Treaty and the Godly care to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, in plain English to desire "that he might fairly and peaceably draw off his Forces, and march away; the which, how reasonable a request soever it was, the Marquis refused; sending them word, "that as they came thither upon their own Counsels, so they should get off as they could: and at last they did draw off, and march above a dozen miles for repose; leaving the Marquis, for some weeks, undisturb'd at Sherborne: yet when he heard of the loss of Portsmouth, the relief whereof was his principal business, and so that those Forces would probably be added to the Earl of Bedford, and by their success give much courage to his bashful Army, and that a good Regiment of Horse, which he expected (for Sr John Byron had sent him word from Oxford, that he would march towards him) was retired to the King;

Colonel Goring surrenders Portsmouth.

The Marquis of Hertford's proceedings in the West.

King; and that the Committees were now so busy in the several Counties, that the People, in all places, declared for the Parliament; and more particularly some strong and populous Towns in *Somerset-shire*; as *Taunton*, *Wellington*, and *Dunstar-Castle*; by reason whereof it would not be possible for him to increase his strength, he resolv'd to leave *Sherborne*, where his stay could no way advance the King's Service; and to try all ways to get to his Majesty. But when he came to *Minhead*, a Port Town, from whence he made no doubt he should be able to transport Himself, and his company into *Wales*, he found the People both of the Town and Country so disaffected, that all the boats of which there used allways to be great store, by reason of the trade for Cattle and Corn with *Wales*, were industriously sent away, save only two; so that the Earl of *Bedford* having taken new heart, and being within four miles with his Army, his Lordship, with his small Cannon and few Foot, with the Lord *Pawlet*, Lord *Seymour*, and some Gentlemen of *Somerset-shire*, transported himself into *Glamorgan-shire*; leaving *Sr Ralph Hopton*, *Sr John Berkley*, *Mr Digby*, and some other Officers with their Horse (consisting of about one hundred and twenty) to march into *Cornwal*, in hopes to find that County better prepared for their reception.

Thence
transporteth
himself into
*Glamor-
gan-shire*.

ON the other hand, the Earl of *Bedford*, thinking those few fugitives not worth his farther care, and that they would be easily apprehended by the Committee of the Militia, which was very powerful in *Devon*, and *Cornwal*, contented himself with having driven away the Marquis, and so expelled all hope of raising an Army for the King in the West; and retired with his Forces to the Earl of *Essex*, as *Sr William Waller* had done from *Portsmouth*; so that as it was not expected, that the Forces about his Majesty could be able to defend him, against so puissant an Army, so it was not imaginable that he could receive any addition of strength from any other parts. For wherever they found any Person of Quality inclined to the King, or but disinclined to Them, they immediately seized upon his Person, and sent him in great Triumph to the Parliament; who committed him to Prison, with all circumstances of cruelty and inhumanity.

THUS they took Prisoner the Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton*, at his House in *Northampton-shire*, a Person of great reverence being above fourscore years of age, and of unblemish'd Reputation, for declaring himself unsatisfied with their disobedient and undutiful proceedings against the King, and more expressly against their Ordinance for the Militia; and notwithstanding that he had a Brother of the House of Peers, the Lord *Privy Seal*, and a Nephew the Lord *Kimbolton*, who had as full a power in that Council as any Man, and a Son in the House

Houſe of Commons very unlike his Father; his Lordſhip was committed to the Tower a cloſe Priſoner; and though he was afterwards remitted to more Air, he continued a Priſoner to his death.

THUS they took Priſoner in *Oxfordſhire* the Earl of *Berkſhire*, and three or four principal Gentlemen of that County; and committed them to the Tower, for no other reaſon but wiſhing well to the King; for they never appear'd in the leaſt Action in his Service. And thus they took Priſoner the Earl of *Bath* in *Devonſhire*, who neither had, or ever meant to do the King the leaſt ſervice; but only out of the moroſity of his own Nature, had before, in the Houſe, expreſs'd himſelf not of their minds; and carried him, with many other Gentlemen of *Devon* and *Somerſet*, with a ſtrong Guard of Horſe, to *London*; where, after they had been expoſed to the rudeneſs and reproach of the Common People, who called them Traytors and Rebels to the Parliament, and purſued them with ſuch uſage as they uſe to the moſt infamous Malefactoꝛs, they were, without ever being examin'd, or charged with any particular crime, committed to ſeveral Priſons; ſo that not only all the Priſons about *London* were quickly fill'd with Perſons of Honour, and great Reputation for ſobriety and integrity to their Counties, but new Priſons were made for their reception; and, which was a new and barbarous invention, very many Perſons of very good Quality, both of the Clergy and Laity, were committed to Priſon on board the Ships in the River of *Thames*; where they were kept under Decks, and no friend ſuffer'd to come to them, by which many loſt their lives. And that the loſs of their Liberty might not be all their puniſhment, it was the uſual courſe, and very few eſcaped it, after any Man was committed as a notorious Malignant (which was the brand) that his Eſtate and Goods were ſeiſed, or plunder'd by an Order from the Houſe of Commons, or ſome Committee, or the Soldiers, who in their march took the Goods of all Papiſts and eminent Malignants, as lawful prize; or by the fury and Licence of the Common People, who were in all places grown to that barbarity and rage againſt the Nobility and Gentry (under the Style of Cavaliers) that it was not ſafe for any to live at their Houſes, who were taken notice of as no Voſaries to the Parliament.

So the Common People (no doubt by the advice of their Superiors) in *Effex* on a ſuddain beſet the Houſe of *St John Lucas*, one of the beſt Gentlemen of that County, and of the moſt eminent affection to the King, being a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the Prince of *Wales*; and upon pretence that he was going to the King, poſſeſs'd themſelves of all his Horſes and Armes, ſeiſed upon his Perſon, and uſed him with

all possible indignities, not without some threats to murder him; and when the Mayor of *Colchester*, whither he was brought, with more humanity than the rest, offer'd to keep him Prisoner in his own House, till the pleasure of the Parliament should be farther known, they compelled him, or he was willing to be compell'd, to send him to the Common Goal; where he remain'd, glad of that security, till the House of Commons removed him to another Prison (without ever charging him with any crime) having sent all his Horses to the Earl of *Essex*, to be used in the service of that Army.

AT the same time the same Rabble enter'd the House of the Countess of *Rivers* near *Colchester*; for no other ground, than that she was a Papist; and in few hours disfurnish'd it of all the Goods, which had been many years with great curiosity providing, and were not of less value than forty thousand pounds sterling; the Countess her self hardly escaping, after great insolence had been used to her Person: And she could never receive any reparation from the Parliament. These and many other Instances of the same kind in *London* and the parts adjacent, gave sufficient evidence to all Men how little else They were to keep, who meant to preserve their Allegiance and Integrity in the full Vigour.

I MUST not forget, though it cannot be remember'd without much horror, that this strange Wild-fire among the people, was not so much and so furiously kindled by the breath of the Parliament, as of their Clergy, who both administer'd fuel, and blow'd the Coales in the Houses too. These Men having creeped into, and at last driven all Learned and Orthodox Men from the Pulpits, had, as is before remember'd, from the beginning of this Parliament, under the Notion of Reformation and extirpating of Popery, infused seditious inclinations into the hearts of Men against the present Government of the Church, with many libellous investives against the State too. But since the raising an Army, and rejecting the King's last overture of a Treaty, they contain'd themselves within no bounds; and as freely and without controul, inveighed against the Person of the King, as they had before against the worst Malignant; prophanely, and blasphemously applying whatsoever had been spoken and declared by God Himself, or the Prophets, against the most wicked and impious Kings to in-cense and stir up the People against their most Gracious Sovereign.

THERE are Monuments enough in the seditious Sermons at that time printed, and in the Memories of Men, of others not printed, of such wresting, and perverting of Scripture to the odious purposes of the Preacher, that pious Men will not look over without trembling. One takes his Text out of *Mo-*

ses's words in the 32^d Chap. of *Exodus* and the 29th Verse. *Consecrate your selves to day to the Lord, even every Man upon his Son, and upon his Brother; that he may bestow upon you a blessing this day:* And from thence incites his Auditory to the utmost prosecution of those, under what relation soever of Blood, Neighbourhood, Dependence, who concurred not in the Reformation proposed by the Parliament. Another makes as bold with *David's* words, in the 1st *Chron.* 22^d Chap. 16th Verse. *Arise therefore and be doing:* And from thence assures them, it was not enough to wish well to the Parliament; if they brought not their purse, as well as their prayers, and their hands, as well as their hearts to the assistance of it, the duty in the Text was not performed. There were more than Mr *Marshall*, who from the 23^d Verse of the 5th Chap. of *Judges*. *Curse ye Meroz, said the Angel of the Lord, curse ye bitterly the Inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty,* presumed to inveigh against, and in plain terms to pronounce Gods own curse against all those, who came not, with their utmost power and strength, to destroy and root out all the Malignants, who in any degree opposed the Parliament.

THERE was one, who from the 48th Chap. of the Prophet *Jeremiah* and the 10th Verse. *Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood;* reproved those who gave any quarter to the King's Soldiers. And another out of the 5th Verse of the 25th Chap. of *Proverbs*. *Take away the wicked from before the King, and his Throne shall be established in righteousness;* made it no less a case of Conscience by force to remove the evil Counsellors from the King (with bold intimation what might be done to the King Himself, if he would not suffer them to be removed) than to perform any Christian duty that is enjoyn'd. It would fill a Volume to insert all the impious madness of this kind, so that the complaint of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, might most truly, and seasonably have been applied, *There is a conspiracy of her Prophets in the midst thereof, like a roaring Lion* Ezek xxii. v. 25. *ravens the Prey, they have devoured Souls, they have taken the Treasure, and precious things, they have made her many Windows in the midst thereof.*

It was the complaint of *Erasmus* of the Clergy in his time, that when Princes were inclinable to Wars, *alius è sacro suggesto promittit omnium admissorum condonationem, alius promittit certam victoriam, Prophetarum voces ad rem impiam detorquens. Tam bellaces conciones audivimus,* says he. And indeed no good Christian can, without horror, think of those Ministers of the Church, who by their Function being Messengers of Peace, were the only Trumpets of War, and Incendiaries towards Rebellion. How much more Christian was that *Athe-*

nian Nun in *Plutarch*, and how shall She rise up in judgement against those Men, who, when *Alcibiades* was condemn'd by the publick Justice of the State, and a Decree made that all the Religious Priests and Women should ban and curse him, stoutly refused to perform that office; answering, "that she "was professed Religious, to *pray* and to *blest*, not to *curse* "and to *ban*. And if the Person, and the Place can improve and aggravate the offence (as without doubt it doth, both before God and Man) methinks the Preaching Treason and Rebellion out of the Pulpits should be worse than the advancing it in the Market, as much as poysoning a Man at the Communion would be worse than murdering him at a Tavern. And it may be, in that Catalogue of Sins, which the Zeal of some Men hath thought to be the Sin against the Holy Ghost, there may not any one be more reasonably thought to be such, than a Minister of Christs turning Rebel against his Prince (which is a most notorious Apostacy against his Order) and his Preaching Rebellion, to the People, as the Doctrine of Christ; which, adding blasphemy and pertinacy to his Apostacy, hath all the marks by which good men are taught to avoid that Sin against the Holy Ghost.

The Earl of
Essex moves
with his Army
from
Northampton.

WITHIN three or four days after the Kings remove from *Nottingham*, the Earl of *Essex*, with his whole Army, removed from *Northampton*, and march'd towards *Worcester*; of which his Majesty had no sooner Intelligence, than he sent Prince *Rupert*, with the greatest part of the Horse, on the other side of the *Severn*, towards that City; as well to observe the motion of the Enemy, as to give all assistance to that place, which had declared good affections to him; at least to countenance and secure the retreat of those Gentlemen, who were there raising Forces for the King; but especially to joyn with *St John Byron*, whom his Majesty had sent, in the end of *August*, to *Oxford* to convey some Money, which had been secretly brought from *London* thither to his Majesty. And he, after some small disasters in his March, by the insurrection of the Country People, who were encouraged by the Agents for the Parliament, and seconded by the Officers of the Militia, came safe with his charge to *Worcester*; where he had been very few hours, when a strong Party of Horse and Dragoons, being sent by the Earl of *Essex*, under the Command of *Nathaniel Fines*, Son to the Lord *Say*, came to surprise the Town; which was open enough to have been enter'd in many places, though in some it had an old decayed Wall; and, at the most usual and frequented entrances into the City, weak and rotten Gates to be shut, but without either Lock or Bolt.

YET this Commander, coming early in the morning, when the small Guard which had watched, conceiving all to be

be secure, were gone to rest, and being within Musquet shot of the Gate before he was discover'd, finding that weak Gate shut, or rather closed against him, and not that quick appearance of a Party within the Town, as he promised himself, without doing any harm, retired in great disorder, and with so much hast, that the wearied Horse, sent out presently to attend him, could not overtake any of his Train ; so that when Prince *Rupert* came thither, they did not conceive any considerable Party of the Enemy to be near. However his Highness resolv'd to retire from thence, as soon as he should receive perfect Intelligence of the motion of the Enemy, when on the suddain reposing himself on the ground with Prince *Maurice* his Brother, the Lord *Digby*, and the principal Officers in the field before the Town, some of his wearied Troops (for they had had a long march) being by, but the rest and most of the Officers in the Town, he espied a fair Body of Horse, consisting of near five hundred, marching in very good Order up a Lane within Musquet shot of him. In this confusion, they had scarce time to get upon their Horses, and none to consult of what was to be done, or to put themselves into their several places of Command. And, it may be, it was well they had not; for if all those Officers had been in the heads of their several Troops, it is not impossible it might have been worse. But the Prince instantly declaring, "that he would Charge; his Brother, the Lord *Digby*, Commissary General *Wilmot*, Sr *John Byron*, Sr *Lewis Drives*, and all those Officers and Gentlemen, whose Troops were not present or ready, put themselves next the Prince; the other wearied Troops coming in order after them.

IN this manner the Prince Charg'd them, as soon as they came out of the Lane; and being seconded by this handful of good Men, though the Rebels being gallantly led by Colonel *Sandys* (a Gentleman of *Kent*, and the Son of a worthy Father) and completely arm'd both for Offence, and Defence, stood well; yet in a short time, many of their best Men being kill'd, and Colonel *Sandys* Himself falling with his hurts, the whole Body was routed, fled, and was pursued by the Conquerors for the space of above a mile. The number of the slain were not many, not above forty or fifty, and those most Officers; for their Armes were so good, that in the charge they were not to be easily kill'd, and in the chase the goodness of their Horse made it impossible. Colonel *Sandys* who died shortly after of his wounds, Captain *Wingate* who was the more known, by being a Member of the House of Commons, and taken notice of for having in that charge behaved himself stoutly, and two or three *Scottish* Officers, were taken Prisoners. Of the King's Party none of Name was lost: Commissary Ge-

*A Remembrance
of the Forces
near Worcester,
where Prince Rupert
gave the battle.*

neral *Wilmot* hurt with a Sword in the side, and *Sr Lewis Dives* in the shoulder, and two or three other Officers of inferior Note; none miscarrying of their wounds, which was the more strange for that, by reason they expected not an encounter, there was not, on the Princes side, a piece of Armour worn that day, and but few Pistols; so that most of the hurt that was done was by the Sword. Six or seven Cornets of the Enemies were taken, and many good Horses, and some Armes; for they who run away made themselves as light as they could.

THIS Rencounter proved of great advantage, and benefit to the King. For it being the first Action his Horse had been brought to, and that party of the Enemy being the most pick'd and choice Men, it gave his Troops great courage, and render'd the name of Prince *Rupert* very terrible, and exceedingly appalled the adversary; infomuch as they had not, in a long time after, any confidence in their Horse, and their very Numbers were much lessen'd by it. For that whole party being routed, and the chief Officers of Name and Reputation either kill'd, or taken, though the number lost upon the place was not considerable, there were very many more who never return'd to the service; and, which was worse, for their own excuse, in all places, talked aloud of the incredible, and unresistable courage of Prince *Rupert*, and the King's Horse. So that, from this time, the Parliament, begun to be apprehensive, that the business would not be as easily ended, as it was begun; and that the King would not be brought back to them with their bare Votes. Yet how faintly soever the private pulses beat (for no question many who had made greatest noise, wish'd they were again to choose their side) the two Houses were so far from any visible abatement of their mettle, that to weigh down any possible supposition that they might be inclined, or drawn to treat with the King, or that they had any apprehension that the people would be less firm, and constant to them, they proceeded to bolder Acts to evince both, than they had yet done.

FOR to the first, to shew how secure they were against resentment from his Allies, as well as against his Majesty's own power, they caused the Capuchin Fryars, who, by the Articles of Marriage, were to have a safe reception and entertainment in the Queens Family, and had, by her Majesties care, and at her charge, a small, but a convenient habitation, by her own Chapel, in her own House, in the *Strand*, and had continued there, without disturbance, from the time of the Marriage, after many insolencies and indignities offer'd to them by the rude Multitude, even within those Gates of her own House, to be taken from thence, and to be sent over in-

to

to *France*, with protestation "that if they were found again
 "in *England*, they should be proceeded against as Traitors:
 and this in the face of the *French* Embassador, who notwithstanding
 withdrew not from them his Courtship, and Application.

THEN, that the King might know how little they dreaded
 his Forces, they sent down their Instructions to the Earl
 of *Essex* their General, who had long expected them; where-
 by among other things of form for the better discipline of the
 Army, "They required him to march with such Forces as ^{The two}
 "he thought fit, towards the Army raised, in his Majesties ^{Houses In-}
 "Name, against the Parliament, and the Kingdom; and with ^{structions}
 "them, or any part of them, to fight, at such time and place ^{to their Ge-}
 "as he should judge most to conduce to the Peace and Safety ^{neral.}
 "of the Kingdom: and that he should use his utmost endea-
 "vour by battle, or otherwise, to rescue his Majesties Per-
 "son, and the Persons of the Prince, and Duke of *York*, out
 "of the hands of those desperate persons, who were then
 "about them. They directed him to take an opportunity, in
 "some safe and honourable way, to cause the Petition of
 "both Houses of Parliament, then sent to him, to be present-
 "ed to his Majesty; and if his Majesty should thereupon
 "please to withdraw himself from the Forces then about him,
 "and to resort to the Parliament, his Lordship should cause
 "his Majesties Forces to disband, and should serve and defend
 "his Majesty with a sufficient strength in his return. They
 "required his Lordship to publish and declare, that if any
 "who had been so seduced, by the false aspersions cast upon
 "the proceedings of the Parliament, as to assist the King in
 "acting of those dangerous Counsels, should willingly, with-
 "in ten days after such publication in the Army, return to
 "their duty, not doing any hostile Act within the time li-
 "mited, and joyn themselves with the Parliament in defence
 "of Religion, his Majesties Person, the Liberties, and Law
 "of the Kingdom, and Privileges of Parliament, with their
 "Persons, and Estates, as the Members of both Houses, and
 "the rest of the Kingdom have done, that the Lords and
 "Commons would be ready, upon their submission, to receive
 "such persons in such a manner, as they should have cause to
 "acknowledge they had been used with clemency and favour;
 "provided that That favour should not extend to admit any
 "Man into either House of Parliament, who stood suspend-
 "ed, without giving satisfaction to the House whereof he
 "should be a Member; and except all Persons who stood im-
 "peached, or particularly voted against in either House of
 "Parliament for any Delinquency whatsoever; excepting
 "likewise such adherents of those, who stood impeached in
 "Parliament of Treason, as had been eminent Persons, and
 "chief

"chief Actors in those Treasons. And left those clauses of exception (which no doubt comprehended all the King's Party, and if not, They were still to be judges of their own clemency and favour, which was all was promised to the humblest penitent) might invite those, whom they had no mind to receive on any terms, they vouchsafed a "particular exception of the Earl of *Bristol*, the Earl of *Cumberland*, the Earl of *New-Castle*, the Earl of *Rivers*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Carnarvan*, the Lord *Newark*, and the Lord Viscount *Falkland* Principal Secretary of State to his Majesty, Mr Secretary *Nicholas*, Mr *Endymion Porter*, Mr *Edward Hyde* ; against not one of whom was there a Charge depending of any crime, and against very few of them so much as a Vote, which was no great matter of Delinquency.

It will be here necessary to insert the Petition, directed to be presented in some safe and honourable way to his Majesty ; the rather for that the same was, upon the reasons hereafter mention'd, never presented ; which was afterwards objected to his Majesty as a rejection of Peace on His part, when They desired it. The Petition was in these words.

The Petition
of both Houses
sent to the
King, sent
to the General
to be
presented,
but never
delivered.

"WE your Majesties Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, cannot, without great grief, and tenderness of compassion, behold the pressing miseries, the imminent dangers, and the devouring calamities, which extremely threaten, and have partly seized upon both your Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, by the practices of a Party prevailing with your Majesty ; who, by many wicked Plots and Conspiracies have attempted the alteration of the true Religion, and the ancient Government of this Kingdom, and the introducing of Popish Idolatry and Superstition in the Church, and Tyranny and Confusion in the State ; and, for the compassing thereof, have long corrupted your Majesty's Counsels, abused your power, and by suddain and untimely dissolving of former Parliaments, have often hinder'd the reformation, and prevention of those mischiefs ; and being now disabled to avoid the endeavours of this Parliament, by any such means, have Traiterously attempted to overawe the same by Force ; and, in prosecution of their wicked designs, have excited, encouraged, and foster'd, an unnatural Rebellion in *Ireland* ; by which, in a most cruel and outrageous manner, many thousands of your Majesties Subjects there, have been destroyed ; and, by false slanders upon your Parliament, and malicious and unjust Accusations, have endeavour'd to begin the like Massacre Here ; and being, through Gods blessing, therein disappointed, have, as the most mischievous and bloody design of all, drawn
" your

“your Majesty to make War against your Parliament, and
 “good Subjects of this Kingdom, leading in your Person an
 “Army against them, as if you intended, by Conquest, to
 “establish an absolute and unlimited power over them; and
 “by your power, and the countenance of your presence, have
 “ransack’d, spoil’d, imprison’d, and murder’d divers of your
 “people; and, for their better assistance in their wicked de-
 “signs, do seek to bring over the Rebels of *Ireland*, and other
 “Forces beyond the Seas, to joyn with them.

“AND We, finding our selves utterly deprived of your
 “Majesty’s Protection, and the Authors, Counsellors, and
 “Abettors of these mischiefs in greatest power and favour with
 “your Majesty, and defended by You against the Justice, and
 “Authority of your High Court of Parliament; whereby
 “they are grown to that height and insolence, as to manifest
 “their rage and malice against those of the Nobility, and others,
 “who are any whit inclinable to Peace, not without great
 “appearance of danger to your own Royal Person, if you
 “shall not in all things concur with their wicked and Trai-
 “terous courses; have, for the just and necessary defence of
 “the Protestant Religion, of your Majesty’s Person, Crown,
 “and Dignity, of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom,
 “and the Privileges and Power of Parliament, taken up
 “Armes, and appointed and authorised *Robert Earl of Essex*
 “to be Captain General of all the Forces by us raised, and to
 “lead and conduct the same against these Rebels and Traitors,
 “and them to subdue, and bring to condigne punishment;
 “and do most humbly beseech your Majesty to withdraw your
 “Royal presence and countenance from those wicked Per-
 “sons; and, if they shall stand out in defence of their Re-
 “bellious and unlawful attempts, that your Majesty will leave
 “them to be suppress’d by that power, which We have sent
 “against them; and that your Majesty will not mix your own
 “dangers with theirs, but in Peace and Safety, without your
 “Forces, forthwith return to your Parliament; and by their
 “faithful Counsel and Advice, compose the present distem-
 “pers and confusions abounding in both your Kingdoms; and
 “provide for the security and honour of your self, and your
 “Royal Posterity, and the prosperous Estate of all your Sub-
 “jects; wherein if your Majesty please to yield to our most
 “humble, and earnest desires, We do, in the presence of Al-
 “mighty God, profess, that We will receive your Majesty
 “with all honour, yield you all due obedience, and subjection,
 “and faithfully endeavour to secure your Person and Estate
 “from all dangers; and, to the uttermost of our power, to
 “procure and establish to your self, and to your People, all
 “the blessings of a glorious and happy Reign.

BESIDES this, that it might appear, they were nothing jealous or apprehensive of the Peoples defection and revolt from them, whereas before they had made the general desire of the Kingdom the ground, and argument for whatsoever they had done, and had only invited Men to contribute freely what they thought fit, to the charge in hand, without compelling any who were unwilling; they now took notice not only of those who opposed their proceedings, or privately dissuaded other Men from concurring with them, but of those, who either out of fear, or covetousness, or both, had neglected really to contribute; and therefore they boldly published their Votes (which were Laws to the People, or of much

Votes of both Houses for raising and procuring Money.

more Authority) "That all such Persons, as should not contribute to the charge of the Common-wealth, in that time of eminent necessity, should be disarm'd and secured; and that this Vote might be the more terrible, they order'd, the same day, the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London* "to search the Houses, and seise the Armes belonging to some Aldermen, "and other principal substantial Citizens of *London*, whom they named in their Order; "for that it appear'd by the report from their Committee, that they had not contributed, "as they ought, to the charge of the Common-wealth.

BY this means the poorest, and lowest of the People, became Informers against the richest, and most substantial; and the result of searching the Houses and seising the Armes was, the taking away Plate, and things of the greatest Value, and very frequently plundering whatsoever was worth the keeping. They farther appointed, "that the Fines, Rents, and Profits, "of Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans, Deans and Chapters, and "of all Delinquents, who had taken up Armes against the "Parliament, or had been Active in the Commission of Array, "should be sequester'd for the use and benefit of the Common-wealth. And that the King might not fare better than his Adherents, they directed "all his Revenue, arising out "of Rents, Fines in Courts of Justice, Composition for Wards, "and the like, and all other his Revenue should be brought "into the several Courts, and other places, where they ought "to be paid in, and not issued forth, or paid forth, until farther Order should be taken by both Houses of Parliament; without so much as assigning him any part of his Own, towards the support of his own Person.

THIS stout invasion of the Peoples property, and compelling them to part with what was most precious to them, any part of their Estates, was thought by many an unpopular Act, in the morning of their Sovereignty, and that it would wonderfully have irreconciled their new Subjects to them. But the Conductors well understood, that their Empire al-

ready

ready depended more on the Fear, than Love of the People; and that as they could carry on the War only by having Money enough to pay the Soldiers, so, that whilst they had That, probably they should not want Men to recruit their Armies upon any misadventure.

It cannot be imagin'd, how great advantages the King receiv'd by the Parliaments rejecting the King's Messages for Peace, and their manner in doing it. All Men's mouths were open'd against them, the Messages and Answers being read in all Churches; they who could not serve him in their Persons, contrived ways to supply him with Money. Some eminent Governours in the Universities gave him notice that all the Colleges were very plentifully supplied with Plate, which would amount to a good Value, and lay useless in their Treasuries, there being enough besides for their Common Use; and there was not the least doubt, but that whensoever his Majesty should think fit to require that Treasure, it would all be sent to him. Of this the King had long thought, and, when he was at *Nottingham*, in that Melancholick season, two Gentlemen were dispatch'd away to *Oxford*, and to *Cambridge* (two to each) with Letters to the several Vice-Chancellors, that they should move the Heads, and Principals of the several Colleges and Halls, that they would send their Plate to the King; private advertisements being first sent to some trusty Persons to prepare, and dispose those, without whose consent the service could not be perform'd.

THIS whole affair was transacted with so great secrecy, and discretion, that the Messengers return'd from the two Universities, in as short a time as such a Journey could well be made; and brought with them all, or very near all their Plate, and a considerable Sum of Money, which was sent as a Present to his Majesty from several of the Heads of Colleges, out of their own particular Stores; some Scholars coming with it, and helping to procure Horses and Carts for the service; all which came safe to *Nottingham*, at the time when there appear'd no more expectation of a Treaty, and contributed much to raising the dejected Spirits of the place. The Plate was presently weighed out, and deliver'd to the several Officers, who were entrusted to make Levies of Horse and Foot, and who receiv'd it as Money, the rest was carefully preserv'd to be carried with the King, when he should remove from thence; secret Orders being sent to the Officers of the Mint, to be ready to come to his Majesty as soon as he should require them, which he meant to do, as soon as he should find himself in a place convenient. There was now no more complaining or murmuring. Some Gentlemen undertook to make Levies upon their Credit, and Interest, and others sent Money to the King upon their own Inclinations.

T H E R E

The two Universities contributed their Money and Plate to the King.

THERE was a pleasant Story, then much spoken of in the Court, which administer'd some Mirth. There were two great Men who liv'd near *Nottingham*, both Men of great Fortunes and of great Parsimony, and known to have much Money lying by them. To the former the Lord *Capel* was sent, to the latter, *John Ashburnham* of the Bed-Chamber, and of entire confidence with his Master; each of them with a Letter, all written with the King's hand, to borrow of each ten or five thousand pounds. *Capel* was very civilly receiv'd by One, and entertain'd as well as the ill accommodations in his House, and his manner of living would admit. He express'd, with wonderful civil professions of duty, "the great trouble he sustain'd, in not being able to comply with his Majesty's Commands: He said, "all Men knew that he neither had, nor could have Money, because he had every year, of ten or a dozen which were past, purchased a thousand pounds Land a year; and therefore he could not be imagin'd to have any Money lying by him, which he never lov'd to have. But, he said, he had a Neighbour, who liv'd within few Miles of him, who was good for nothing, and liv'd like a Hog, not allowing himself Necessaries, and who could not have so little as twenty thousand pounds in the scurvy House in which he liv'd; and advis'd, "he might be sent to, who could not deny the having of Money; and concluded with great duty to the King, and detestation of the Parliament, and as if he meant to consider farther of the thing, and to endeavour to get some Money for him, which though he did not remember to send, his affections were good, and he was afterwards kill'd in the King's Service.

ASHBURNHAM got no more Money, nor half so many good words. That Lord had so little correspondence with the Court, that he had never heard his Name, and when he had read the King's Letter, he asked from whom it was; and when he told him, "he saw it was from the King, he replied, "that he was not such a fool as to believe it. That he had receiv'd Letters both from the King and his Father; and hastily running out of the Room, return'd with half a dozen Letters in his hand; saying, "that those were all the King's Letters, and that they always begun with *Right Trusty and Well beloved*, and the King's Name was ever at the Top; "but this Letter begun with his own Name, and ended with "your loving friend C. R. which, he said, he was sure, could not be the King's hand. His other treatment was according to this, and after an ill Supper, he was shew'd an indifferent bed; the Lord telling him, "that he would confer more of the matter in the morning; he having sent a Servant with a Letter to the Lord *Falkland*, who was his Wifes Nephew, and

and who had scarce ever seen his Uncle. The Man came to Nottingham about Midnight, and found my Lord *Falkland* in his Bed. The Letter was to tell him, "that one *Ashtburnham* was with him, who brought him a Letter, which he said was from the King; but he knew that could not be; and therefore he desired to know, who this Man was, whom he kept in his House till the Messenger should return. In spite of the laughter, which could not be forborne, the Lord *Falkland* made hast to inform him of the Condition and Quality of the Person, and that the Letter was writ with the King's own hand, which he seldom vouchsafed to do. And the Messenger returning early the next morning, his Lordship treated Mr *Ashtburnham* with so different a respect, that he, who knew nothing of the cause, believ'd, that he should return with all the Money that was desired. But it was not long before he was undeceiv'd. The Lord with as chearful a Countenance as His could be, for he had a very unusual and unpleasant face, told him, "that though he had no Money Himself, but was in extreme want of it, he would tell him where he might have Money enough; that he had a Neighbour, who liv'd within four or five Miles, that never did good to any body, and lov'd no body but himself, who had a world of Money, and could furnish the King with as much as he had need of, and if he should deny that he had Money when the King sent to him, he knew were he had one Trunk full, and would discover it; and that he was so ill belov'd and had so few friends, that no body would care how the King used him. This good Counsel was all Mr *Ashtburnham* could make of him: and yet this wretched Man was so far from wishing well to the Parliament, that when they had prevail'd, and were possessed of the whole Kingdom, as well as of Nottingham-shire, he would not give them one penny; nor compound for his Delinquency, as they made the having liv'd in the King's Quarters to be; but suffer'd his whole Estate to be sequester'd, and liv'd in a very miserable fashion, only by what he could ravish from his Tenants; who, though they paid their Rents to the Parliament, were forced by his rage and threats to part with so much as kept him, till he died, in that condition he chose to live in: His conscience being powerful enough to deny Himself, though it could not dispose him to grant to the King. And thus the two Messengers return'd to the King, so near the same time, that he who came first, had not given his account to the King, before the other enter'd into his presence.

THE same day, a Gentleman in those parts, known to be very rich, being press'd to lend the King five hundred pounds, sent him a present of one hundred pieces in Gold; which, he said,

“said, he had procured with great difficulty; and protested
 “with many execrable imprecations, that he had never in his
 “life seen five hundred pounds of his own together; when
 within one Month after the King’s departure, the Parliament
 Troops, which borrow’d in another stile, took five thousand
 pounds from him, which was lodged with him, in the Chamber
 in which he lay. Which is therefore mention’d in this
 place, that upon this occasion it may be seen, that the un-
 thrifty retention of their Money, which possessed the spirits
 of those, who did really wish the King all the success he wish’d
 for himself, was one unhappy cause of all his misfortunes;
 and if they had, in the beginning, but lent the King the fifth
 part of what, after infinite losses, they found necessary to sa-
 crifice to his Enemies, in the conclusion, to preserve themselves
 from total ruin, his Majesty had been able, with Gods blessing,
 to have preserv’d Them, and to have destroyed all his En-
 mies.

THE news of the important advantage before *Worcester*
 found the King at *Chester*, whither his Majesty thought ne-
 cessary to make a Journey himself, as soon as he came to *Shrews-*
bury, both to assure that City to his Service, which was the
 Key to *Ireland*, and to countenance the Lord *Strange*, (who
 by the death of his Father, became Earl of *Derby*) against
 some opposition he met with, on the behalf of the Parliament.
 Here *Crane*, sent by Prince *Rupert*, gave his Majesty an Ac-
 count of that Action; and presented him with the Ensigns,
 which had been taken; and inform’d him of the Earl of *Es-*
sex’s being in *Worcester*; which made the King return sooner
 to *Shrewsbury* than he intended, and before the Earl of *Derby*
 was possess’d of that power, which a little longer stay would
 have given him.

PRINCE *Rupert* the same Night, after his Victory, finding
 the gross of the Rebels Army to be within five or six miles,
 against which that City was in no degree Tenable, though
 all the King’s Foot had been there, retir’d from *Worcester* on
 the *Welsh* side of the River, without any disturbance, into his
 Quarters near *Shrewsbury*, and with all his Prisoners, Colonel
Sandys only excepted, whom he left to dye of his wounds
 there; the Earl of *Essex* being so much startled with this late
 Defeat, that he advanced not in two days after; and then
 being surely inform’d, that he should find no resistance, he
 enter’d with his Army into *Worcester*; using great severity to
 those Citizens, who had been Eminently inclined to the King’s
 Service, and sending the principal of them Prisoners to *London*.

UPON the King’s coming to *Shrewsbury*, there was a very
 great conflux of the Gentry there, and the Neighbouring
 Counties, which were generally well affected, and made
 great

The King
 comes to
 Shrews-
 bury.

great professions of Duty to his Majesty: some of them undertook to make Levies of Horse and Foot, and perform'd it at their own Charge. The Town was very Commodious in all respects, strong in it's Situation; and in respect of it's Neighbourhood to North *Wales*, and the use of the *Severn*, yielded excellent Provisions of all kinds; so that both Court and Army were very well Accommodated, only the incurable distaste of want of Money could not be asswaged in either. Yet whilst they sat still, it was not very sensible, much less important. The Soldiers behaved themselves orderly, and the People were not inclin'd, or provoked to complain of their new Guests; and the remainder of the Plate, which was brought from the Universities, together with the small presents in Money, which were made to the King by many particular Persons, supplied the present necessary Expences very conveniently. But it was easily discern'd, that, when the Army should move, which the King resolv'd it should do with all possible Expedition, the necessity of Money would be very great, and the Train of Artillery, which is commonly a Sponge that can hardly be filled, was destitute of all things necessary for motion. Nor was there any hope that it could march, till a good Sum of Money were assign'd to it; some Carriage-Horses, and Waggon, which were prepared for the service of *Ireland*, and lay ready at *Chester*, to be transported with the Earl of *Leicester*, Lieutenant of that Kingdom, were brought to *Shrewsbury*, by his Majesty's Order, for his own Train: And the Earls passionate labouring to prevent, or remedy that Application, with some other reasons, hinder'd the Earl himself from pursuing that Journey; and, in the end, depriv'd him of that Province. But this seasonable addition to the Train encreas'd the necessity of Money, there being more use of it thereby.

Two Expedients were found to make such a competent provision for all wants, that they were at last broken through. Some Person of that inclination had insinuated to the King, that, "if the Roman Catholicks, which that, and the adjacent Counties were well inhabited by, were secretly treated with, a considerable Sum of Money might be rais'd among them; but it must be carried with great privacy, that no notice might be taken of it, the Parliament having declared so great Animosities against them; nor did it in that conjuncture concern the King less that it should be very secret, to avoid the scandal of a close conjunction with the Papists, which was every day imputed to Him. Upon many Consultations how, and in what method to carry on this Design, the King was inform'd, "that if he would depute a Person, much trusted by Him, to that Service, the Roman Catho-

"licks

“licks would trust him, and assign one or two of their Body
 “to confer with him, and by this means the work might be
 “carried on. Hereupon the King sent for that Person, and
 told him this whole matter, as it is here set down, and re-
 quired him to consult with such a Person, whom he would
 send to him the next Morning. The next Morning a Person
 of Quality very much trusted by all that Party, came to him
 to confer upon that subject; and shewed a list of the Names
 of all the Gentlemen of Quality and Fortune of that Reli-
 gion, who were all Convict Recusants, and liv’d within those
 Counties of *Shropshire* and *Stafford*. They appear’d to be a
 good Number of very valuable Men, on whole behalf he had
 only Authority to conclude, though he believ’d that the meth-
 od, they agreed on there, would be submitted to, and con-
 firm’d by that Party in all other places. He said “they
 “would by no means hearken to any motion for the Loan of
 “Money, for which they had paid so dear, upon their serving
 “the King in that manner, in his first Expedition against the
 “*Scots*. It was in the end agreed upon, that the King should write
 to every one of them to pay him an advance of two, or three
 Years of such Rent, as they were every Year oblig’d to pay him,
 upon the composition they had made with him for their Estates;
 which would amount to a considerable Sum of Money. And
 these Letters were accordingly writ, and within ten or twelve
 days, between four and five thousand pounds were return’d to
 his Majesty; which was a seasonable supply for his Affairs.

At his return to *Shrewsbury*, the King found as much done
 towards his March, as he expected. And then the other Ex-
 pedient (which was hinted before) for Money offer’d it self.
 There was a Gentleman of a very good Extraction, and of the
 best Estate of any Gentleman of that Country, who liv’d
 within four or five miles of *Shrewsbury*, and was looked upon as
 a very prudent Man, and had a very powerful Influence upon
 that People, and was of undoubted Affections and Loyalty to
 the King, and to the Government both in Church, and State:
 his Eldest Son was a young Gentleman of great Expectation,
 and of excellent Parts, a Member of the House of Commons,
 who had behaved himself there very well. This Gentleman
 intimated to a friend of his, “That, if his Father might be
 “made a Baron, he did believe he might be prevail’d with, to
 “present his Majesty with a good Sum of Money. It was pro-
 posed to the King, who had no mind to embrace the propo-
 sition, his Majesty taking occasion often to speak against
 “making Merchandize of Honour; how much the Crown
 “suffer’d at present by the Licence of that kind, which had
 “been used during the Favour of the Duke of *Buckingham*;
 “and that he had not taken a firmer Resolution against many
 “things,

"things, than against this particular Expedient for raising Money. However, after he return'd from *Chester*, and found by the increase of his Levies, and the good disposition all things were in, that he might in a short time be able to March, and in so good a Condition, that he should rather seek the Rebels, than decline meeting with them, if the indispensable want of Money did not make his motion impossible; the Merit and Ability of the Person, and the fair expectation from his Posterity, he having two Sons, both very hopeful, prevail'd with his Majesty to resume the same overture; and in few days it was perfected, and the Gentleman was made a Baron; who presented the Sum of six thousand pounds to his Majesty; whereupon all preparations for the Army were prosecuted with effect.

AS SOON as the King came to *Shrewsbury*, he had dispatched his Letters and Agents into *Wales*, *Cheeshire*, and *Lancashire*, to quicken the Levies of Men which were making there, and return'd from *Chester* through the North part of *Wales*, (where he found the People Cordial to him, and Arming themselves for him) to *Shrewsbury*. The King's custom was in all Counties, through which he pass'd, to cause the High Sheriff to draw all the Gentlemen, and the most substantial Inhabitants of those parts together, to whom (besides his Caressing the principal Gentlemen severally, familiarly, and very obligingly) he always spoke something publickly (which was afterwards Printed) telling them,

"THAT it was a benefit to him from the Insolencies and Misfortunes, which had driven him about, that they had brought him to so good a part of his Kingdom, and to so faithful a part of his People. He hoped, neither They, nor He should repent their coming together. He would do His part, that they might not; and of Them he was confident before he came. He told them, "the Residence of an Army was not usually pleasant to any place; and His might carry more fear with it, since it might be thought (being robbed, and spoiled of all his own, and such Terror used to fright and keep all Men from supplying him) he must only live upon the Aid and Relief of his People. But he bid them not be afraid; and said, "he wished to God, his poor Subjects suffer'd no more by the Insolence, and Violence of that Army raised against him, though they had made themselves wanton with Plenty, than they should do by His; and yet he feared he should not be able to prevent all Disorders; he would do his best; and promised them, no Man should be a loser by him if he could help it. He said "he had sent for a Mint, and would melt down all his own Plate, and expose all his Land to Sale, or mortgage, that he might

"bring

The substance of the King's Speeches to the Gentry and Commonalty of the several Counties through which he passed.

“bring the least pressure upon them. However, he invited them “to do that for him, and themselves, for the maintenance of their Religion, and the Law of the Land (by which they enjoyed all that they had) which other Men did against them; he desired them, “not to suffer so good a Cause to be lost, for want of supplying him with that, which would be taken from them, by those who pursued his Majesty with that Violence. And whilst those ill Men sacrificed their Money, Plate, and utmost Industry, to destroy the Common-wealth, They would be no less liberal to Preserve it. He bid them assure themselves, if it pleased God to bless him with Success, he would remember the Assistance every particular Man gave him to his advantage. However it would hereafter (how furiously soever the minds of some Men were now possessed) be Honour and Comfort to them, that with some charge and trouble to themselves, they had done Their part to Support their King and Preserve the Kingdom.

His Majesty always took notice of any particular reports, which, either with reference to the publick, or their private concerns, might make impression upon that People, and gave clear Answers to them. With this gracious and Princely demeanour, it is hardly credible how much he won upon the People; so that not only his Army daily encreased by Volunteers (for there was not a Man pressed) but such proportions of Plate, and Money, were voluntarily brought in, that the Army was fully and constantly paid: the King having erected a Mint at *Shrewsbury*, more for reputation than use (For, for want of Work-men, and Instruments, they could not Coyn a thousand pounds a week) and causing all his own Plate, for the Service of his Household, to be deliver’d there, made other Men think, theirs was the less worth the preserving.

SHORTLY after the Earl of *Essex* came to *Worcester*, he sent a Gentleman (*Fleetwood*, the same who had afterwards so great power in the Army, but then a Trooper in his Guards) to *Shrewsbury*, without a Trumpet, or any other ceremony than a Letter to the Earl of *Dorset*; in which he said, “he was appointed by the Parliament, to cause a Petition, then “in his hands, to be presented to his Majesty; and therefore “desired his Lordship to know his Majesty’s pleasure, when “he would be pleased to receive it from such Persons, as he “should send over with it. The Earl of *Dorset* (by his Majesty’s command, after it had been debated in Council what Answer to return) sent him word in writing, “that the King “had always been, and would be still ready to receive any “Petition from his two Houses of Parliament; and if the “Earl had any such to be presented, if he sent it by any Per-

sons,

"sons, who stood not Personally accused by his Majesty of High Treason, and excepted specially in all offers of Pardon made by him, the Persons who brought it should be welcome; and the King would return such an Answer to it, as should be agreeable to Honour, and Justice. Whether this limitation as to Messengers displeased them (as it was afterwards said, that the Messengers appointed to have deliver'd it were the Lord *Mandevil*, and Mr *Hambden*, who they thought, would have skill to make insinuations into many Persons then about his Majesty; and the hopes of that access being barred by that limitation, and exception, they would not send any other) or what other reason soever there was, the King heard no more of this Petition, or any Address of that Nature, till he found, by some new printed Votes, and Declarations, "that he was guilty of another breach of the Privilege of Parliament, for having refused to receive their Petition, except it were presented in such a manner as He prescribed: Whereas They alone were Judges in what manner, and by what Persons their own Petitions should be deliver'd, and he ought so to receive them. So that Petition which is before set down in the very terms it pass'd both Houses, was never deliver'd to his Majesty.

THERE cannot be too often mention of the wonderful Providence of God, that from that low despised condition the King was in at *Nottingham*, after the setting up his Standard, he should be able to get Men, Money, or Armes, so that, within twenty days after his coming to *Shrewsbury*, he resolv'd to march, in despite of the Enemy, even towards *London*; his Foot, by this time, consisting of about six thousand; and his Horse of two thousand; his Train in very good order, commanded by *St John Heydon*. And though this strength was much inferior to the Enemy, yet as it was greater than any Man thought possible to be rais'd, so all thought it sufficient to encounter the Rebels. Besides that it was confidently believ'd (and not without some grounds, upon correspondence with some Officers in the other Army) that, as soon as the Armies came within any reasonable distance of each other, very many Soldiers would leave their Colours, and come to the King; which expectation was confirm'd by divers Soldiers, who every day dropped in from those Forces; and, to make themselves welcome, told many Stories of their Fellow's resolutions, whom they had left behind.

AND this must be confess'd, that either by the care and diligence of the Officers, or by the good inclinations, and temper of the Soldiers themselves, the Army was in so good order and discipline, that, during the King's stay at *Shrewsbury*, there was not any remarkable disorder; the Country being

*The strength
of the King's
Army at
Shrews-
bury.*

very kind to the Soldiers, and the Soldiers just, and regardful to the Country. And by the free Loans, and Contributions of the Gentlemen, and Substantial Inhabitants, but especially by the assistance of the Nobility, who attended, the Army was so well paid, that there was not the least mutiny or discontent for want of pay; nor was there any cause; for they seldom failed every week, never went above a fortnight unpaid.

THE greatest difficulty was to provide Armes; of which indeed there was a wonderful scarcity, the King being exceedingly disappointed in his expectation of Armes from *Holland*; a Vessel or two having been taken by his own Ships, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*; so that, except eight hundred Musquets, five hundred pair of Pistols, and two hundred Swords, which came with the Powder, landed in *York-shire*, as is before mention'd, the King had none in his Magazine; so that he was compell'd to begin at *Nottingham*, and so in all places as he passed, to borrow the Armes from the Train'd-bands; which was done with so much wariness and caution (albeit it was known that those Armes would, being left in those hands, be employed against him, or at least be of no use to him) that it was done rather with their consent, than by any constraint, and always with the full approbation of their Commanders. And therefore in *York-shire*, and *Shrop-shire*, where the Gentlemen very unskilfully, though with good meaning, desired that the Armes might still be left in the Country Men's hands, there was none of that kind of borrowing. But, in all places, the Noblemen, and Gentlemen of Quality, sent the King such supplies of Armes, out of their own Armories (which were very mean) so that by all those Means together, the Foot, all but three or four hundred, who marched without any Weapon but a Cudgel, were Arm'd with Musquets, and Bags for their Powder, and Pike's; but, in the whole Body, there was not a Pikeman had a Corslet, and very few Musqueteers who had Swords. Among the Horse, the Officers had their full desire, if they were able to procure old Backs, and Breasts, and Pots with Pistols, or Carabines, for their two or three first Ranks, and Swords for the rest; themselves (and some Soldiers by their examples) having gotten, besides their Pistols and Swords, a short Pole-Ax.

THE Foot were divided into three Brigades; the first commanded by *Sr Nicholas Byron*, the second by Colonel *Harry Wentworth*, the third by Colonel *Richard Fielding*, *Sr Jacob Astley* being Major General, and commanding the Foot immediately under the General. For, though General *Ruthen*, who came to the King some few days before he left *Shrewsbury*, was made Field Marshal, yet he kept wholly with the Horse

to

to assist Prince *Rupert*: And *Sr Arthur Aston*, of whose Sol-
diery there was a very great esteem, was made Colonel Gene-
ral of the Dragoons; which at that time, though consisting
of two or three Regiments, were not above eight hundred,
or a thousand at the most. Most of the Persons of Quality,
except those whose attendance was near the King's own Per-
son, put themselves into the King's Troop of Guards, com-
manded by the Lord *Bernard Stewart*; and made indeed so
gallant a Body, that, upon very modest computation, the
Estate, and Revenue of that single Troop, it was thought,
might justly be valued at least equal to all theirs, who then
Voted in both Houses, under the name of the Lords and Com-
mons of Parliament, which made and maintain'd that War.
Their Servants, under the command of *Sr William Killigrew*,
made another full Troop, and always marched with their Lords
and Masters.

IN this equipage the King marched from *Shrewsbury*, on the
12th of *October* to *Bridgenorth*, never less baggage attending a
Royal Army, there being not one Tent, and very few Wag-
gons belonging to the whole Train; having in his whole
Army not one Officer of the Field who was a Papist, except
Sr Arthur Aston, if He were one; and very few common
Soldiers of that Religion. However the Parliament, in all
their Declarations, and their Clergy much more in their Ser-
mons, assured the People, "that the King's Army consisted
"only of Papists, whilst themselves entertain'd all of that
Religion, that they could get; and very many, both Officers
and Soldiers, of that Religion engaged with them; whether
it was that they really believ'd, that That Army did desire Li-
berty of Conscience for all Religions, as some of the chief of
them pretended, or that they desired to divide themselves for
communication of Intelligence, and Interest. And here it is
not fit to forget one particular, that when the Committee of
Parliament appointed to advance the service upon the Pro-
position for Plate, and Horses, in the County of *Suffolk*, sent
word to the House of Commons, "that some Papists offer'd
"to lend Money upon those Propositions, and desired advice
"whether they should accept of it, it was Answer'd, "that if
"they offer'd any considerable Sum, whereby it might be con-
"ceiv'd to proceed from a real affection to the Parliament,
"and not out of Policy to bring themselves within their Pro-
"tection, and so to excuse their Delinquency, it should be
"accepted of.

WHEN the King was ready for his march, there was some
difference of opinion which way he should take; many were
of opinion that he should march towards *Worcester*, where
the Earl of *Essex* still remain'd; those Countries were thought

The King
having
form'd an
Army
marches
from
Shrews-
bury so-
wards Lon-
don.

well affected to the King; where his Army would be supplied with provisions, and encreased in Numbers; and that no time should be lost in coming to a Battle; because the longer it was deferred, the stronger the Earl would grow, by the supplies which were every day sent to him from *London*; and he had store of Armes with him to supply all defects of that kind. However it was thought more counselable to march directly towards *London*, it being morally sure, that the Earl of *Essex* would put himself in their way. The King had much confidence in his Horse (his Nephew Prince *Rupert* being in the head of them) which were flesh'd by their success at *Worcester*; and if he had made his march that way, he would have been entangled in the inclosures, where his Horse would have been less useful; whereas there were many open grounds near the other way, much fitter for an Engagement. And so, about the middle of *October*, the King march'd from *Shrewsbury*, and quarter'd that night at *Bridge-north*, ten Miles from the other place, where there was a Rendezvous of the whole Army, which appear'd very chearful; and thence to *Wolverhampton*, *Bromicham*, and *Killingworth*, a House of the Kings, and a very noble Seat, where the King rested one day; where the Lord Chief Justice *Heath*, who was made Chief Justice for that purpose (*Bramston*, a Man of great Learning and Integrity, being, without any purpose of disfavour, removed from that Office, because he stood bound by Recognizance to attend the Parliament, upon an accusation depending there against him) begun to sit upon a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, to attainat the Earl of *Essex*, and many other Persons who were in Rebellion, of High Treason.

SOME days had passed without any notice of that Army; some reporting that it remain'd still at *Worcester*, others, that they were march'd the direct way from thence towards *London*. But Intelligence came from *London*, "that very many Officers of Name, and Command in the Parliament Army, had undergone that service with a full resolution to come to the King as soon as they were within any distance; and it was wish'd, that the King would send a Proclamation into the Army it self, and to offer pardon to all who would return to their obedience. A Proclamation was prepared accordingly, and all circumstances resolv'd upon, that a Herald should be sent to proclaim it in the Head of the Earl's Army, when it should be drawn up in Battle. But that, and many other particulars, prepared and resolv'd upon, were forgotten, or omitted at the time appointed, which would not admit any of those formalities.

WHEN the whole Army marched together, there was quickly

quickly discover'd an unhappy jealousy, and division between the principal Officers, which grew quickly into a perfect Faction between the Foot and the Horse. The Earl of *Lindsey* was General of the whole Army by his Commission, and thought very equal to it. But when Prince *Rupert* came to the King, which was after the Standard was set up, and receiv'd a Commission to be General of the Horse, which, all Men knew, was design'd for him, there was a clause inserted into it, exempting him from receiving Orders from any Body but from the King himself; which, upon the matter, separated all the Horse from any dependence upon the General, and had other ill consequences in it: for when the King at midnight, being in his Bed, and receiving Intelligence of the Enemies motion, commanded the Lord *Falkland*, his principal Secretary of State, to direct Prince *Rupert*, what he should do, his Highness took it very ill, and expostulated with the Lord *Falkland*, for giving him Orders. He could not have directed his passion against any Man, who would feel or regard it less. He told him, "that it was his office to signify what the King bid him; which he should always do; and that his Highness, in neglecting it, neglected the King; who did neither the Prince, nor his own service any good, by complying in the beginning with his rough Nature. But the King was so indulgent to him, that he took his advice in all things relating to the Army, and upon the deliberation of their march, and the figure of the Battle they resolv'd to fight in with the Enemy, he concurr'd entirely with Prince *Rupert's* advice, rejecting the opinion of the General, who prefer'd the order he had learn'd under Prince *Maurice*, and Prince *Harry*, with whom he had serv'd at the same time, when the Earl of *Essex* and he, both of them, had Regiments. The reservedness of the Prince's Nature, and the little education he then had in Courts, made him unapt to make acquaintance with any of the Lords, who were thereby likewise discouraged from applying themselves to Him; whilst some Officers of the Horse were well pleased to observe that strangeness, and fomented it; believing Their credit would be the greater with the Prince, and desiring that no other Person should have any credit with the King. So the War was scarce begun, when there appear'd such Faction and Designs in the Army, which wise Men look'd upon as a very evil Prefage; and the inconveniencies, which flow'd from thence, gave the King great trouble in a short time after.

WITHIN two days after the King marched from *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Essex* moved from *Worcester* to attend him, with an Army far Superior in Number to the Kings; the Horse and Foot being completely arm'd, and the Men very

well exercised, and the whole equipage (being supplied out of the King's Magazines) suitable to an Army set forth at the charge of a Kingdom. The Earl of *Bedford* had the Name of General of the Horse, though that Command principally depended upon *Sr William Balfour*. Of the Nobility he had with him the Lords *Kimbolton*, *Saint-John*, *Wharton*, *Roberts*, and the Lords *Rockford*, and *Fielding* (whose Fathers, the Earls of *Dover*, and *Denbigh*, charged as Volunteers in the King's Guards of Horse) and many Gentlemen of Quality; but his Train was so very great, that he could move but in slow marches. So that the two Armies, though they were but twenty miles asunder, when they first set forth, and both march'd the same way, gave not the least disquiet in ten days march to each other; and in truth, as it appear'd afterwards, neither Army knew where the other was.

THE King by quick marches, having seldom rested a day in any place, came, on *Saturday* the 22^d of *October*, to *Edgcot* a Village in *Northampton-shire*, within four Miles of *Banbury*, in which the Rebels had a Garrison. As soon as he came thither he called a Council of War, and having no Intelligence that the Earl of *Essex* was within any distance, it was resolv'd, "the King and the Army should rest in those Quarters the next day, only that *Sr Nicholas Byron* should march with his Brigade, and attempt the taking in of *Banbury*. With this Resolution the Council Broke up, and all Men went to their Quarters, which were at a great distance, without any apprehension of an Enemy. But that night, about twelve of the Clock, Prince *Rupert* sent the King word, "that the Body of the Rebel's Army was within seven or eight Miles, and "that the head Quarter was at a Village call'd *Keinton* on the Edge of *Warwick-shire*; and that it would be in his Majesty's power, if he thought fit, to fight a Battle the next day; which his Majesty liked well, and therefore immediately dispatched Orders to cross the design for *Banbury*, "and "that the whole Army should draw to a Rendezvous on the top of *Edge-Hill*; which was a high Hill about two Miles from *Keinton*, where the head Quarter of the Earl was, which had a clear prospect of all that Valley.

The Battle
of Keinton
or Edge-
hill.

IN the morning being *Sunday* the 23^d of *October*, when the Rebels were beginning their March (for they suspected not the King's Forces to be near) they perceiv'd a fair Body of Horse on the top of that Hill, and easily concluded their march was not then to be far. It is certain they were exceedingly surpris'd, having never had any other confidence of their Men, than by the disparity they concluded would be still between Their Numbers, and the King's, the which they found themselves now deceiv'd in. For two of their strongest
and

and best Regiments of Foot, and one Regiment of Horse, was a days march behind with their Ammunition. So that, though they were still superior in Number, yet that difference was not so great as they promised themselves. However it cannot be denied that the Earl, with great dexterity, perform'd whatsoever could be expected from a Wise General. He chose that ground which best liked him. There was between the Hill and the Town a fair Campaigne, save that near the Town it was narrower, and on the right hand some Hedges, and Inclosures: so that there he placed Musqueteers, and not above two Regiments of Horse, where the ground was narrowest; but on his left Wing he placed a Body of a thousand Horse, commanded by one *Ramsay* a *Scotch*-man; the Reserve of Horse, which was a good one, was commanded by the Earl of *Bedford*, General of their Horse, and *Sr William Balfour* with him. The General Himself was with the Foot, which were order'd as much to advantage as might be. And in this posture they stood from eight of the Clock in the morning.

ON the other side, though Prince *Rupert* was early in the morning with the greatest part of the Horse on the top of the Hill, which gave the Enemy the first Alarm of the necessity of fighting, yet the Foot were quarter'd at so great a distance, that many Regiments marched seven or eight Miles to the Rendezvous: so that it was past one of the Clock, before the King's Forces marched down the Hill; the General himself alighted at the head of his own Regiment of Foot, his Son the Lord *Willoughby* being next to him, with the King's Regiment of Guards, in which was the King's Standard carried by *Sr Edmund Verney*, Knight Marshal. The King's right Wing of Horse was Commanded by Prince *Rupert*, the left Wing by *Mr Wilmot* Commissary General of the Horse, who was assisted by *Sr Arthur Aston* with most of the Dragoons, because that left Wing was opposed to the Enemies right, which had the shelter of some Hedges lined with Musqueteers: and the Reserve was committed to *Sr John Byron*, and consisted indeed only of his own Regiment. At the entrance into the Field, the King's Troop of Guards, either provoked by some unseasonable Scoffs among the Soldiery, or out of desire of Glory, or both, besought the King, "that he would give them leave to be absent that day from his Person, and to charge in the Front among the Horse, the which his Majesty consented to. They desir'd Prince *Rupert* "to give them that honour which belonged to them; who accordingly assign'd them the first place; which, though they perform'd their parts with admirable Courage, may well be reckon'd among the oversights of that day.

IT was near three of the Clock in the afternoon, before the Battle begun; which, at that time of the year, was so late, that some were of opinion, "that the business should be deferred till the next day. But against that there were many objections, "the King's Numbers could not encrease, the Enemies might; for they had not only their Garrisons, *Warwick, Coventry, and Banbury* within distance, but all that Country so devoted to them, that they had all Provisions brought to them, without the least trouble; whereas, on the other side, the People were so disaffected to the King's Party, that they had carried away, or hid all their Provisions, inasmuch as there was neither Meat for Man, or Horse; and the very Smiths hid themselves, that they might not be compell'd to shoe Horses, of which in those stony ways there was great need. This proceeded not from any radical malice, or disaffection to the King's Cause, or his Person, though it is true, that circuit in which this Battle was fought, being very much in the Interest of the Lord *Sey*, and the Lord *Brooke*, was the most eminently corrupted of any County in *England*; but by the reports, and insinuations which the other very diligent Party had wrought into the People's belief; "that the Cavaliers "were of a fierce, bloody, and licentious disposition, and that "they committed all manner of cruelty upon the Inhabitants "of those places where they came, of which, robbery was the "least: so that the poor People thought there was no other way to preserve their goods, than by hiding them out of the way; which was confess'd by them, when they found how much that information had wronged them, by making them so injurious to their Friends. And therefore where the Army rested a day they found much better entertainment at parting, than when they came; for it will not be denied, that there was no Person of Honour or Quality, who paid not punctually and exactly for what they had; and there was not the least violence or disorder among the Common Soldiers in their march, which escap'd exemplary punishment, so that at *Bro-micham*, a Town so generally wicked, that it had risen upon small Parties of the King's, and kill'd, or taken them Prisoners, and sent them to *Coventry*, declaring a more peremptory malice to his Majesty than any other place, two Soldiers were executed, for having taken some small trifle of no value out of a House, whose owner was at that time in the Rebel's Army. So strict was the discipline in this Army; when the other, without controul, practis'd all the dissoluteness imaginable. But the march was so fast, that the leaving a good Reputation behind them, was no Harbinger to provide for their better Reception in the next Quarters. So that their wants were so great, at the time when they came to *Edge-hill*,

Edge-hill, that there were very many Companies of the Common Soldiers, who had scarce eaten Bread in eight and forty hours before. The only way to cure this was a Victory; and therefore the King gave the Word, though it was late, the Enemy keeping their ground to receive him without Advancing at all.

IN this hurry, there was an omission of somewhat, which the King intended to have executed before the beginning of the Battle. He had caused many Proclamations to be printed of Pardon to all those Soldiers who would lay down their Armes, which he resolv'd, as is said before, to have sent by a Herald to the Earl of *Essex*, and to have found ways to have scatter'd, and dispers'd them in that Army, as soon as he understood they were within any distance of him. But all Men were now so much otherwise busied, that it was not soon enough remember'd; and when it was, the Proclamations were not at hand; which, by that which follows, might probably have produced a good effect. For as the right Wing of the King's Horse advanced to Charge the left Wing, which was the gros of the Enemy's Horse, *Sr Faithful Fortescue* (who, having his Fortune and Interest in *Ireland*, was come out of that Kingdom to hasten supplies thither, and had a Troop of Horse raised for him for that Service, but as many other of those Forces were, so his Troop was likewise disposed into that Army, and he was now Major to *Sr William Waller*; He) with his whole Troop advanced from the gros of their Horse, and discharging all their Pistols on the ground, within little more than Carabine shot of his own Body, presented Himself, and his Troop to Prince *Rupert*; and immediately, with his Highness, charged the Enemy. Whether this sudden Accident, as it might very well, and the not knowing how many more were of the same mind, each Man looking upon his Companion with the same apprehension as upon the Enemy, or whether the terror of Prince *Rupert*, and the King's Horse, or all together, with their own evil Consciences, wrought upon them, I know not, but that whole Wing, having unskilfully discharg'd their Carabines and Pistols into the Air, wheel'd about, the King's Horse charging in the flank and rear, and having thus absolutely routed them, pursued them flying; and had the execution of them above two Miles.

THE left Wing, commanded by *Mr Wilmot*, had as good success, though they were to charge in worse ground, among hedges, and through gaps and ditches, which were lined with Mulqueteers. But *Sr Arthur Aston*, with great Courage and Dexterity, beat off those Mulqueteers with his Dragons; and then the right Wing of their Horse was as easily routed and

and dispersed as their left, and those follow'd the Chase as furiously as the other. The Reserve seeing none of the Enemy's Horse left, thought there was nothing more to be done, but to pursue those that fled; and could not be contain'd by their Commanders; but with Spurs, and loose Rains follow'd the Chase, which their left Wing had led them. And by this means, whilst most Men thought the Victory unquestionable, the King was in danger of the same Fate which his Predecessor *Henry* the third, had at the Battle of *Lewes* against his Barons; when his Son the Prince, having Routed their Horse, follow'd the Chase so far, that, before his return to the Field, his Father was taken Prisoner; and so his Victory serv'd only to make the Misfortunes of that day the more intolerable. For all the King's Horse having thus left the Field, many of them only following the Execution, others intending the Spoil in the Town of *Keinton*, where all the Baggage was, and the Earl of *Essex's* own Coach, which was taken, and brought away; their Reserve, Commanded by *St William Balfour*, moved up and down the Field in good Order, and marching towards the King's Foot pretended to be Friends, till observing no Horse to be in readiness to Charge them, they brake in upon the Foot, and did great Execution. Then was the General the Earl of *Lindsey*, in the head of his Regiment, being on Foot, shot in the Thigh; with which he fell, and was presently encompass'd with the Enemy; and his Son, the Lord *Willoughby*, piously endeavouring the Rescue of his Father, taken Prisoner with him. Then was the Standard taken (*St Edmund Verney*, who bore it, being kill'd) but Rescued again by Captain *John Smith*, an Officer of the Lord *Grandison's* Regiment of Horse, and by him brought off. And if those Horse had bestir'd themselves, they might with little difficulty have destroy'd, or taken Prisoner the King Himself, and his two Sons, the Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *York*, being with fewer than one hundred Horse, and those without Officer or Command, within half Musquet shot of that Body, before he suspected them to be Enemies.

WHEN Prince *Rupert* return'd from the Chase, he found this great alteration in the Field, and his Majesty himself with few Noblemen, and a small Retinue about him, and the hope of so glorious a Day quite vanish'd. For though most of the Officers of Horse were return'd, and that part of the Field cover'd again with the loose Troops, yet they could not be perswaded, or drawn to Charge either the Enemies Reserve of Horse, which alone kept the Field, or the Body of their Foot, which only kept their ground. The Officers pretending, "that their Soldiers were so dispersed, that there were not ten of any Troop together; and the Soldiers,

"that

“ that their Horses were so tired, that they could not Charge. But the truth is, where many Soldiers of one Troop or Regiment were Rallied together, there the Officers were wanting; and where the Officers were ready, there the Soldiers were not together; and neither Officers, nor Soldiers desired to move without those who properly belonged to them. Things had now so ill an aspect, that many were of an opinion, that the King should leave the Field, though it was not easy to advise whither he should have gone; which if he had done, he had left an absolute Victory to those, who even at this time thought themselves overcome. But the King was positive against this advice, well knowing, that as that Army was raised by his Person and Presence only, so it could by no other means be kept together; and he thought it Unprincipally, to forsake Them who had forsaken all they had to serve Him: Besides, he observ'd the other side looked not as if they thought themselves Conquerors; for that Reserve, which did so much mischief before, since the return of his Horse, betook themselves to a fixt station between their Foot, which at best could but be thought to stand their ground, which two Brigades of the King's did with equal Courage, and gave equal Volleys; and therefore he tryed all possible ways to get the Horse to charge again; easily discerning, by some little attempts which were made, what a notable impression a brisk one would have made upon the Enemy. And when he saw it was not to be done, he was content with their only standing still. Without doubt if either Party had known the constitution of the other, they had not parted so fairly; and, very probably, which soever had made a bold offer, had compass'd his end upon his Enemy. This made many believe, though the Horse vaunted themselves aloud to have done Their part, that the good fortune of the first part of the day, which well managed would have secured the rest, was to be imputed rather to their Enemy's want of Courage, than to their own Virtue (which after so great a Victory, could not so soon have forsaken them) and to the suddain and unexpected revolt of *Sr Faithful Fortescue* with a whole Troop, no doubt much to the consternation of those he left; though they had not so good Fortune as they deserv'd; for by the negligence of not throwing away their Orange Tawny Scarfs, which they all wore as the Earl of *Essex's* colours, and being immediately engaged in the charge, many of them, not fewer than seventeen or eighteen, were suddainly kill'd by those to whom they joyn'd themselves.

IN this doubt of all sides, the Night, the Common friend to weary'd and dismay'd Armies, parted them; and then the King caused his Cannon, which were nearest the Enemies, to be

be drawn off; and with his whole Forces himself spent the Night in the Field, by such a fire, as could be made of the little wood, and bushes which grew thereabouts, unresolv'd what to do the next Morning; many reporting, "that the "Enemy was gone; but when the Day appear'd, the contrary was discover'd; for then they were seen standing in the same posture, and place in which they Fought, from whence the Earl of *Essex*, wisely never suffer'd them to stir all that Night; presuming reasonably, that if they were drawn off never so little from that place, their Numbers would lessen, and that many would Run away; and therefore he caus'd all manner of Provisions, with which the Country suppli'd him plentifully, to be brought thither to them for their refreshment, and repos'd himself with them in the place; besides, that Night he receiv'd a great addition of strength, not only by Rallying those Horse, and Foot, which had Run out of the Field in the Battle, but by the arrival of Colonel *Hambden*, and Colonel *Grantham*, with two thousand fresh Foot (which were reckon'd among the best of the Army) and five hundred Horse, which march'd a Day behind the Army for the Guard of their Ammunition, and a great part of their Train, not supposing there would have been any Action that would have requir'd their presence. All the advantage this seasonable Recruit brought them, was to give their old Men so much Courage as to keep the Field, which it was otherwise believ'd, they would hardly have been perswaded to have done. In the other Army, after a very cold Night spent in the Field, without any refreshment of Victual, or Provision for the Soldiers (for the Country was so disaffected, that it not only not sent in Provisions, but Soldiers, who stragled into the Villages for relief, were knocked in the head by the Common People) The King found his Troops very thin; for though by Conference with the Officers, he might reasonably conclude, that there were not many slain in the Battle, yet a third part of his Foot were not upon the place, and of the Horse many missing; and they that were in the Field were so tir'd with duty, and weaken'd with want of Meat, and shrunk up with the cruel Cold of the Night (for it was a terrible Frost, and there was no shelter of either Tree or Hedge) that though they had reason to believe, by the standing still of the Enemy, whilst a small Party of the King's Horse, in the morning, took away four Pieces of their Cannon very near them, that any offer towards a Charge, or but Marching towards them, would have made a notable impression in them, yet there was so visible an aversness from it in most Officers, as well as Soldiers, that the King thought not fit to make the attempt; but contented himself to keep his Men

Men in Order, the Body of Horse facing the Enemy upon the Field where they had Fought.

TOWARDS Noon the King Resolv'd to try that expedient, which was prepared for the day before; and sent *Sr William le Neve*, Clarencieux King at Armes, to the Enemy, with his Proclamation of Pardon to such as would lay down Armes; believing, though he expected then little benefit by the Proclamation, that he should, by that means, receive some advertisement of the condition of the Army, and what Prisoners they had taken (for many Persons of Command and Quality were wanting) giving him order likewise to desire to speak with the Earl of *Lindsey*, who was known to be in their hands. Before *Sr William* came to the Army, he was receiv'd by the out Guards, and Conducted, with strictness (that he might say, or publish nothing among the Soldiers) to the Earl of *Essex*; who, when he offer'd to read the Proclamation aloud, and to deliver the effect of it, that he might be heard by those who were present, rebuked him, with some roughness, and charged him, "as he lov'd his life, not to presume to speak a word to the Soldiers; and after some few questions, sent him presently back well guarded through the Army, without any answer at all. At his return he had so great and feeling a sense of the danger he had pass'd, that he made little Observation of the Posture or Numbers of the Enemy. Only he seem'd to have seen, or apprehended so much trouble and disorder in the faces of the Earl of *Essex*, and the principal Officers about him, and so much dejection in the Common Soldiers, that they looked like Men who had no farther Ambition, than to keep what they had left. He brought word of the death of the Earl of *Lindsey*; who, being carried out of the Field a Prisoner, into a Barn of the next Village, for want of a Surgeon, and such Accommodations as were necessary, within fews hours died with the loss of blood, his wound not being otherwise Mortal or dangerous. This was imputed to the Inhumanity of the Earl of *Essex*, as if he had purposely neglected, or inhibited the performing any necessary Offices to him, out of the Insolence of his Nature, and in Revenge of some former unkindnesses, which had pass'd between them. But, I presume, it may be with more justice attributed to the hurry, and distraction of that season, when, being so unsecure of their Friends, they had no thoughts vacant for their Enemies. For it is not to be deny'd at the time when the Earl of *Lindsey* was taken Prisoner, the Earl of *Essex* thought himself in more danger; and among his faults want of Civility and Courtesy was none.

THE Number of the slain, by the Testimony of the Ministers, and others of the next Parish, who took care of the Burying

Burying of the Dead, and which was the only Computation that could be made, amounted to above five thousand; whereof two parts were conceiv'd to be of those of the Parliament Party, and not above a third part of the King's. Indeed the loss of both sides was so great, and so little of Triumph appear'd in either, that the Victory could scarce be imputed to the One or the Other. Yet the King's keeping the Field, and having the Spoil of it, by which many Persons of Quality, who had lain wounded in the Field were preserv'd, his pursuing afterwards the same design he had when he was diverted to the Battle, and succeeding in it (which shall be touch'd anon) were greater Ensigns of Victory on that side, than taking the General Prisoner, and the taking the Standard, which was likewise recover'd, were on the Other. Of the Kings the principal Persons, who were lost, were the Earl of *Lindsey*, General of the Army, the Lord *Stewart*, Lord *Aubigny* Son to the Duke of *Lenox*, and Brother to the then Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, *St Edmund Verney*, Knight Marshal of the King's Horse, and Standard Bearer, and some others of less Name, though of great Virtue, and good Quality.

*A Character
of the Earl of
Lindsey,
the King's
General.*

THE Earl of *Lindsey* was a Man of very noble Extraction, and Inherited a great Fortune from his Ancestors; which though he did not manage with so great care, as if he desired much to improve, yet he left it in a very fair Condition to his Family, which more intended the encrease of it. He was a Man of great Honour, and spent his Youth and Vigour of his Age in Military Actions and Commands abroad; and albeit he indulged to himself great liberties of Life, yet he still preserv'd a very good Reputation with all Men, and a very great Interest in his Country, as appear'd by the Supplies he, and his Son, brought to the King's Army; the several Companies of his own Regiment of Foot, being Commanded by the principal Knights and Gentlemen of *Lincolnshire*, who engaged themselves in the Service principally out of their Personal Affection to Him. He was of a very generous Nature, and punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him; which made him bear that restriction so heavily, which was put upon him by the Commission granted to Prince *Rupert*, and by the King's preferring the Prince's Opinion, in all matters relating to the War before His. Nor did he conceal his Resentment: the day before the Battle, he said to some Friends, with whom he had used freedom, "that he did not look upon himself as General; and therefore he was resolv'd, when the day of Battle should come, that he would be in the head of his Regiment as a private Colonel, where he would dye. He was carried out of the

Field to the next Village, and if he could then have procured Surgeons, it was thought his wound would not have proved Mortal. And as soon as the other Army was compos'd by the coming on of the Night, the Earl of *Essex*, about midnight, sent *St William Balfour*, and some other Officers to see him, and to offer him all offices, and meant himself to have visited him. They found him upon a little straw in a poor House, where they had laid him in his Blood, which had run from him in great abundance, no Surgeon having been yet with him, only he had great vivacity in his looks; and told them, "he was sorry to see so many Gentlemen, some whereof were his old Friends, engaged in so foul a Rebellion; and principally directed his discourse to *St William Balfour*, whom he put in mind of "the great obligations he had to the King; "how much his Majesty had disobligh'd the whole *English* Nation by putting him into the Command of the Tower; and "that it was the most odious ingratitude in Him to make him "that return. He wish'd them to tell my Lord *Essex*, "that "he ought to cast himself at the King's feet to beg his pardon, "which if he did not speedily do, his Memory would be odious to the Nation; and continued this kind of discourse with so much vehemence, that the Officers by degrees withdrew themselves, and prevented the Visit the Earl of *Essex* intended him, who only sent the best Surgeons to him, but in the very opening of his wounds he dyed before the morning, only upon the loss of Blood. He had very many Friends, and very few Enemies; and died generally lamented.

THE Lord *Aubigny* was a Gentleman of great hopes, of a gentle and winning disposition, and of very clear Courage: he was kill'd in the first charge with the Horse; where, there being so little resistance, gave occasion to suspect that it was done by his own Lieutenant, who was a *Dutch*-man, and had not been so punctual in his duty, but that he receiv'd some reprehension from his Captain, which he murmur'd at. His Body was brought off, and buried at *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*; his two younger Brothers, the Lord *John* and the Lord *Bernard Stewart*, were in the same Battle, and were afterwards both kill'd in the War, and his only Son is now Duke of *Richmond*. *St Edmund Verney* hath been mention'd before; he was a Person of great Honour and Courage, and lost his Life in that charge, when *Balfour*, with that Reserve of Horse, which had been so long undiscern'd, broke into those Regiments; but his body was not found.

ON the Parliament Party that perished, the Lord *Saint-John* of *Bletnezo*, and *Charles Essex*, were of the best Quality. The last had been bred up a Page under the Earl of *Essex*, who afterwards, at his charge, preferr'd him to a Command

mand in *Holland*; where he liv'd with very good reputation, and preserv'd the credit of his decayed Family: And assoon as the Earl unfortunately accepted this Command, he thought his gratitude obliged him to run the fortune of his Patron, and out of pure kindness to the Person of the Earl, as many other Gentlemen did, engaged himself against the King without any malice or Rebellion in his heart towards the Crown. He had the Command of a Regiment of Foot, and was esteem'd the best and most expert Officer of the Army, and was kill'd by a Musquet shot in the beginning of the Battle. The Lord *Saint-John* was eldest Son to the Earl of *Bullingbrooke*, and got himself so well belov'd by the reputation of his Courtesy and Civility, which he express'd towards all Men, that though his parts of understanding were very ordinary at best, and his course of life licentious and very much depraved, he got credit enough, by engaging the principal Gentlemen of *Bedfordshire* and *Hertfordshire* to be bound for him, to contract a debt of fifty or threescore thousand pounds; for the payment whereof the fortune of the Family was not engaged, nor in his power to engage. So that the Clamour of his debts growing importunate, some years before the Rebellion, he left the Kingdom and fled into *France*; leaving his vast debt to be paid by his Sureties, to the utter ruin of many Families, and the notable impairing of others. In the beginning of the Parliament, the King was prevailed with to call him to the House of Peers, his Father being then alive, upon an assurance "that by his presence and liberty, which could by no other way be secured, means would be found out to pay his debts, and free so many worthy Persons from their engagements: Besides that the times being like to be troublesome the King might be sure of a faithful Servant, who would always advance his service in that House. But the King had very ill fortune in conferring those graces, nor was his service more passionately, and insolently opposed by any Men in that House than by those, who upon those professions were advanced by him from the condition of Commoners. And this Gentleman, from the first hour of his sitting in that House by the King's so extraordinary grace, was never known to concur in any one Vote for the King's Service, that receiv'd any opposition: and, assoon as it was in his power, he receiv'd a Commission with the first to Command a Troop of Horse against him, in which he behaved himself so ill, that he receiv'd some wounds in running away; and being taken Prisoner died before the next morning, without any other signs of repentance, than the canting words, "that he did not intend to be against the King, but wish'd him all happiness: so great an influence the first seeds of his birth had upon his Nature, that
how

how long soever they were conceal'd, and seem'd even buried in a very different breeding and conversation, they sprung up, and bore the same fruit upon the first occasion. And it was an observation of that time, that the Men of most licentious lives, who appear'd to be without any sense of Religion, or reverence to virtue, and the most unrestrain'd by any obligations of conscience, betook themselves to that Party, and pretended an impulse of Religion out of fear of Popery; and on the other side, very many Persons of Quality, both of the Clergy and Laity, who had suffer'd under the imputation of Puritanism, and did very much dislike the proceedings of the Court, and oppos'd them upon all occasions, were yet so much scandalized at the very approaches to Rebellion, that they renounced all their old Friends, and applied themselves with great Resolution, Courage, and Constancy to the King's Service, and continued in it to the end, with all the disadvantages it was liable to.

PRISONERS taken by the Enemy were, the Lord *Willoughby*, hastily and piously endeavouring the rescue of his Father; *Sr Thomas Lunsford*, and *Sr Edward Stradling*, both Colonels; and *Sr William Vavasour*, who commanded the King's Regiment of Guards under the Lord *Willoughby*; and some other inferior Commanders. There were hurt, *Sr Jacob Astley*, and *Sr Nicholas Byron*, and more dangerously Colonel *Charles Gerrard*, who, being shot in the thigh, was brought off the field without any hopes of life, but recover'd to act a great part afterwards in the War; *Sr George Strode*, and some other Gentlemen who serv'd among the Foot; for of the Horse there was not an Officer of Name, who receiv'd a Wound, the Lord *Aubigny* only excepted; so little resistance did that part of the Enemy make. Of the Rebels there were slain, besides the Lord *Saint-John*, Colonel *Charles Essex*, the Soldier of whom they had the best opinion, and who had always, till this last Action, preserved a good reputation in the world, which was now the worse, over and above the Guilt of Rebellion, by his having sworn to the Queen of *Bohemia*, by whose intercession he procured leave from the Prince of *Orange* to go into *England*, "that he would never serve against the King: And many other of obscure Names, though Officers of good Command. There were a good Number of their Officers, especially of Horse, taken Prisoners, but (save that some of them were Parliament Men) of mean Quality in the world, except only *Sr William Essex* the Father of the Colonel, whose wants, from having wasted a very great Fortune, and his Sons invitation, led him into that Company; where he was a private Captain of his Regiment.

WHEN the Armies had thus only look'd one upon another.

the whole day, and it being discern'd that the Enemy had drawn off his Carriages, the King directed all his Army to retire into their old Quarters, presuming (as it prov'd) that many of those who were wanting would be found there. And so himself with his two Sons went to *Edgecot*, where he lay the night before the Battle, resolving to rest the next day, both for the refreshing his wearied, and even tired Men, and to be inform'd of the motion and condition of the Enemy, upon which some Troops of the King's Horse attended. The Earl of *Essex* retired with His to *Warwick-Castle*, whither he had sent all his Prisoners; so that, on the *Tuesday* morning, the King was inform'd, that the Enemy was gone, and that some of his Horse had attended the rear of the Enemy almost to *Warwick*, and that they had left many of their Carriages, and very many of their wounded Soldiers at the Village next to the Field; by which it appear'd that their remove was in haste, and not without apprehension.

AFTER the Horse had march'd almost to *Warwick*, and found the Coast clear from the Enemy, they return'd to the Field to view the dead Bodies, many going to enquire after their Friends who were missing, where they found many not yet dead of their wounds, but lying stripp'd among the dead; among whom, with others, young Mr *Scroop* brought off his Father, Sr *Gervas Scroop*; who, being an old Gentleman of great fortune in *Lincoln-shire*, had raised a Foot Company among his Tenants, and brought them in to the Earl of *Lindsey's* Regiment out of devotion and respect to his Lordship, as well as duty to the King; and had, about the time that the General was taken, falln with sixteen wounds in his body and head; and had layen stripp'd among the dead, from that time, which was about three in the afternoon on *Sunday*, all that cold night, all *Monday*, and *Monday* night, and till *Tuesday* evening, for it was so late before his Son found him; whom with great piety he carried to a warm lodging, and afterwards to *Oxford*; where he wonderfully recover'd. The next morning after, being *Wednesday*, there was another Gentleman, one *Bellingham*, of an ancient extraction, and the only Son of his Father, found among the dead, and brought off by his Friends with twenty wounds; who, after ten days, died at *Oxford*, by the negligence of his Surgeons, who left a wound in his thigh, of it self not dangerous, undiscern'd, and so by festering destroyed a body very hopefully recover'd of those which were only thought Mortal. The Surgeons were of opinion, that both these Gentlemen owed their lives to the inhumanity of those who stripp'd them, and to the coldness of the nights, which stopp'd their blood, better than all their skill and Medicaments could have done, and that if they had been brought

brought off within any reasonable distance of time after their wounds, they had undoubtedly perished.

ON *Wednesday* morning, the King drew his Army to a Rendezvous, where he found his Numbers greater than he expected; for, in the night after the Battle, very many of the Common Soldiers out of cold, and hunger, had found their old Quarters. So that it was really believ'd upon this view, when this little rest had recover'd a strange chearfulness into all Men, that there were not in that Battle lost above three hundred Men at most. There the King declared General *Rutten* General of his Army in the place of the Earl of *Lindsey*; and then march'd to *Ayno*, a little Village two miles distant from *Banbury*, of which his Majesty that day took a View, and meant to attempt it the next day following. There was at that time in *Banbury*-Castle a Regiment of eight hundred Foot, and a Troop of Horse, which, with Spirits proportionable, had been enough to have kept so strong a place from an Army better prepared to have assaulted it, than the King's then was, and at a season of the year more commodious for a Siege. And therefore many were of opinion, that the King should have march'd by it, without taking notice of it, and that the engaging before it, might prove very prejudicial to him. That which prevailed with him to stay there, besides the Courage of his Soldiers, who had again recover'd their appetite to Action, was that he could not well resolve whither to go; for till he was inform'd what the Earl of *Essex* did, he knew not how to direct his march; and if the Enemy advanced upon him, he could not Fight in a place of more advantage. And therefore, having sent a Trumpet to summon the Castle, and having first taken the Lord *Say's* House at *Broughton*, where there was some shew of resistance, and in it a Troop of Horse, and some good Armes, the Cannon were planted against the Castle, and the Army drawn out before it; but, upon the first shot made, the Castle sent to treat, and upon leave to go away without their Armes, they fairly and kindly deliver'd the place; and half the Common Soldiers at the least readily took conditions, and put themselves into the King's Army, the rest of the Armes came very seasonably to supply many Soldiers of every Regiment, who either never had any before, or had lost them at the Battle.

THIS last success declared where the Victory was before at *Edge-hill*; for, though the routing of their Horse, the having kill'd more upon the place, and taken more Prisoners, the number of the Colours wone from the Enemy (which were near forty in number) without the loss of above three or four, and lastly the taking four pieces of their Cannon the next morning after the Battle, were so many Arguments that the

*Banbury-
Castle sur-
render'd to
the King.*

Victory inclined to the King: On the other side, the loss of the General himself, and so many Men of Name either kill'd or taken Prisoners, who were generally known over the Kingdom (whereas, besides the Lord *Saint-John*, and Colonel *Essex*, the names of the rest of that Party were so obscure, that neither the one side seem'd to be gainers by having taken or kill'd them, nor the other side to be losers by being without them) the having kept the Field last, were sufficient Testimonies at the least that they were not overcome. But now the taking of *Banbury*, which was the more signal, by the circumstances of that part of the Armies being, before the Battle, design'd for that service, then recalled to the Field, and after that Field fought, and the Retreat of the Enemy, the Re-advancing upon it, and taking it, was so undeniable an Argument that the Earl of *Essex* was more broken and scatter'd than at first he appear'd to be, that the King's Army was look'd upon as Victorious. A Garrison was put into *Banbury*, and the Command thereof committed to the Earl of *Northampton*, and then the King march'd to his own House at *Woodstock*; and the next day with the whole Army to *Oxford*, which was the only City of *England*, that he could say was entirely at his devotion; where he was receiv'd by the University, to whom the integrity and fidelity of that place is to be imputed, with all joy, and acclamation.

The condition
of the Earl of
Essex's Ar-
my after the
Fight.

THE Earl of *Essex* continued still at *Warwick*, repairing his broken Regiments and Troops, which every day lessen'd and impaired; for the number of his slain Men was greater than it was reported to be, there being very many kill'd in the chase, and many who died of their wounds after they were carried off, and, of those, who run away in the beginning, more staid away than return'd; and which was more, they who run furthest and fastest told such lamentable Stories of the defeat, and many of them shew'd such hurts, that the terror thereof was even ready to make the People revolt to their Allegiance in all places. Many of those who had stood their ground, and behaved themselves well in the Battle, either with remorse of Conscience, horror of what they had done, and seen, or weariness of the duty and danger, withdrew themselves from their Colours, and some from their Commands. And it is certain many engaged themselves first in that service, out of an opinion, that an Army would procure a Peace without Fighting; others out of a desire to serve the King, and resolving to go away themselves, and to carry others with them, as soon as they should find themselves within a secure distance to do it; both these being, contrary to their expectation, brought to Fight, the latter, not knowing how to get to the King's Army in the Battle, discharged themselves of the Service as soon

as they came to *Warwick*; some with leave, and some without. But that which no doubt most troubled his Excellency was the temper, and constitutions of his new Masters; who, he knew, expected no less from him than a Victory compleat, by his bringing the Person of the King alive or dead to them; and would consider what was now fallen out, as it was so much less than they look'd for, not as it was more than any body else could have done for them. However, he gave them a glorious account of what had passed, and made as if his stay at *Warwick* were rather to receive new Orders and Commands from them, than out of any weakness or inability to pursue the old, and that he attended the King's motion as well as if he had been within seven miles of him.

It is certain the consternation was very great at *London*, and in the two Houses, from the time that they heard, that the King march'd from *Shrewsbury* with a form'd Army, and that he was resolv'd to Fight, as soon as he could meet with theirs. However they endeavour'd to keep up confidently the ridiculous opinion among the Common People, that the King did not Command, but was carried about in that Army of the Cavaliers, and was desirous to escape from them; which they hoped the Earl of *Essex* would give him opportunity to do. The first news they heard of the Armies being engaged, was by those who fled upon the first charge; who made marvellous hast from the place of danger, and thought not themselves safe, till they were gotten out of any possible distance of being pursued. It is certain, though it was past two of the Clock before the Battle begun, many of the Soldiers, and some Commanders of no mean Name, were at *St Albans*, which was near thirty miles from the Field, before it was dark. These Men, as all Runaways do for their own excuse, reported all for lost, and the King's Army to be so terrible, that it could not be encounter'd. Some of them, that they might not be thought to come away before there was cause, or whilst there was any hope, reported the progress of the Battle, and presented all those lamentable things, and the circumstances by which every part of the Army was defeated, which their terrified fancies had suggested to them whilst they run away; some had seen the Earl of *Essex* slain, and heard his dying words; "That every one should shift for himself, for all resistance was to no purpose: So that the whole City was, the *Monday*, full of the defeat; and though there was an express, from the Earl of *Essex* himself, of the contrary, there was not Courage enough left to believe it, and every hour produced somewhat to contradict the reports of the last. *Monday* in the afternoon, the Earl of *Holland* produced a Letter in the House of Peers, which was written the

night before by the Earl of *Essex*, in which all particulars of the day were set down, and "the impression which had in the "beginning been made upon his Horse, but that the conclusion was prosperous. Whilst this was reading, and every Man greedily digesting the good news, the Lord *Hastings*, who had a Command of Horse in the service, enter'd the House with frighted and ghastly looks, and positively declar'd "all to be lost, against whatsoever they believ'd or flatter'd "themselves with. And though it was evident enough that he had run away from the beginning, and only lost his way thither, most Men look'd upon him as the last Messenger, and even shut their ears against any possible comfort; so that without doubt very many, in the horror and consternation of eight and forty hours, paid and underwent a full penance and mortification for the hopes, and insolence of three Months before. At the last, on *Wednesday* morning, the Lord *Wharton*, and Mr *William Strode*, the one a Member of the House of Lords, the other of the Commons, arriv'd from the Army, and made so full a relation of the Battle, "of the great Numbers slain on "the King's part, without any considerable loss on Their side, "of the miserable and weak condition the King's Army was "in, and of the Earl of *Essex*'s resolution to pursue him, That they were not now content to be saviors, but Voted "that "their Army had the Victory; and appointed a day for a solemn Thanksgiving to God for the same; and that so great a joy might not be enjoyed only within those Walls, they appointed those two trusty Messengers to communicate the whole relation with all circumstances to the City; which was convened together at the *Guild-Hall* to receive the same. But by this time, so many Persons, who were present at the Action, came to the Town of both sides (for there was yet a free intercourse with all Quarters) and some discourses were publish'd, how little either of these two Messengers had seen themselves of that days business, that the City seem'd not so much exalted at their Relations, as the Houses had been; the King's taking *Banbury*, and marching afterwards to *Oxford*, and the reports from those parts of his power, with the Earl of *Essex*'s lying still at *Warwick*, gave great Argument of discourse; which grew the greater by the commitment of several Persons, for reporting "that the King had the better of the Field; which Men thought would not have been, if the success had been contrary; and therefore there was nothing so generally spoken of, or wish'd for, as Peace.

THEY who were really well affected to the King, and from the beginning oppos'd all the extravagances, for of such there were many in both Houses, who could not yet find in their hearts to leave the company, spake now aloud, "that an "humble

"humble Address to the King for the removal of all misunderstandings, was both in Duty necessary, and in Policy convenient. The half hearted, and half witted People, which made much the Major part of both Houses, plainly discern'd there must be a War, and that the King at least would be able to make resistance, which they had been promised he could not do, and so were equally passionate to make any overtures for accommodation. They only who had contrived the mischief, and already had digested a full change and alteration of Government, and knew well, that all their Arts would be discover'd, and their Persons odious, though they might be secured, violently oppos'd all motions of this kind. These Men press'd earnestly "to send an express to their Brethren of *Scotland*, to invite, and conjure them to come to their Assistance, and to leave no way unthought of, for suppressing, and totally destroying all those who had presum'd "to side with the King. This overture of calling the *Scots* in again was as Unpopular a thing, as could be mention'd; besides that it implied a great, and absolute diffidence in their own strength, and an acknowledgement that the People of *England* stood not so generally affected to their desires, which they had hitherto published, and urged, as the best Argument to justify those desires. Therefore the wise Managers of that Party, by whose conduct they had been principally govern'd, seem'd fully to concur with those who desired Peace, "and "to send an humble Address to the King, which they confess'd to be due from them as Subjects, and the only way "to procure happiness for the Kingdom. And hereby render'd themselves gracious, and gained credit, they advised them "so to endeavour Peace, that they might not be disappointed of it, and wish'd them "to consider that the "Kings Party were high upon the success of having an Army "(of which they had reasonably before despair'd) though "not upon any thing that Army had yet done. That it "was apparent, the King had Ministers stirring for him in "the North, and in the West, though hitherto with little effect; and therefore if they should make such an Application for Peace; as might imply the giving over the thoughts "of War, they must expect such a Peace, as the mercy of "those whom they had provoked would consent to. But if "they would steddily pursue those Counsels as would make "their strength formidable, they might then expect such moderate conditions, as they might, with their Own, and the "Kingdom's Safety, securely submit to. That therefore the "Proposition of sending into *Scotland* was very seasonable; "not that it could be hoped, or was desired, that they should "bring an Army into *England*, of which there was not like

“to be any need ; but that That Kingdom might make such a
 “Declaration of their Affections, and readiness to assist the
 “Parliament, that the King might look upon them with the
 “more consideration, as a Body not easily to be oppressed, if
 “he should insist upon too high Conditions.

By this Artifice, whilst they who pressed a Treaty thought, that That being once consented to, a Peace would inevitably be concluded, the same day that a Committee was appointed “to prepare Heads of an humble Address unto his Majesty, “for composing the present Differences, and Distractions, and “settling the Peace of the Kingdom (which was a great condescension) they made no scruple to declare, “that the preparations of Forces, and all other necessary means for defence, should be prosecuted with all Vigour ; and thereupon required “all those Officers and Soldiers, who had left “their General, of which the Town was then full, upon “pain of Death, to return to him; and for his better recruit, solemnly declar’d, “that in such times of Common danger “and necessity, the Interest of Private Persons, ought to give “way to the Publick ; and therefore they ordain’d, that such “Apprentices, as would be Listed to serve as Soldiers for the defence of the Kingdom, the Parliament, and City (with “their other usual expressions of Religion, and the King’s “Person) their Sureties, and such as stood engaged for them, “should be secured against their Masters ; and that their Masters should receive them again, at the end of their Service, “without imputing any loss of time to them, but the same “should be reckon’d as well spent, according to their Indentures, as if they had been still in their Shops. And by this means many Children were engaged in that Service, not only against the Consent, but against the Persons of their Fathers, and the Earl receiv’d a notable supply thereby.

THEN, in return for their Consent that a formal, and perfunctory Message should be sent to his Majesty, whereby they thought a Treaty would be enter’d upon, they procured at the same time, and as an Expedient for Peace, this material and full Declaration of both Houses to the Subjects of *Scotland*, which they caused with all expedition to be sent into that Kingdom.

*Apprentices
 invited by
 the Parliament
 went to take
 Arms.*

*The two
 Houses Declaration to
 the Subjects
 of Scotland.*

“WE the Lords and Commons, assembled in the Parliament of *England*, considering with what Wisdom, and publick Affection, Our brethren of the Kingdom of *Scotland* “did concur with the endeavours of this Parliament, and the “desires of the whole Kingdom in procuring, and establishing a firm Peace and Amity between the two Nations, and “how lovingly they have since invited Us to a nearer, and
 “higher

“higher degree of Union in matters concerning Religion,
 “and Church Government, which We have most willingly
 “and affectionately embraced, and intend to pursue, cannot
 “doubt but they will, with as much forwardness and affe-
 “ction, concur with Us in settling Peace in this Kingdom,
 “and preserving it in their Own; that so We may mutually
 “reap the benefit of that Amity and Alliance, so happily
 “made, and strongly confirm’d betwixt the two Nations.
 “Wherefore, as We did about a year since, in the first ap-
 “pearance of trouble then beginning among them, actually
 “declare, that in our sense and apprehension of the National
 “Alliance betwixt Us, We were thereby bound to apply the
 “Authority of Parliament, and Power of this Kingdom to the
 “preservation, and maintenance of their Peace: And, see-
 “ing now that the troubles of this Kingdom are grown to a
 “greater height, and the subtle practices of the Common Ene-
 “mies of the Religion, and Liberty of both Nations, do ap-
 “pear with more evident strength, and danger than they
 “did at that time, We hold it necessary to declare, that, in
 “our judgement, the same obligation lies upon Our Brethren,
 “by the afore mention’d Act, with the Power and Force of
 “that Kingdom, to assist Us in repressing those among Us,
 “who are now in Armes, and make War, not only without
 “consent of Parliament, but even against the Parliament, and
 “for the destruction thereof.

“WHEREFORE We have thought good to make known
 “unto Our Brethren, that his Majesty hath given Commission
 “to divers eminent and known Papists, to raise Forces, and
 “to compose an Army in the North, and other parts of this
 “Kingdom, which is to joyn with divers Foreign Forces,
 “intended to be transported from beyond the Seas, for the
 “destruction of this Parliament, and of the Religion, and Li-
 “berty of the Kingdom: and that the principal part of the
 “Clergy and their adherents, have likewise invited his Ma-
 “jesty to raise another Army, which, in his own Person, he
 “doth Conduct against the Parliament, and the City of Lon-
 “don, Plundering and Robbing sundry well affected Towns
 “within their power; and in prosecution of their malice, they
 “were so presumptuous, and predominant of his Majesties
 “Resolutions, that they forbear not those Outrages in places
 “to which his Majesty hath given his Royal Word and Pro-
 “tection; a great cause and incentive of which malice, pro-
 “ceeds from the design they have to hinder the Reforma-
 “tion of Ecclesiastical Government in this Kingdom, so
 “much longed for by all the true Lovers of the Protestant
 “Religion.

“AND hereupon We farther desire Our Brethren of the
 “Nation

"Nation of *Scotland*, to raise such Forces as they shall think
 "sufficient for securing the Peace of their own Borders, against
 "the ill affected Persons there, as likewise to assist Us in sup-
 "pressing the Army of Papists, and Forreigners; which, as
 "We expect, will shortly be on foot here, and if they be not
 "timely prevented may prove as mischievous, and destructive
 "to that Kingdom, as to our selves. And though We seek
 "nothing from his Majesty that may diminish his just Autho-
 "rity, or Honour, and have, by many humble Petitions, en-
 "deavour'd to put an end to this unnatural War and Com-
 "bustion in the Kingdom, and to procure his Majesties Pro-
 "tection, and Security for our Religion, Liberty, and Per-
 "sons (according to that great Trust which his Majesty is
 "bound to by the Laws of the Land) and shall still continue
 "to renew our Petitions in that kind; yet, to our great grief,
 "We see the Papistical and Malignant Council so prevalent
 "with his Majesty, and his Person so engaged to their power,
 "that We have little hope of better success of our Petitions
 "than We formerly had; and are thereby necessitated to
 "stand upon our just Defence, and to seek this speedy and
 "and powerful Assistance of Our Brethren of *Scotland*, accord-
 "ing to that Act agreed upon in the Parliament of both King-
 "doms, the Common Duty of Christianity, and the particu-
 "lar Interests of their own Kingdoms: To which We hope
 "God will give such a Blessing, that it may produce the pre-
 "servation of Religion, the Honour, Safety, and Peace of his
 "Majesty, and all his Subjects, and a more strict conjunction
 "of the Counsels, Designs, and Endeavours of both Nations,
 "for the comfort and relief of the Reform'd Churches beyond
 "Sea.

The condi-
 tion, and in-
 clinations of
 the Kingdom
 of *Scotland*
 at that time.

IT will not be here unreasonable to take some short Sur-
 vey of the Affections and Inclinations of *Scotland*; the or-
 dering and well disposing whereof, either side sufficiently un-
 derstood, would be of moment, and extraordinary importance
 in the growing Contention. From the time of the King's
 being last there, when he had so fully comply'd with all they
 had desired, both for the publick Government, and their pri-
 vate Advancements, that Kingdom within it self enjoyed as
 much Quiet and Tranquillity as they could desire; having the
 convenience of disburthening themselves of their late Army in-
 to *Ireland*, whither their old General *Leslie*, then made Earl of
Leven, was imploy'd in his full Command by the King and the
 two Houses, at the charge of *England*. So that many believ'd
 they had been so abundantly satisfied with what they had
 already gotten from *England*, that they had no farther pro-
 jects upon this Kingdom, but meant to make their Fortunes
 by

by a new Conquest in *Ireland*, where they had a very great part of the Province of *Ulster* planted by their own Nation. So that, according to their rules of good Husbandry, they might expect whatsoever they got from the Rebels to keep for Themselves. And the King himself was so confident that the Affections of that People could not be so corrupted towards him, as to make a farther attempt upon him, that he believ'd them, to a degree, sensible of their former breach of Duty, and willing to repair it by any service. *Leslie* himself had made great acknowledgments, and great professions to him, and had told him, "that it was nothing to promise him, that he would never more bear Armes against him, but he promised he would Serve his Majesty upon any Summons without asking the cause. The Earl of *Lowden*, and all the rest, who had misl'd the People, were possess'd of whatsoever they could desire, and the future Fortune of That Nation seem'd to depend wholly upon the keeping up the King's full power in This.

His Majesty had, from time to time, given his Council of that Kingdom full relations of all his differences with his Parliament, and had carefully sent them the Declarations, and publick Passages of both sides, and they had always return'd very ample expressions of their Affections and Duty, and express'd a great sense of the Parliaments proceedings towards him. And since the time of his being at *Tork*, the Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, in whose Integrity and Loyalty he was least secure, had been with him; and seem'd so well satisfied with the Justice and Honour of his Majesties carriage towards the Parliament, that he writ to the *Scotish* Commissioners at *London*, in the name, and as by the direction of the Lords of the secret Council of that Kingdom, "that they should present to the two Houses the deep sense they had of the Injuries and Indignities, which were offer'd to the King, whose just Rights they were bound to defend; and that they should conjure them, to bind up those wounds which were made, and not to widen them by sharpness of Language; and to give his Majesty such real security for his safety among them, by an effectual declaring against Tumults, and such other Actions as were justly offensive to his Majesty, that he might be induced to reside nearer to them, and comply with them in such Propositions as should be reasonably made; with many such expressions, as together with his return into *Scotland* without coming to *London*, where he was expected, gave them so much offence and jealousy, that they never communicated that Letter to the Houses, and took all possible care to conceal it from the People.

THE Marquis *Hamilton* had been likewise with his Majesty

sty at *York*, and, finding the Eyes of all Men directed towards him with more than ordinary jealousy, he offer'd the King to go into *Scotland*, with many Assurances and Undertakings, confident "that he would at least keep that People from doing any thing, that might seem to countenance the carriage "of the Parliament. Upon which promises, and to be rid of him at *York*, where he was by all Men look'd upon with marvellous prejudice, the King suffer'd him to go, with full Assurance that he would, and he was sure he could, do him very good service there : as, on the other side, in his own Court he was so great an offence, that the whole Gentry of *York-shire*, who no doubt had insinuations to that purpose from others, had a design to have petition'd the King, that the Marquis might be sequester'd from all Councils, and presence at Court, as a Man too much trusted by them who would not trust his Majesty.

LASTLY, the King had many of the Nobility of *Scotland* then attending, and among those the Earl of *Calander*, who had been Lieutenant General of the *Scotish* Army, when it invaded *England*, and had freely confess'd to his Majesty, upon what errors and mistakes he had been corrupted, and by whom, and pretended so deep a sense of what he had done amiss, that it was believ'd, he would have taken Command in the King's Army ; which he declined, as if it might have been penal to him in *Scotland* by some clause in the Act of the Pacification, but especially upon pretence it would disable him from doing him greater service in that Kingdom ; whither, shortly after the Standard was set up, he repaired, with all solemn Vows of asserting, and improving his Majesties Interest in those parts.

THE Parliament on the other hand assured themselves, that That Nation was entirely Theirs, having their Commissioners residing with them at *London* ; and the chief Managers and Governours in the first War, by their late intercourse, and communication of Guilt, having a firm correspondence with the Marquis of *Argile*, the Earl of *Lowden*, and that Party, who being not able to excuse themselves, thought the King could never in his heart forgive them, when it should be in his power to bring them to justice. And they undertook that when there should be need of that Nation (which the other thought there would never be) they should be as forward to second them as They had been ; in the mean time return'd as fair, and respective Answers to all their Messages, and upon their Declarations, which were constantly sent to them, as they did to the King ; assisting them in their design against the Church, which was not yet grown Popular even in the two Houses, by declaring "that the People of that Nation
"could

"could never be engaged on any other ground, than the Reformation of Religion. And therefore, about the beginning of *August*, the Assembly of the Kirk of *Scotland* publish'd a Declaration; "how exceedingly griev'd they were, and "made heavy, that in so long a time, against the professions "both of King and Parliament, and contrary to the joynt desires and prayers of the Godly in both Kingdoms, to whom "it was more dear and precious, than what was dearest to "them in the world, the Reformation of Religion had moved "so slowly, and suffer'd so great interruption.

THE ground of which reproach was this; in the late Treaty of Peace, the Commissioners for *Scotland* had express'd a desire or wish warily couched in words, rather than a Proposition, "that there were such an Unity of Religion, and Uniformity of Church Government agreed on, as might be a "special means for conserving of Peace betwixt the two Kingdoms: To which there had been a general inclination to return a rough Answer, and reproof for their intermeddling in any thing that related to the Laws of *England*. But, by the extraordinary industry, and subtlety of those, who saw that business was not yet ripe, and who alledged, that it was only wish'd, not propos'd, and therefore that a sharp reply was not merited, this gentle Answer, against the minds of very many, was return'd,

"THAT his Majesty, with the advice of both Houses of Parliament, did approve of the Affection of his Subjects of *Scotland*, in their desire of having Conformity of Church Government between the two Nations; and as the Parliament had already taken into consideration the Reformation of Church Government, so they would proceed therein "in due time, as should best conduce to the glory of God, the Peace of the Church, and of both Kingdoms.

WHICH was consented to by most, as a civil Answer, signifying, or concluding nothing; by others, because it admitted an interpretation of reducing the Government of the Church in *Scotland* to this of *England*, as much as the contrary. But it might have been well discern'd, that those Men asked nothing without a farther design than the words naturally import'd, nor ever rested satisfied with a general formal Answer, except they found, that they should hereafter make use, and receive benefit by such Answer. So they now urg'd the matter of this Answer, as a sufficient Title to demand the extirpation of Prelacy in *England*, and demolishing the whole Fabrick of that glorious Church; urging his Majesties late practice, while he was in Person in *Scotland*, in resorting frequently to their exercises of publick Worship; and his Royal Actions, in establishing the Worship and Government

ment of that Kirk in Parliament. And therefore they desired the Parliament "to begin their work of Reformation at the
 "Uniformity of Kirk Government; for that there could be
 "no hope of Unity in Religion, of one Confession of Faith,
 "one Form of Worship, and one Catechism, till there were
 "first one Form of Church Government; and that the King-
 "dom, and Kirk of *Scotland*, could have no hope of a firm
 "and durable Peace, till Prelacy, which had been the main
 "cause of their miseries and troubles, first and last, were
 "pluck'd up root and branch, as a plant which God had not
 "planted, and from which no better fruits could be expected,
 "than such four Grapes, as at that day set on edge the King-
 "dom of *England*.

WHICH Declaration the Lords of the secret Council, finding, as they said, "the reasons therein express'd to be very
 "pregnant, and the particulars desired, much to conduce to
 "the glory of God, the advancement of the true Christian
 "Faith, his Majesty's Honour, and the Peace, and Union of
 "his Dominions, well approv'd of; and concurred in their
 "earnest desires to the two Houses of Parliament, "to take to
 "their serious considerations those particulars, and to give fa-
 "vourable hearing to such desires and overtures, as should be
 "found most conducive to the promoting so great, and so
 "good a work.

THIS being sent to the Parliament at the time they were forming their Army, and when the King was preparing for his defence, they who, from the beginning, had principally intended this confusion of the Church, insinuated "how necessary it was, speedily to return a very affectionate, and
 "satisfactory reply to the Kingdom of *Scotland*; not only to
 "preserve the reputation of unity, and consent between them,
 "which, at that time, was very useful to them, but to hinder
 "the operations of the disaffected in that Kingdom; who,
 "upon insinuations that the Parliament only aim'd at taking his
 "Majesties Regal rights from him, to the prejudice of Monarchique Government, without any thought of reforming
 "Religion, endeavour'd to pervert the Affections of that People towards the Parliament. Whereas if they were once
 "assured there was a purpose to reform Religion, they should
 "be sure to have their Hearts; and, if occasion required,
 "their Hands too; which possibly might be seduced for the
 "King, if that purpose were not manifested. Therefore, for
 "the present, they should do well to return their hearty
 "thanks for, and their Brotherly acceptance and approbation
 "of the desires, and advice of that Christian Assembly, and
 "of the Lords of the Council; and that though, for the present, by reason of the King's distance from the Parliament,
 "they

"they could not settle any conclusion in that matter, yet for
 "Their parts they were resolv'd to endeavour it.

By this Artifice and Invention, they procured a Declaration from the two Houses of Parliament, of wonderful kindness, and confession of many inconveniencies, and mischiefs the Kingdom had sustain'd by Bishops; and therefore they declared, "that That Hierarchical Government was evil, and "justly offensive, and burthenfome to the Kingdom; a great "impediment to Reformation, and growth of Religion; very "prejudicial to the State and Government of the Kingdom; "and that they were resolv'd, that the same should be taken "away; and that their purpose was to consult with Godly, "and Learned Divines, that they might not only remove "That, but settle such a Government, as might be most agree- "able to Gods holy word; most apt to procure, and conserve "the Peace of the Church at home, and happy Union with "the Church of *Scotland*, and other Reform'd Churches "abroad; and to establish the same by a Law, which they in- "tended to frame for that purpose, to be presented to his Ma- "jesty for his Royal Assent; and in the mean time to beseech "him, that a Bill for the Assembly might be passed in time "convenient for their meeting; the two Houses having extra- judicially and extravagantly nominated their own Divines to that purpose, as is before remember'd.

It was then believ'd by many, and the King was per- swaded to believe the same; that all those Importunities from *Scotland* concerning the Government of the Church, were used only to preserve themselves from being press'd by the Parliament, to joyn with them against the King; imagining that this Kingdom would never have consented to such an al- teration; and they again pretending, that no other obligation could unite that People in their Service. But it is most cer- tain, this last Declaration was procured by perswading Men, "that it was for the present necessary, and that it was only "an Engagement to do their best to perswade his Majesty, "who they concluded would be inexorable in the point (which they seem'd not to be sorry for) "and that a reced- "ing from such a conclusion would be a means to gratify his "Majesty in a Treaty. At worst, they all knew, that there would be room enough, when any Bill should be brought in, to oppose what they had, for this reason of State, seem'd ge- nerally to consent to. And so by these Stratagems, thinking to be too hard for each other, they grew all so entangled, that they still wound themselves deeper into those Labyrinths, in which the Major part meant not to be involv'd. And what effect that Declaration of the two Houses, after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, which is mention'd before, wrought, will very shortly appear.

THE

*The King at
Oxford re-
cruits his
Army.*

THE King found himself in good ease at *Oxford*, where care was taken for providing for the sick, and wounded Soldiers, and for the Accommodation of the Army, which was, in a short time, recruited there in a good measure; and the several Colleges presented his Majesty with all the Money they had in their Treasuries, which amounted to a good Sum, and was a very seasonable supply, as they had formerly sent him all their Plate. It had been very happy, if the King had continued his resolution of sitting still during the Winter, without making farther attempts; for his Reputation was now great, and his Army believ'd to be much greater than it was, by the Victory they had obtain'd, and the Parliament grew more divided into Factions, and dislike of what they had done, and the City appear'd fuller of discontent, and less inclined to be impos'd upon than they had been: so that on all hands nothing was press'd, but that some address might be made to the King for an accommodation; which temper and disposition might have been cultivated, as many Men thought, to great effects, if no farther approaches had been made to *London*, to shew them how little cause they had for their great fear. But the Weather growing fair again, as it often is about *All-hollantide*, and a good party of Horse having been sent out from *Abingdon*, where the head Quarter of the Horse was, they advanced farther than they had order to do, and upon their approach to *Reading*, where *Harry Martin* was Governour for the Parliament, there was a great terror seized upon them, in so much as Governour and Garrison fled to *London*, and left the place to the party of Horse; which gave advertisement to the King, "that all fled before them; that the Earl of *Essex* remain'd still at *Warwick*, having no Army to March; and "that there was so great divisions in the Parliament, that, "upon his Majesties approach, they would all fly; and that "nothing could interrupt him from going to *White-Hall*. However, *Reading* it self was so good a Post, that if the King should find it necessary to make his own Residence in *Oxford*, it would be much the better by having a Garrison at *Reading*.

*The Garrison
of the Par-
liament at
Reading
quitting it,
the King
marches
thither.*

UPON these and other motives, besides the natural credulity in Men, in believing all they wish'd to be true, the King was prevail'd with to march with his Army to *Reading*. This Alarm quickly came to *London*, and was receiv'd with the deepest horror: they now unbeliev'd all which had been told them from their own Army; that Army which, they were told, was well beaten, and scatter'd, was now advanced within thirty Miles of *London*; and the Earl of *Essex*, who pretended to the Victory, and who they supposed was watching the King, that he might not escape from him, could not be

heard

heard of, and continued still at *Warwick*. Whilst the King was at *Nottingham*, and *Shrewsbury*, they gave orders Magisterially for the War, but now it was come to their own doors, they took not that delight in it.

BEFORE they were resolv'd what to say, they dispatch'd a Messenger, who found the King at *Reading*, only to desire "a Safe Conduct from his Majesty for a Committee of Lords and Commons, to attend his Majesty with an humble Petition from his Parliament. The King presently return'd his Answer, "that he had always been, and was still ready to "receive any Petition from them; that their Committee should "be Welcome, provided it consisted of Persons, who had not "been by name declared Traytors by his Majesty, and excepted as such in his Declarations, or Proclamations. The cause of this limitation was as well the former Rule his Majesty had set down at *Shrewsbury* (from whence he thought not fit now to recede, after a Battle) as that he might prevent the Lord *Say's* being sent to him, from whom he could expect no entire, and upright dealing.

THE next day another Letter came from the Speaker of the House of Peers to the Lord *Falkland*, one of his Majesties Principal Secretaries, to desire "a Safe Conduct for the Earls "of *Northumberland*, and *Pembroke*, and four Members of the House of Commons, to attend his Majesty with their "Petition; which Safe Conduct was immediately sign'd by his Majesty, excepting only for *Sr John Evelyn*, who was by name excepted in his Majesties Proclamation of Pardon to the County of *Wilts*; which Proclamation was then sent to them with a signification, "that if they would send any other Person in his place, not subject to the same exception, he should "be receiv'd as if his name were in the Safe Conduct. Though this was no more than they had cause to look for, yet it gave them opportunity for a time to lay aside the thought of Petitioning, as if his Majesty had rejected all Overtures of Peace: "For he might every day proclaim as many of their Members "Traytors, and except them from Pardon, as he pleased, and "therefore it was to no purpose to prepare Petitions, and appoint Messengers to present them, when it was possible "those Messengers might, the hour before, be proclaim'd "Traytors: that to submit to such a limitation of the King's "was, upon the matter, to consent to, and approve the highest breach of Privilege, that had been yet offer'd to them.

So that, for some days, all discourse of Peace was wav'd, and all possible preparations for defence and resistance made; for which they had a stronger Argument than either of the other, the advancing of their General, the Earl of *Essex*, who was now on his march towards *London*; and a great fame

came before him of the strength and Courage of his Army; though in truth it was not answerable to the report: However, it serv'd to encourage, and inflame those whose fear only inclined them to Peace, and to awe the rest. The King, who had every night an account of what was transacted in the Houses all day (what the close Committee did, who guided all private designs, was not so soon known) resolv'd to quicken them; and advanced with his whole Army to *Colebrook*. This indeed exalted their appetite to Peace; for the clamour of the People was importunate, and somewhat humbled their Style; for at *Colebrook*, the 11th of *November*, his Majesty was met by the two Earls of *Northumberland*, and *Pembroke*, with those three of the House of Commons whose Names were in the Safe Conduct; they satisfying themselves, that the leaving *St. John Evelyn* behind them, without bringing another in his room, was no Submission to the King's exception: and this Petition was by them presented to him.

*The King
advanced to
Colebrook.*

*A Petition
presented to
the King
from both
Houses.*

"WE your Majesties most Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, being affected with a deep and piercing sense of the miseries of this Kingdom, and of the dangers to your Majesties Person, as the present affairs now stand; and much quicken'd therein with the sad consideration of the great effusion of Blood at the late Battle, and of the loss of so many eminent Persons; and farther weighing the addition of Loss, Misery, and Danger to your Majesty, and your Kingdom, which must ensue, if both Armies should again joyn in another Battle, as without Gods especial blessing, and your Majesties concurrence with your Houses of Parliament will not probably be avoided: We cannot but believe that a suitable impression of tenderness, and compassion, is wrought in your Majesties Royal heart, being your self an Eye Witness of the bloody and sorrowful destruction of so many of your Subjects; and that your Majesty doth apprehend what diminution of your own Power and Greatness will follow, and that all your Kingdoms will thereby be so weaken'd as to become subject to the Attempts of any ill affected to this State.

"IN all which respects We assure our selves, that your Majesty will be inclined graciously to accept this our humble Petition; that the misery, and desolation of this Kingdom may be speedily removed, and prevented. For the effecting whereof, We humbly beseech your Majesty to appoint some convenient place, not far from the City of *London*, where your Majesty will be pleased to reside, until Committees of both Houses of Parliament may attend your Majesty with some Propositions for the removal of these bloody distempers

pers and distractions, and settling the State of the Kingdom in such a manner as may conduce to the preservation of Gods true Religion, your Majesties Honour, Safety, and Prosperity; and to the Peace, Comfort, and Security of all your People.

THE King, within two or three hours after the receipt of his Petition, deliver'd to the same Messengers, this ensuing Answer, with which they return'd the same Night to *London*.

"WE take God to Witness, how deeply We are affected with the miseries of this Kingdom, which heretofore We have stroven, as much as in Us lay to prevent; it being sufficiently known to all the world that, as We were not the first that took up Armes, so, We have shew'd Our readiness of composing all things in a fair way, by our several offers of Treaty, and shall be glad now at length to find any such inclinations in others. The same tenderness to avoid the destruction of our Subjects (whom We know to be our greatest strength) which would always make our greatest Victories bitter to us, shall make us willingly hearken to such Propositions, whereby these bloody distempers may be stopp'd, and the great distractions of this Kingdom settled to Gods glory, Our Honour, and the Welfare, and Flourishing of Our People: And to that end shall reside at our own Castle at *Windsor* (if the Forces there shall be removed) till Committees may have time to attend us with the same (which, to prevent the Inconveniencies that will intervene, We wish be hasten'd) and shall be ready there, or, if that be refused us, at any place where We shall be, to receive such Propositions as aforesaid, from both our Houses of Parliament. Do you Your duty, We will not be wanting in Ours. God of his mercy give a blessing,

It was then believ'd by many, that if the King had, as soon as the Messengers return'd to *London*, retired with his Army to *Reading*, and there expected the Parliament's Answer, they would immediately have withdrawn their Garrison from *Windsor*, and deliver'd that Castle to his Majesty for his accommodation to have treated in: And without doubt those Lords who had been with the Petition, and some others who thought themselves as much over-shadow'd by the greatness of the Earl of *Essex*, and the Chief Officers of the Army, as they could be by the glory of any Favourite, or power of any Counsellors, were resolv'd to merit as much as they could of the King, by advancing an honourable Peace; and had it in their purpose to endeavour the giving up of *Windsor* to the

King; but whether they would have been able to have prevailed that so considerable a strength, in so considerable a place, should have been quitted, whilst there was only hope of a Peace, I much doubt. But certainly the King's Army carried great terror with it; and all those reports, which publish'd the weakness of it, grew to be peremptorily disbeliev'd. For, besides that every days experience disprov'd somewhat which was so confidently reported, and it was evident great industry was used to apply such Intelligence to the People as was most like to make impression upon the passions, and affections of the Vulgar-spirited, it could not be believ'd that a handful of Men could have given Battle to their formidable Army, and after taking two or three of their Garrisons, presume to march within fifteen Miles of *London*: so that, if from thence the King had drawn back again to *Reading*, relying upon a Treaty for the rest, it is probable his power would have been more valued, and consequently his grace the more magnified. And sure the King resolv'd to have done so, or at least to have stay'd at *Colebrook* till he heard again from the Parliament. But Prince *Rupert*, exalted with the terror he heard his Name gave to the Enemy, trusting too much to the Vulgar Intelligence every Man receiv'd from his Friends at *London*, who according to their own passions and the Affections of those with whom they corresponded, concluded that the King had so great a Party in *London*, that, if his Army drew near, no resistance would be made, without any direction from the King, the very next morning after the Committee return'd to *London*, advanced with the Horse and Dragoons to *Howslow*, and then sent to the King to desire him that the Army might march after; which was, in that case, of absolute necessity; for the Earl of *Essex* had a part of his Army at *Brentford*, and the rest at *Acton*, and *Kingston*. So that if the King had not advanced with His Body, those who were before might very easily have been compass'd in, and their Retreat made very difficult,

The King
marches to-
wards
Brentford.

So the King march'd with his whole Army towards *Brentford*, where were two Regiments of their best Foot (for so they were accounted, being those who had eminently behaved themselves at *Edge-hill*) having Barricadoed the narrow Avenues to the Town, and cast up some little Breast Works at the most convenient places. Here a *Welsh* Regiment of the Kings, which had been faulty at *Edge-hill*, recover'd it's Honour, and assaulted the Works, and forced the Barricadoes well defended by the Enemy. Then the King's Forces enter'd the Town after a very warm Service, the chief Officers, and many Soldiers of the other side being kill'd; and they took there above five hundred Prisoners, eleven

Colours,

Colours, and fifteen Pieces of Cannon, and good store of Ammunition. But this Victory (for considering the place it might well be call'd so) proved not at all fortunate to his Majesty.

THE two Houses were so well satisfied with the Answer their Committee had brought from the King, and with the report they made of his Majesties Clemency, and gracious Reception of them, that they had sent order to their Forces, That they should not exercise any Act of Hostility towards the King's Forces; and, at the same time, dispatch'd a Messenger, to acquaint his Majesty therewith, and to desire "that there might be the like forbearance on His part. The Messenger found both Parties engaged at *Brentford*, and so return'd without attending his Majesty, who had no apprehension that they intended any Cessation; since those Forces were advanced to *Brentford*, *Alton*, and *Kingston*, after their Committee was sent to *Colebrook*. However they look'd upon this entering of *Brentford* as a surprise contrary to Faith, and the betraying their Forces to a Massacre, under the specious pretence of a Treaty for Peace. The Alarm came to *London*, with the same Terror as if the Army were enter'd their Gates, and the King accused "of Treachery, Perfidy, and Blood; and that he had given the Spoil and Wealth of the City as Pillage to his Army, which advanced with no other purpose.

THEY who believ'd nothing of those Calumnies, were not yet willing the King should enter the City with an Army, which, they knew, would not be Govern'd in so Rich Quarters; and therefore, with unspeakable Expedition, the Army under the Earl of *Essex* was not only drawn together, but all the Train'd-bands of *London* led out in their brightest Equipage upon the Heath next *Brentford*; where they had indeed a full Army of Horse and Foot, fit to have decided the Title of a Crown with an equal Adversary. The View and Prospect of this strength, which nothing but that suddain Exigent could have brought together, extremely puffed them up; not only as it was an ample Security against the present danger, but as it looked like a Safe Power to encounter any other. They had now before their Eyes the King's little handful of Men, and then begun to wonder and blush at their own fears; and all this might be without excess of Courage; for without doubt their numbers then, without the advantage of Equipage (which to Soldiers is a great addition of Mettle) were five times greater than the King's, Harraßed, Weather-beaten, and half-starved Troops.

I HAVE heard many knowing Men, and some who were then in the City Regiments, say, "That if the King had

The Earl of Essex's Army, and the City Train'd-bands oppos'd against them.

Advanced, and Charged that Massive body, it had presently given ground; and that the King had so great a Party in every Regiment, that they would have made no resistance. But it had been madness, which no Success could have vindicated, to have made that attempt: and the King easily discern'd that He had brought himself into streights and difficulties, which would be hardly master'd, and exposed his Victorious Army to a view, at too near a distance off his two Enemies, the Parliament and the City. Yet he stood all that day in Battalia to receive them, who only played upon him with their Cannon, to the loss only of four or five Horses, and not one Man. The constitution of their Forces, where there were very many not at all affected to the Company they were in, being a good argument to Them not to Charge the King, which had been an ill one to Him to Charge Them.

*The King's
Army draws
off to King-
ston.*

WHEN the Evening drew on, and it appear'd that great Body stood only for the defence of the City, the King appointed his Army to draw off to *Kingston*, which the Rebels had kindly quitted; which they did without the loss of a Man; and himself went to his own House at *Hampton-Court*, where he rested the next day, as well to refresh his Army, even tir'd with Watching and Fasting, as to expect some Propositions from the Houses. For, upon his Advance to *Brentford*, he had sent a Servant of his own, one Mr *White*, with a Message to the Parliament, containing the reasons of that motion (there being no Cessation offer'd on Their part) and desiring "the Propositions might be dispatch'd to him with all speed. But his Messenger being carried to the Earl of *Essex*, was by him used very roughly, and by the Houses committed to the Gate-house, not without the motion of some Men, "that he might be executed as a Spy.

AFTER a days stay at *Hampton-Court*, the King remov'd himself to his House at *Otelands*, leaving the gros of his Army still at *Kingston*, and thereabouts; but being then inform'd of the high imputations they had laid upon him; "of breach of Faith, by his march to *Brentford*; and that "the City was really inflamed with an opinion, that he meant "to have surpris'd them, and to have sacked the Town; "that they were so possess'd with that fear, and apprehension, "that their care and preparation for their safety would at "least keep off all Propositions for Peace, whilst the Army "lay so near *London*: He gave direction for all his Forces to retire to *Reading*; first discharging all the Common Soldiers, who had been taken Prisoners at *Brentford* (except such who Voluntarily offer'd to serve him) upon their Oaths that they would no more bear Armes against his Majesty.

*Hence to
Reading.*

THE

THE King then sent a Message to the Houses, in which The King sends a Message to the Houses.
 "He took notice of those unjust and unreasonable imputations raised on him; told them again of the reasons and circumstances of His motion towards *Brentford*; of the Earl of *Essex's* drawing out his Forces towards him, and possessing those Quarters about him, and almost hemming him in, after the time that the Commissioners were sent to him with the Petition; that he had never heard of the least overture of the forbearing all Acts of Hostility, but saw the contrary practiced by Them by that Advance; that he had not the least thought or intention of mastering the City by Force, or carrying his Army thither: That he wonder'd to hear his Soldiers charged with thirsting after blood, when they took above five hundred Prisoners in the very heat of the Fight. He told them such were most apt, and likely to maintain their Power by Blood and Rapine, who had only got it by Oppression and Injustice; that His was vested in him by the Law, and by that only (if the destructive Counsels of others did not hinder such a Peace, in which that might once again be the universal rule, and in which only Religion and Justice could flourish) he desired to maintain it: that he intended to march to such a distance from his City of *London* as might take away all pretence of apprehension from his Army, that might hinder them from preparing their Propositions, in all security, to be presented to him; and there he would be ready to receive them, or, if that expedient pleased them not, to end the Pressures and Miseries, which his Subjects, to his great grief, suffer'd through this War, by a present Battle.

BUT as the Armies being so near *London* was an Argument against a present Treaty, so its remove to *Reading* was a greater with very many not to desire any. The danger, which they had brought themselves for some days together to look upon at their Gates, was now to be condemn'd at the distance of thirty miles; and this Retreat imputed only to the fear of their Power, not to the inclinations to Peace. And therefore they, who during the time that the Major part did really desire a good Peace, and whilst Overtures were preparing to that purpose, had the skill to intermingle Acts more destructive to it, than any Propositions could be contributory (as the inviting the *Scots* to their Assistance by that Declaration, which is before mention'd; and the publishing a Declaration at the same time, which had lain long by them, in reply to one set forth by the King long before in Answer to their's of the 26th of *May*, in which they used both his Person and his Power with more irreverence than they had ever done before) now only insisted on the surprise, as they call'd

it, of *Brentford*; and published, by the Authority of both Houses, a relation of the carriage of the King's Soldiers in that Town after their Victory (which they fram'd upon the discourses of the Country People, who possibly, as it could not be otherwise, had receiv'd damage by their Licence then) to make the King and his Army odious to the Kingdom; "as affecting nothing but Blood and Rapine; and concluding, "that there could not be reasonably expected any good Conditions of a tolerable Peace from the King, whilst he was "in such Company; and therefore that all particular Propositions were to be resolv'd into that one, of inviting his Majesty to come to them; and got a Vote from the Major part of both Houses, "that no other measure for Accommodation or Treaty should be thought on.

THEIR Trusty Lord Mayor of *London*, *Isaac Pennington*, who was again chosen to serve another year, so bestir'd himself, having to assist him two Sheriffs, *Langham* and *Andrews*, as they could wish, that there was not only no more opportunity or interposition from the City for Peace; but, instead thereof, an Overture and Declaration from divers, under the style of well affected Persons, "that they would advance "a considerable number of Soldiers, for the supply and recruit "of the Parliament Forces; and would Arms, Maintain, and "Pay them for several Months, or during the times of danger, "and distractions; provided that they might have the publick Faith of the Kingdom for repayment of all such Sums "of Money, which they should so advance by way of Loan. This wonderful kind of Proposition was presently declared "to be an acceptable service to the King, Parliament, and "Kingdom, and necessarily tending to the preservation of "them; and therefore an Ordinance, as they call it, was framed and passed both Houses:

An Ordinance for raising Money upon the publick Estate.

"THAT all such as should furnish Men, Money, Horse, "or Armes for that Service, should have the same fully repaid "again, with Interest for the forbearance thereof, from the "times disbursed. And for the true payment thereof, they "did thereby engage to all, and every such Person, and Persons, the publick Faith of the Kingdom. And order'd the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs of *London*, by themselves, or such Sub-Committees as they should appoint, to take Subscriptions, and to intend the advancement of that Service. Upon this voluntary, general Proposition, made by a few obscure Men, probably such who were not able to supply much Money, was this Ordinance made; and from this Ordinance the Active Mayor, and Sheriffs, appointed a Committee of such Persons whose inclinations they well knew, to press all kind of People, especially those who were not forward, to new Subscriptions;

scriptions; and, by degrees, from this unconsider'd passage, grew the monthly Tax of six thousand pounds to be set upon the City for the payment of the Army.

As they provided, with this notable circumspection, to raise Men and Money; so they took not less Care, nor used less Art, and Industry, to raise their General; and lest he might suppose himself fallen in their good grace, and confidence, by bringing an Army back shatter'd, poor, and discomforted, which he had carried out in full Numbers, and glorious Equipage, they used him with greater reverence and submission than ever. They had before appointed another distinct Army to be raised under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, and not subject to the Power of the Earl of *Essex*, and of this, several Regiments and Troops were raised; these they sent to the old Army, and the Earl of *Warwick* gave up his Commission, upon resolution "that there should be only One General, and He, the Earl of *Essex*. Then the two Houses passed, and presented, with great solemnity, this Declaration to his Excellency, the same day that their Committee went to the King with their Petition:

"THAT, as they had, upon mature deliberation, and assured confidence in his Wisdom, Courage, and Fidelity, chosen, and appointed Him their Captain General; so they did find, that the said Earl had managed that Service, of so high importance, with so much care, valour, and dexterity, as well by the extremest hazard of his life, in a bloody Battle near *Keinton* in *Warwick-shire*, as by all the Actions of a most excellent and expert Commander, in the whole course of that employment, as did deserve their best acknowledgement: And they did therefore declare, and publish, to the lasting Honour of the said Earl, the great and acceptable Service, which he had therein done to the Commonwealth; and should be willing and ready, upon all occasions, to express the due sense they had of his merits, by assuring and protecting Him, and all others employed under his Command in that Service, with their Lives and Fortunes, to the uttermost of their Power: that Testimony and Declaration to remain upon record, in both Houses of Parliament, for a mark of Honour to his Person, Name, and Family, and for a Monument of his singular Virtue to Posterity.

A Declaration of both Houses concerning their General's acceptable service.

WHEN they had thus composed their Army and their General, they sent this Petition to the King to *Reading*, who stayed still there in expectation of their Propositions.

May

May it please your Majesty:

*The Houses
Petition to
the King,
Nov. 24.*

"IT is humbly desired by both Houses of Parliament, that your Majesty will be pleased to return to your Parliament, with your Royal, not your Martial, Attendance; to the end that Religion, Laws, and Liberties, may be settled and secured by Their advice; finding by a sad, and late accident, that your Majesty is environ'd by some such Counsels, as do rather perswade a desperate division, than a joyning and a good agreement with your Parliament and People: And We shall be ready to give your Majesty Assurances of such security, as may be for your Honour, and the safety of your Royal Person.

*The Sub-
stance of the
King's Answer.*

AS SOON as the King receiv'd this strange Address, he return'd them by the same Messenger a sharp Answer to this effect; He told them, "he hoped all his good Subjects would look upon that Message with Indignation, as intended, by the Contrivers thereof, as a scorn to him; and thereby design'd by that Malignant Party (of whom he had so often complain'd, whose safety and ambition was built upon the Divisions and Ruins of the Kingdom, and who had too great an influence upon their Actions) for a Wall of separation betwixt his Majesty and his People. He said, he had often told them the reasons, why he departed from London; how he was chased thence, and by whom; and as often complain'd, that the greatest part of his Peers, and of the Members of the House of Commons, could not, with safety to their Honours and Persons, continue, and Vote freely among them; but, by violence, and cunning practices, were debarr'd of those Privileges, which their Birthrights, and the trust repos'd in them by their Countries, gave them: That the whole Kingdom knew that an Army was rais'd, under pretence of Orders of both Houses (an usurpation never before heard of in any Age) which Army had pursued his Majesty in his own Kingdom; given him Battle at *Keinton* and now, those Rebels being recruited, and possess'd of the City of *London*, he was courteously invited to return to his Parliament there, that is, to the power of that Army. "THAT, he said, could signify nothing but that, since the Trayterous endeavours of those desperate Men could not snatch the Crown from His head, it being defended by the Providence of God, and the Affections and Loyalty of his good Subjects, he should now tamely come up, and give it them; and put Himself, his Life, and the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes of all his good Subjects into their Merciful hands. He said, he thought not fit to give any other An-

"swer

“swer to that part of their Petition : But as he imputed not
 “that affront to both his Houses of Parliament, nor to the
 “Major part of those who were then present there, but to that
 “dangerous Party his Majesty and the Kingdom must still cry
 “out upon ; so he would not (for his good Subject’s sake,
 “and out of his most tender sense of their Miseries, and the
 “general Calamities of the Kingdom, which must, if the
 “War continued, speedily overwhelm the whole Nation)
 “take advantage of it : But if they would really pursue the
 “course they seem’d, by their Petition at *Colebrook*, to be in-
 “clined to, he should make good all he then promised ; where-
 “by the hearts of his distressed Subjects might be raised with
 “the hopes of Peace ; without which, Religion, the Laws,
 “and Liberties, could by no ways be settled and secured.

“FOR the late, and sad accident they mention’d, if they
 “intended that of *Brentford*, he desired them once again to
 “deal ingenuously with the People, and to let them see his
 “last Message to them, and his Declaration concerning the
 “same (both which his Majesty had sent to his Press at *Lon-*
don, but were taken away from his Messenger, and not suffer’d
 “to be publish’d) “and then he doubted not, but they would
 “be soon undeceiv’d, and easily find out those Counsels, which
 “did rather perswade a desperate division, than a good agree-
 “ment betwixt his Majesty, his two Houses, and People.

THIS Answer being deliver’d, without any farther con-
 sideration whether the same were reasonable or not reasonable,
 they declared “the King had no mind to Peace ; and there-
 upon laid aside all farther Debates to that purpose ; and or-
 der’d their General to march to *Windsor* with the Army, to
 be so much nearer the King’s Forces ; for the better recruiting
 whereof, two of their most eminent Chaplains, Dr *Downing*
 and Mr *Marshall*, publicly avow’d, “that the Soldiers lately
 “taken Prisoners at *Brentford*, and discharged, and released
 “by the King upon their Oaths that they would never again
 “bear Armes against him, were not obliged by that Oath ;
 but, by Their power, absolv’d them thereof, and so engaged
 again those miserable Wretches in a second Rebellion.

WHEN the King discern’d clearly that the Enemies to
 Peace had the better of him, and that there was now no far-
 ther thought of preparing Propositions to be sent to him ; af-
 ter he had seen a Line drawn about *Reading*, which he resolv’d
 to keep as a Garrison, and the works in a reasonable forward-
 ness, he left St *Arthur Aston*, whom he had lately made Com-
 missary General of the Horse (Mr *Wilmot* being at the same
 time constituted Lieutenant General) Governour thereof,
 with a Garrison of above two thousand Foot, and a good Re-
 giment of Horse : and himself with the rest of his Army
 march’d

*The King
having Gar-
rison'd
Reading
and Wal-
lingford,
and some
other places
marches to
Oxford.*

march'd to *Oxford*, where he resolv'd to rest that Winter, settling at the same time a good Garrison at *Wallingford*, a place of great importance within eight Miles of *Oxford*; another at the *Brill* upon the Edge of *Buckingham-shire*; a third being before settled at *Banbury*; *Abingdon* being the head Quarters for his Horse; and by this means he had all *Oxford-shire* entire, all *Berk-shire*, but that barren division about *Windsor*; and from the *Brill*, and *Banbury*, a good influence upon *Buckingham-shire*, and *Northampton-shire*.

*Marlbo-
rough Gar-
rison'd by
the Parlia-
ment.*

THE King was hardly settled in his Quarters, when he heard that the Parliament was fixing a Garrison at *Marlborough* in *Wilt-shire*, a Town the most notoriously disaffected of all that County; otherwise, saving the obstinacy and malice of the Inhabitants, in the Situation of it very unfit for a Garrison. Thither the Earl of *Essex* had sent one *Ramsay* (a *Scotch-man*, as very many of their Officers were of that Nation) to be Governour; who, with the help of the Factious People there, had quickly drawn together five or six hundred Men. This place, the King saw, would soon prove an ill Neighbour to him; not only as it was in the heart of a rich County, and so would streighten, and even infest his Quarters (for it was within twenty Miles of *Oxford*) but as it did cut off his Line of Communication with the West: And therefore, though it was *December*, a season, when his tired, and almost naked Soldiers might expect rest, he sent a strong Party of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, under the Command of Mr *Wilmot* the Lieutenant General of his Horse, to visit that Town; who, coming thither on a *Saturday*, found the place strongly Mann'd: for, besides the Garrison, it being Market day, very many Country People came thither to buy and sell, and were all compell'd to stay and take Armes for the defence of the place; which, for the most part, they were willing to do, and the People peremptory to defend it. Though there was no Line about it, yet there were some places of great advantage, upon which they had rais'd Batteries, and planted Cannon, and so Barricadoed all the Avenues, which were through deep narrow Lanes, that the Horse could do little service.

WHEN the Lieutenant General was, with his Party, near the Town, he apprehended a fellow who confessed upon Examination, "that he was a Spy, and sent by the Governour "to bring Intelligence of their strength and motion. When all Men thought, and the poor fellow himself fear'd, he should be executed; the Lieutenant General caus'd his whole Party to be ranged in order in the next convenient place, and bid the fellow look well upon them, and observe them, and then bid him return to the Town, and tell those that sent him, what he had seen, and withal that he should acquaint the

Magistrates

Magistrates of the Town, "that they should do well to treat
 "with the Garrison, to give them leave to submit to the King;
 "that if they did so, the Town should not receive the least
 "prejudice; but if they compell'd him to make his way, and
 "enter the Town by force, it would not be in his power to
 "keep his Soldiers from taking that which they should win
 "with their Blood: and so dismiss'd him. This generous
 Act prov'd of some advantage; for the fellow, transported
 with having his Life given him; and the Numbers of the
 Men he had seen, besides his no Experience in such fights,
 being multiplied by his fear, made notable relations of the
 Strength, Gallantry, and Resolution of the Enemy, and of the
 impossibility of resisting them; which, though it prevailed
 not with those in Authority to yield, yet it strangely abated
 the hopes, and courage of the People. So that when the
 King's Soldiers fell on, after a Volley or two, in which much
 Execution was done, they threw down their Armes, and run
 into the Town; so that the Foot had time to make room for
 the Horse, who were now enter'd at both ends of the Town,
 yet were not so near an end as they expected; for the Streets
 were in many places Barricadoed, which were obstinately de-
 fended by some Soldiers and Towns-men, who kill'd many
 Men out of the Windows of the Houses; so that, it may be,
 if they had trusted only to their own strength, without com-
 pelling the Country Men to encrease their Number, and who
 being first frightened, and weary, dishearten'd their Companions,
 that place might have cost more Blood. *Ramsay* the Govern-
 our was himself retired into the Church with some Officers,
 and from thence did some hurt; upon this, there being so
 many kill'd out of Windows, fire was put to the next Houses,
 so that a good part of the Town was burn'd, and then the
 Soldiers enter'd doing less Execution than could reasonably
 be expected; but, what they spared in Blood, they took
 in Pillage, the Soldiers enquiring little who were Friends
 or Foes.

THIS was the first Garrison taken on either side; for *Marlbo-*
Farnham Castle in *Surrey*, whither some Gentlemen who were rough taken
 willing to appear for the King had repair'd, and were taken by the King's
 with less resistance than was fit, by *Sr William Waller*, some *Lieutenants*
 few days before, deserv'd not the name of a Garrison. In *General*
 this of *Marlborough* were taken, besides the Governour, and *Wilmot*.
 other Officers, who yielded upon Quarter, above one thou-
 sand Prisoners; great stores of Armes, four pieces of Cannon,
 and a good quantity of Ammunition, with all which the
 Lieutenant General return'd safe to *Oxford*: Though this
 Success was a little shadow'd, by the unfortunate loss of a
 very good Regiment of Horse within a few days after; for the

the Lord *Grandison*, by the miscarriage of Orders, was exposed, at too great a distance from the Army, with his single Regiment of Horse consisting of three hundred, and a Regiment of two hundred Dragoons, to the unequal encounter of a Party of the Enemy of five thousand Horse and Dragoons; and so was Himself, after a Retreat made to *Winchester*, there taken with all his Party; which was the first loss of that kind, the King sustain'd; but without the least fault of the Commander; and the misfortune was much lessen'd by his making an escape himself with two or three of his principal Officers, who were very welcome to *Oxford*.

THE first thing the King apply'd himself to consult upon, after he was settled in his Winter Quarters, and despair'd of any honest Overtures for a Peace, was, how to apply some Antidote to that Poyson, which was sent into *Scotland*, in that Declaration We mention'd before; the which he had not only seen, as an Act communicated abroad and in many hands, but the *Scottish* Earl of *Lindsey*, who was then a Commissioner Leiger at *London* for *Scotland*, had presented it to him. And there was every day some motion in the House of Commons to press the *Scots*, to invade the Kingdom for their assistance, upon the growth of the Earl of *New-Castle's* power in the North. And therefore, after full thoughts, the King writ to his Privy Council of *Scotland* (who by the Laws enacted when he was last there, had the Absolute, indeed Regal, Power of that Kingdom) and took notice of that Declaration, which had been sent to them, earnestly inviting, and in a manner challenging an Assistance from that his Native Kingdom of Men and Armes, for making a War against him, and making claim to that Assistance by virtue of the late Act of Pacification.

The Substance of the King's Message to the Privy Council of Scotland, upon occasion of the two Houses Declaration to that Kingdom.

HE told them, "that, as he was at his Soul afflicted, that it had been in the power of any factious, and ambitious, and malicious Persons, so far to possess the hearts of many of his Subjects of *England*, as to raise this miserable distemper, and distraction in this Kingdom against all his real endeavours and actions to the contrary; so he was glad, that That rage and fury had so far transported them, that they applied themselves, in so gross a manner, to his Subjects of *Scotland*; whose experience of his Religion, Justice, and Love of his People, would not suffer them to believe those horrid Scandals, laid upon his Majesty: and their Affection, Loyalty, and Jealousy of his Honour, would disdain to be made Instruments to oppress their native Sovereign, by assisting an odious Rebellion. He remember'd them, "that he had from time to time acquainted his Subjects of that Kingdom

" Kingdom with the Accidents, and Circumstances which had
 " disquieted This; how, after all the Acts of Justice, Grace,
 " and Favour, perform'd on His part, which were or could be
 " desired to make a People compleatly happy, he was driven,
 " by the force and violence of rude and tumultuous Assem-
 " blies, from his City of *London*, and his Houses of Parlia-
 " ment; how attempts had been made to impose Laws upon
 " his Subjects, without His consent, and contrary to the foun-
 " dation and constitution of the Kingdom; how his Forts,
 " Goods, and Navy, had been seized, and taken from him by
 " force, and employed against him; his Revenue, and ordi-
 " nary Subsistence, wrested from him: How he had been pur-
 " sued with scandalous and reproachful Language; bold, false,
 " and seditious Pasquils, and Libels, publickly allow'd against
 " him; and had been told that he might, without want of
 " Modesty and Duty, be deposed: That after all this, before
 " any force raised by Him, an Army was raised, and a Gene-
 " ral appointed to lead that Army against his Majesty, with a
 " Commission to kill, slay, and destroy all such who should be
 " faithful to him: That when he had been, by these means,
 " compell'd, with the Assistance of his good Subjects, to raise
 " an Army for his necessary defence, he had sent divers gra-
 " cious Messages, earnestly desiring that the calamities, and
 " miseries of a Civil War might be prevented by a Treaty;
 " and so he might know the grounds of that misunderstand-
 " ing: That he was absolutely refused to be treated with, and
 " the Army (raised, as was pretended, for the defence of his
 " Person) brought into the Field against him; gave him Bat-
 " tle; and, though it pleased God to give his Majesty the Vi-
 " ctory, destroyed many of his good Subjects, with as eminent
 " danger to his own Person, and his Children, as the skill
 " and malice of desperate Rebels could contrive.

" OF all which, and the other Indignities, which had been
 " offer'd to him, he doubted not the Duty and Affection of
 " his *Scotish* Subjects would have so just a resentment, that
 " they would express to the world the sense they had of his
 " sufferings: And, he hoped, his good Subjects of *Scotland*
 " were not so great strangers to the affairs of this Kingdom;
 " to believe that this misfortune and distraction was begot and
 " brought upon him by his two Houses of Parliament;
 " though, in truth, no unwarrantable Action against the
 " Law could be justified even by That Authority; but that
 " they well knew how the Members of both Houses had
 " been driven thence, insomuch that, of above five hundred
 " Members of the House of Commons, there were not then
 " there above fourscore; and, of above one hundred of the
 " House of Peers, not above fifteen or sixteen; all which were

" so

“so awed by a multitude of *Anabaptists Brownists*, and other
 “Persons, desperate, and decayed in their fortunes, in and
 “about the City of *London*, that, in truth, their consultations
 “had not the Freedom and Privilege which belong to Parlia-
 “ments.

“CONCERNING any Commissions granted by his Maje-
 “sty to Papists to raise Forces, he referred them to a Decla-
 “ration, lately set forth by him upon the occasion of that scan-
 “dal, which he likewise then sent to them. And for his own
 “true, and zealous affection to the Protestant Religion, he
 “would give no other Instance than his own constant pra-
 “ctice, on which Malice it self could lay no blemish; and
 “those many Protestations he had made in the sight of Al-
 “mighty God, to whom he knew he should be dearly account-
 “able if he failed in the observation.

“FOR that scandalous imputation of his intention of bring-
 “ing in Forreign Forces, as the same was raised without the
 “least shadow or colour of reason, and solemnly disavow’d
 “by his Majesty, in many of his Declarations; so there could
 “not be a clearer Argument to his Subjects of *Scotland* that
 “he had no such thought, than that he had hitherto forborne
 “to require the Assistance of that his Native Kingdom; from
 “whose Obedience, Duty, and Affection, he should confi-
 “dently expect it, if he thought his own strength here too
 “weak to preserve him; and of whose Courage, and Loy-
 “alty, he should look to make use, before he should think
 “of any Forreign Aid to succour him. And he knew no rea-
 “sonable or understanding Man could suppose that they were
 “oblig’d, or enabled, by the late Act of Parliament in both
 “Kingdoms, to obey the invitation that was made to them
 “by that pretended Declaration, when it was so evidently
 “provided for by that Act, that as the Kingdom of *Eng-
 “land* should not War against the Kingdom of *Scotland*,
 “without Consent of the Parliament of *England*, so the King-
 “dom of *Scotland* should not make War against the King-
 “dom of *England*, without the Consent of the Parliament of
 “*Scotland*.

HE told them, “if the grave Counsel and Advice, which
 “they had given, and derived to the Houses of Parliament
 “here, by their Act of the 22^d of *April* last, had been fol-
 “low’d in a tender care of his Royal Person, and of his
 “Princely Greatness and Authority, there would not that
 “face of Confusion have appear’d, which now threaten’d
 “this Kingdom: and therefore he requir’d them to Commu-
 “nicate what he then writ to all his Subjects of that King-
 “dom, and to use their utmost endeavours to inform them of
 “the truth of his Condition; and that they suffer’d not the

“Scandals and Imputations laid on his Majesty by the Malice
 “and Treason of some Men, to make any impression in the
 “minds of his People, to the lessening or corrupting their
 “Affections and Loyalty to him; but that they assured them
 “all, that the hardness he then underwent, and the Armes
 “he had been compell’d to take up, were for the defence of
 “his Person and safety of his Life; for the maintenance of the
 “true Protestant Religion, for the preservation of the Laws,
 “Liberties, and Constitution of this Kingdom, and for the
 “just Privileges of Parliament; and that he looked no longer
 “for a blessing from Heaven, than he endeavour’d the De-
 “fence and Advancement of all these: And, He could not
 “doubt, a dutiful concurrence in his Subjects of *Scotland*, in
 “the care of his Honour, and just Rights, would draw down
 “a blessing upon that Nation too.

THOUGH his Majesty well knew all the Persons, to whom
 he directed this Letter, to be those who were only able and
 willing to do him all possible disservice, yet he was sure by
 other instruments, if they neglected, which, for that reason,
 they were not like to do, to publish it to the People there;
 which he believ’d might so far operate upon them, as the others
 would not be able to procure them to invade *England*; and
 other fruit of their Allegiance he expected not, than that they
 should not Rebel.

HIS Majesty’s next care was the procuring Money for the
 payment of his Army; that the narrow circuit which con-
 tain’d his Quarters, might not be so intolerably oppress’d
 with that whole burthen. This was a very difficult matter;
 for the Soldiery already grew very high, and would obey no
 Orders or Rules but of their own making; and Prince *Rupert*
 consider’d only the subsistence, and advance of the Horse, as
 His Province, and indeed as if it had been a Province apart
 from the Army; and therefore would by no means endure
 that the great contributions, which the Counties within com-
 mand willingly submitted to, should be assign’d to any other
 use than the support of the Horse, and to be immediately
 collected, and receiv’d by the Officers. So that the several
 Garrisons, and all the Body of Foot, were to be constantly
 paid, and his Majesty’s weekly Expence for his House
 borne, out of such Monies as could be borrow’d. For, of
 all his own Revenue, he had not yet the receiving a Penny
 within his power; neither did he think fit to compel any
 one, even such who were known to have contributed freely
 to the Parliament, to supply him: Only by Letters, and all
 other gentle ways, he invited those who were able, to con-
 sider how much their own Security and Prosperity was con-
 cern’d, and depended upon the preservation of His Rights;

*What means
 the King
 then used to
 raise Money?*

and offer'd to sell any of his Lands, or to give any Personal security for whatsoever Money would be lent to him at Interest: for he had directed a Grant to be prepared of several Parks, and Forrests, and other Crown Lands, to many Persons of Honour and great Fortune about him, whose Estates and Reputation were well known; who were ready to be Personally bound for whatsoever Sums could be borrow'd.

THE Affection of the University of *Oxford* was most eminent: For, as they had before, when the Troubles first broke out, sent the King above ten thousand pounds out of the several Stocks of the Colleges, and the Puries of particular Persons, many whereof lent him all they had; so they now again made him a new Present. By these means, and the Loan of particular Persons, especially from *London* (for from thence, notwithstanding all the strict watch to the contrary, considerable Sums were drawn) The King, even above his hopes, was able to pay his Foot, albeit it amounted to above three thousand pounds weekly, in such manner, that, during the whole Winter, there was not the least disorder for want of pay. And then he used all possible care to encourage and countenance new Levies of Horse and Foot, for the recruiting his Army against the next Spring.

THE Parliament's Army being now about *London*, the Officers of it who were Members of Parliament, attended that Council diligently, upon which that Army alone depended; and, though they still seem'd very desirous of Peace, they very solemnly and severely prosecuted all those who really endeavour'd it. Their partiality and injustice was so notorious, that there was no rule or measure of Right in any matter depending before them, but consideration only of the Affections and Opinions of the Persons contending; neither could any thing be more properly said of them, than what *Tacitus* once spoke of the *Jews*, *apud Ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, adversus omnes alios hostile odium*. Volumes would not contain the instances. But they found the old Arguments of Popery, the Militia, and Delinquents, for the justification of the War, grew every day of less reverence with the People; and that as the King's own Religion was above any Scandal they could lay upon it, so the Regal Power seem'd so asserted by Law, and the King, upon all occasions, cited particular Statutes for the Vindication of his Right, that whilst they confess'd the Sovereign Power to be vested in him, all Legal Ministers had that dependence on him, that Their Authority would by degrees grow into Contempt.

The King
makes new
Sheriffs.

AND of this disadvantage the season of the year put them in mind: for the King now, according to course, prick'd
Sheriffs,

Sheriffs, and made such choice in all Counties, that they foresaw the People were not like to be so implicitly at their disposal. Therefore, as they had before craftily insinuated the same in some particulars, they now barefaced avow, "that the Sovereign Power was wholly and entirely in Them; and that the King himself, severed from Them, had no Regal Power in him. Their Clergy had hitherto been their Champions, and wrested the Scripture to their sense; their Lawyers were now to vindicate their Title, and they were not more modest in applying Their Profession to their Service. As all places of Scripture, or in the Fathers, which were spoken of the Church of Christ, are by the Papists apply'd to the Church of *Rome*; so, whatsoever is written in any of the Books of the Law, or mention'd in the Records, of the Authority and Effects of the Sovereign Power, and of the Dignity and Jurisdiction of Parliament, was, by these Men, alleged and urged for the Power of the two Houses, and sometimes for the single Authority of the House of Commons. Being supplied with the Learning of these Gentlemen, they declared, "that the Sheriffs, then constituted by the King, were not Legal Sheriffs, nor ought to execute, or be submitted to in that Office; and order'd, "whomsoever the King made Sheriff in any County, to be sent for as Delinquent; and because it seem'd unreasonable, that the Counties should be without that Legal Minister, to whom the Law had intrusted it's Custody, it was propos'd, "that they might make a new Great Seal, and by that Authority make Sheriffs, and such other Officers as they should find necessary; but for the present that Motion was laid aside.

THE King had appointed some of those Prisoners who were taken in the Battle at *Keinton* Field, and others apprehended in the Act of Rebellion, to be Indicted of High Treason, upon the Statute of the 25th year of King *Edward* the third, before the Lord Chief Justice, and other Learned Judges of the Law, by Virtue of his Majesties Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*: The Parliament declared "all such Indictments and all Proceedings thereupon, to be unjust, and illegal; and inhibited the Judges to proceed farther therein; declaring (which was a stronger Argument) "that if any Man were executed, or suffer'd hurt, for any thing he had done by Their Order, the like punishment should be inflicted, by death or otherwise, upon such Prisoners as were, or should be, taken by Their Forces: And, in none of their cases, ever asked the Judges what the Law was. By the determination of the Statute, and the King's refusal, which hath been mention'd before, to pass any new Law to that purpose, there was no farther duty of Tonnage and Poundage

due upon Merchandize, and the Statute made this very Parliament involv'd all Men in the guilt and penalty of a Præmunire, who offer'd to receive it. The King publish'd a Proclamation upon that Statute, and "required all Men to forbear paying that duty, and forbid all to receive it. They again declar'd, "that no Person, who receiv'd those duties by Virtue of "Their Orders, was within the danger of a Præmunire, or any "other penalty whatsoever; because the intent, and meaning "of that Penal clause was only to restrain the Crown from "imposing any duty or payment upon the Subjects, without "their consent in Parliament; and was not intended to extend to any case whereunto the Lords and Commons give "their assent in Parliament.

AND that this Sovereignty might be farther taken notice of than within the Limits of this Kingdom, they sent, with all formality, Letters of Credence, and Instructions, and their Agents, into Foreign States, and Kingdoms.

*The substance
of the Declaration
of the Lords
and Commons
to the States
General of
the united
Provinces.*

BY their Agent to the united Provinces, where the Queen was then residing, they had the Courage, in plain terms, to accuse the Prince of *Orange* "for supplying the King with "Armes and Ammunition; for Licensing divers Commanders, "Officers, and Soldiers, to resort into this Kingdom to his "aid. They remember'd them "of the great help that they "had receiv'd from this Kingdom, when heretofore they lay "under the heavy oppression of their Princes; and how conducive the friendship of this Nation had been to their present greatness, and power; and therefore they could not "think, that they would be forward to help to make Them "Slaves, who had been so useful, and Assistant in making "Them Free-men; or that they would forget, that their "troubles and dangers issued from the same Fountain with "their own; and that those who were set a work to undermine Religion, and Liberty in the Kingdom, were the same "who by open force did seek to bereave Them of both. They told them, "it could not be unknown to that wise State, that "it was the Jesuitical Faction in this Kingdom, that had corrupted the Counsels of the King, the Consciences of a great "part of the Clergy; which sought to destroy the Parliament, "and had rais'd the Rebellion in *Ireland*. They desired them therefore, "not to suffer any more Ordnance, Armour, or "any other Warlike Provision, to be brought over to strengthen "those, who, as soon as they should prevail against the Parliament, would use that strength to the ruin of those from "whom they had it.

THEY desired them, "they would not send over any of "their Country-men to farther Their destruction, who were "sent to them for their preservation; that they would not anticipate

“anticipate the spilling of *English* Blood, in an unnatural Civil War, which had been so chearfully and plentifully hazarded, and spent, in that just and honourable War by which they had been so long preserv’d, and to which the Blood of those Persons, and many other Subjects of this Kingdom was still in a manner dedicated; but rather that they would casheire, and discard from their employment, those that would presume to come over for that purpose. They told them, “the question between his Majesty and the Parliament, was not whether he should enjoy the same Prerogative, and Power, which had belonged to their former Kings, his Majesty’s Royal Predecessors; but whether that Prerogative, and Power, should be employed to their defence, or to their ruin: That it could not be denied by those, who look indifferently on their Proceedings and Affairs, that it would be more honour, and wealth, safety and greatness to his Majesty, in concurring with his Parliament, than in the course in which he now is: But so unhappy had his Majesty, and the Kingdom been, in those who had the greatest influence upon his Counsels, that they look’d more upon the prevailing of their own Party, than upon any those great advantages both to his Crown, and Royal Person, which he might obtain by joyning with his People: and so cunning were those Factors for Popery, in prosecution of their own aimes, that they could put on a counterfeit Visage of Honour, Peace, and Greatness, upon those courses and counsels, which had no truth, and reality, but of Weakness, Dishonour, and Miseries to his Majesty, and the whole Kingdom.

THEY said, “they had lately express’d their earnest inclinations to that National love and amity with the United Provinces, which had been nourish’d and confirm’d by so many civil respects, and mutual interests, as made it so natural to them, that they had, this Parliament, in their humble Petition to his Majesty, desired, that they might be joyn’d with that State in a more near and streight League, and Union: And they could not but expect some returns from Them, of the like expressions: and that they would be so far from blowing the fire, which begun to kindle among them, that they would rather endeavour to quench it, by strengthening and encouraging them who had no other design but not to be destroyed, and to preserve their Religion, save themselves, and the other Reform’d Churches of *Christendom*, from the Massacres and Extirpations, with which the Principles of the Roman Religion did threaten them all; which were begun to be acted in *Ireland*, and in the Hopes, and Endeavours, and Intentions of that Party, had long since been executed upon Them, if the Mercy,

"Favour, and Blessing of Almighty God, had not superabounded, and prevented the Subtlety and Malignity of cruel, wicked, and blood-thirsty Men.

WITH this specious dispatch, in which were many other particulars to render the King's cause ungracious, and their own very plausible, their Agent, one *Strickland*, an obscure Gentleman, was receiv'd by the States; and, notwithstanding the Queen was then there, and the Prince of *Orange* visibly inclined to assist the King with all his Interests, and the Interposition of the King's Resident, did not only hinder the States from giving the least countenance to the King's Cause, but really so corrupted the *English* in the Army, and in that Court, that there was nothing design'd to advance it by the Prince of *Orange* himself (who with great generosity supplied the King with Armes and Ammunition to a very considerable Value) or by the private activity and dexterity of particular Persons, out of their own Fortune, or by the sale or pawning of Jewels, but intelligence was given soon enough to the Parliament, either to get stops, and seizures upon it, by Order of the State, or to intercept the supply by their Navy at Sea. So that much more was in that manner, and by that means, taken and intercepted at Sea, than ever arriv'd at any Port within his Majesty's obedience: of which at that time he had only one, the Harbour of *New-Castle*. With the same success, they sent another Agent to *Brussels*, who prevailed with *Don Francisco de Melos*, then Governour of *Flanders*, to discountenance always, and sometimes to prevent the preparations which were there making by the King's Ministers. And in *France* they had another Agent, one *Aulzier*, a Man long before in the constant pay of the Crown; who though he was not receiv'd, and avow'd (to put the better varnish upon their Professions to the King) by that Crown, did them more service than either of the other; by how much more that People had an influence upon the distempers of the Three Kingdoms.

The Inclinations of Foreign Kings, and States, in this cause, between the King and Parliament.

AND as the Parliament made all these addresses to Foreign States, and Princes, which no Parliament had ever done before, so it will be fit here to take notice how other Princes appear'd concern'd on the King's behalf. The *Spaniard* was sufficiently incensed by the King's reception of the Ambassadors of *Portugal*, and, which was more, entering into terms of Amity and League with that Crown, and had therefore contributed notable assistance to the Rebellion in *Ireland*; and sent both Armes, and Money thither. And, since the extravagances of this Parliament, the Ambassador of *Spain* had made great application to them.

THE *French*, according to their Nature, were much more active, and more intent upon blowing the fire. The former

com-

commotions in *Scotland* had been raised by the special encouragement, if not contrivance of the Cardinal *Richelieu*; who had carefully kept up, and enlarg'd the old Franchises of the *Scots* under that Crown; which made a very specious shew of wonderful grace and benefit, at a distance, to that Nation, and was of little burthen to the *French*; and, in truth, of little advantage to those who were in full possession of all those Privileges. Yet, by this means, the *French* have always had a very great influence upon the Affections of that People, and opportunities to work great prejudice to that Crown: As nothing was more visible than that, by the Cardinal's Activity, all those late distempers in *Scotland* were carried on till his death, and, by His Rules and Principles, afterwards: The *French* Ministers always making their correspondence, with, and relation to those who were taken Notice to be of the *Puritan* Party; which was understood to be in order only to the opposition of those Counsels, which should at any time be offer'd on the behalf of *Spain*.

SINCE the beginning of this Parliament, the *French* Embassador, Monsieur *la Fertè*, dissembled not to have notable familiarity with those who govern'd most in the two Houses; discover'd to them whatsoever he knew, or could reasonably devise to the prejudice of the King's Counsels and Resolutions; and took all opportunities to lessen, and undervalue the King's Regal Power, by applying himself on publick occasions of State, and in his Master's Name, and to improve his Interest, to the two Houses of Parliament (which had in no Age before been ever known) as in the business of Transportation of Men out of *Ireland*, before remember'd; in which he caused, by the importunity of the two Houses, his Majesties promise, and engagement to the *Spanish* Embassador, to be render'd of no effect. And, after that, he formally exhibited, in writing, a Complaint to the two Houses against *Sr Thomas Rowe*, his Majesties extraordinary Embassador to the Emperor, and Princes of *Germany*, upon the Treaty of an accommodation on the behalf of the Prince Elector and restitution of the *Palatinate*, confidently avowing, "that *Sr Thomas Rowe* had offer'd, on the King's part, to enter into a League Offensive and Defensive with the House of *Austria*, and to wed all their Interests; and, in plain terms, asked them, "whether They had given *Sr Thomas* instructions to that purpose? expressing a great value his Master had of the Affection of the Parliament of *England*; which drew them to a return of much, and unusual civility, and to assure the *French* King, "that *Sr Thomas Rowe* had no such Instructions from "Them; and that they would examine the truth of it; and "would be careful that nothing should be done, and perfect-

“ ed in that Treaty which might reflect upon the good of the “ *French* King. Whereas in truth there was not the least ground, or pretence for that suggestion ; Sr *Thomas Rowe* having never made any such offer, or any thing like it. And when, after his return out of *Germany*, he expostulated with the *French* Embassador, for such an injurious, causeless information, he answer’d, “ that his Master had receiv’d such advertisement, and had given him order to do what he did. So that it easily appear’d, it was only a fiction of State, whereby they took occasion to publish, that they would take any opportunity to resort to the two Houses, and thereby to flatter them in their usurpation of any Sovereign Authority.

THERE is not a sadder consideration than this Passion, and Injustice, in Christian Princes (and I pray God the Almighty Justice be not angry, on this account, with the Government of Kings, Princes, and States) that they are seldom so Sollicitous that the Laws be executed, Justice administered, and Order perform’d within their own Kingdoms, as they are that all three may be disturbed, and confounded amongst their Neighbours. And there is no sooner a spark of Dissention, a discomposure in Affections, a jealousy in Understandings, discern’d to be in a Neighbour Province, or Kingdom, to the hazarding the Peace thereof, but they, though in League and Amity, with their utmost Art and Industry, make it their business to kindle that spark into a flame, and to contract and ripen all unsettled humours, and jealous Apprehensions, into a peremptory discontent, and all discontent to Sedition, and all Sedition to open and professed Rebellion. And they have rarely so ample satisfaction in their own greatness, or so great a sense and value of God’s blessing upon them, as when they have been Instruments of drawing some notorious Calamity upon their Neighbours. As if the Religion of Princes were nothing but Policy, and that they consider’d nothing more, than to make all other Kingdoms but their own miserable : and because God hath reserv’d them to be try’d only within his own Jurisdiction, and before his own Tribunal, that he means to try them too by other Laws, and Rules, than he hath publish’d to the world for his Servants to walk by. Whereas they ought to consider, that God hath placed them over his People as Examples, and to give countenance to his Laws by their own strict observation of them ; and that as their Subjects are to be defended. and protected by their Princes, so They themselves are to be assisted and supported by one another ; the function of Kings being an Order by it self : and as a contempt and breach of every Law is, in the Policy of State, an Offence against the Person of the King, because there is a kind of violation offer’d to his Person in the transgression of that

that Rule without which he cannot govern; so the Rebellion of Subjects against their Prince ought to be look'd upon, by all other Kings, as an Assault of their own Sovereignty, and, in some degree, a design against Monarchy it self; and consequently to be suppress'd, and extirpated, in what other Kingdom soever it is, with the like concernment as if it were in their own Bowels.

BESIDES these indirect Artifices, and Activity before mention'd in the *French* Embassador, very many of the *Hugonots* in *France* (with whom this Crown heretofore, it may be, kept too much correspondence) were declared Enemies to the King; and, in publick, and in secret, gave all possible Assistance to those whose business was to destroy the Church. And as this animosity prov'd of unspeakable inconvenience and damage to the King, throughout all these troubles, and of equal benefit to his Enemies; so the occasion, from whence those disaffections grew, was very unskilfully and imprudently administer'd by the State here. Not to speak of the business of *Rochel*, which, though it stuck deep in all, yet most imputed the Counsels of that time to Men that were dead, and not to a fix'd design of the Court; they had a greater Quarrel, which made them believe, that their very Religion was persecuted by the Church of *England*.

WHEN the Reformation of Religion first begun in *England*, in the time of King *Edward* the sixth, very many, out of *Germany* and *France*, left their Countries, where the Reformation was severely persecuted, and transplanted Themselves, their Families, and Estates, into *England*, where they were receiv'd very hospitably; and that King, with great Piety and Policy, by several Acts of State, granted them many Indemnities, and the free use of Churches in *London* for the exercise of their Religion: whereby the number of them encreas'd; and the benefit to the Kingdom, by such an access of Trade, and improvement of Manufactures, was very considerable. Which Queen *Elizabeth* finding, and well knowing that other notable uses of them might be made, enlarg'd their Privileges by new Concessions; drawing, by all means, great Numbers over, and suffering them to erect Churches, and to enjoy the exercise of their Religion after their own manner, and according to their own Ceremonies, in all places, where, for the convenience of their Trade, they chose to reside. And so they had Churches in *Norwich*, *Canterbury*, and other places of the Kingdom, as well as in *London*; whereby the Wealth of those places marvellously encreas'd. And besides the benefit from thence, the Queen made use of them in her great Transactions of State in *France*, and the Low Countries, and by the mediation and interposition of those People, kept an useful Interest

terest in that Party, in all the Forreign Dominions where they were tolerated. The same Charters of Liberty were continued and granted to them, during the peaceable Reign of King *James*, and in the beginning of this King's Reign, although, it may be, the politick considerations in those Concessions, and Connivances, were neither made use of, nor understood.

SOME few years before these Troubles, when the power of Church Men grew more transcendent, and indeed the Faculties and Understanding of the Lay Counsellors more dull, lazy, and unactive (for without the last, the first could have done no hurt) (the Bishops grew jealous that the countenancing another Discipline of the Church here, by Order of the State (for those Forreign Congregations were govern'd by a Presbytery according to the Custom, and Constitution of those parts of which they had been Natives: the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Walloons*, had the free use of several Churches according to their own discipline) would at least diminish the Reputation and Dignity of the Episcopal Government, and give some countenance to the Factious, and Schismatical Party in *England* to hope for such a toleration.

THEN there wanted not some fiery, turbulent, and contentious Persons of the same Congregations, who, upon private differences and contests, were ready to inform against their Brethren, and to discover, what, they thought, might prove of most prejudice to them; so that, upon pretence that they far exceeded the Liberties which were granted to them, and that, under the Notion of Forreigners, many *English* separated themselves from the Church, and joyn'd themselves to those Congregations (which possibly was in part true) the Council-Board connived at, or interposed not, whilst the Bishops did some Acts of Restraint, with which those Congregations grew generally discontented, and thought the Liberty of their Consciences to be taken from them; which caused in *London* much complaining of this kind, but much more in the Diocess of *Norwich*; where Dr *Wren*, the Bishop there, passionately, and warmly proceeded against them: so that many left the Kingdom, to the lessening the Wealthy Manufacture there of Kerseys, and narrow Cloaths, and, which was worse, transporting that mystery into Forreign Parts.

AND that this might be sure to look like more than what was necessary to the Civil Policy of the Kingdom, whereas, in all former times, the Embassadors, and all Forreign Ministers of State, imployed from *England* into any parts where the Reform'd Religion was exercised, frequented their Churches, gave all possible Countenance to their profession, and held correspondence with the most active, and powerful
Persons

Persons of that relation, and particularly, the Embassador Lierger at *Paris* had diligently, and constantly frequented the Church at *Charenton*, and held a fair intercourse with those of that Religion throughout the Kingdom, by which they had still receiv'd advantage, that People being industrious and active to get into the secrets of the State, and so deriving all necessary Intelligence to those whom they desired to gratify: The contrary to this was now with great industry practiced, and some advertisements, if not instructions, given to the Embassadors there, "to forbear any extraordinary commerce with the Men of that profession. And the Lord *Scudamore*, who was the last Ordinary Embassador there, before the beginning of this Parliament, whether by the Inclinations of his own Nature, or by advice from others, not only declined going to *Charenton*, but furnish'd his own Chapel, in his Houle, with such Ornaments (as Candles upon the Communion Table and the like) as gave great offence, and umbrage to those of the Reformation there, who had not seen the like; besides that he was careful to publish, upon all occasions, by himself, and those who had the nearest relation to him, "that the Church of *England* look'd not on the *Hugonots* as a part of their Communion; which was likewise too much, and too industriously discoursed at home.

THEY of the Church of *England* who committed the greatest errors this way, had, undoubtedly, not the least thoughts of making alterations in it towards the countenancing of Popery, as hath been uncharitably conceiv'd: But (having too just cause given them to dislike the Passion, and Licence, that was taken by some Persons in the Reform'd Churches, under the Notion of Conscience, and Religion, to the disturbance of the Peace of Kingdoms) unskilfully believed, that the Total declining the Interest of that Party, where it exceeded the necessary bounds of Reformation, would make this Church of *England* look'd upon with more reverence; and that thereby the Common Adversary, the Papist, would abate somewhat of his arrogance, and superciliousness; and that both Parties, piously considering the Charity which Religion should beget, might, if not unite, yet refrain from the bitterness, and uncharitableness of Contention in matters of opinion, and agree in the practical duties of Christians and Subjects. Thus, contracting their considerations in too narrow a compass, these Men contented themselves with their Pious Intentions, without duly weighing objections, or the circumstances of Policy. And some of our own Communion, who differ'd with them in opinion in this point, though they were in the right, not giving, and, it may be, not knowing the right reasons, rather confirm'd than reform'd them in their Inclinations: Neither
of

of them discerning the true, and substantial grounds of that Policy, upon which that good correspondence had been founded, which they were now about to change: And so the Church of *England*, not giving the same Countenance to those of the Religion in Foreign Parts, which it had formerly done, no sooner was discern'd to be under a Cloud at home; but those of the Religion abroad, were glad of the occasion to publish their malice against her, and to enter into the same conspiracy against the Crown, without which they could have done little hurt to the Church.

Now, to return to the Course of our History; After all discourses and motions for Peace were, for a time, laid aside; and new thoughts of Victory, and utterly subduing the King's Party, again entertain'd; they found one trouble falling upon them which they had least suspected, want of Money; all their vast Sums collected, upon any former Bills, pass'd by the King for the relief of *Ireland*, and payment of the debt to the *Scots*, and all their Money upon Subscriptions of Plate, and Loans upon the publick Faith, which amounted to incredible proportions, were even quite wasted; and their constant expence was so great, that no Ordinary supply would serve their turn; and they easily discern'd, that their Money only, and not their Cause, procur'd them Soldiers of all kinds; and that They could never support their Power, if their Power was not able to supply Them. All voluntary Loans were at an end, and the publick Faith thought a security not to be relied on, and by how much greater the difficulty was, by so much the more fatal would the sinking under it prove; and therefore it was with the more Vigour to be resisted. In the end, they resolv'd upon the thorough execution of their full Sovereign Power, and to let the People see what they might trust to; in which it is necessary to observe the Arts, and Degrees of their motion.

New way of
raising Mo-
ney by the
two Houses.

THEY first order'd, "that Committees should be named in all Counties, to take care for Provisions of Victuals for the Army, and also for the taking up of Horses for service in the Field, Dragooners and draught Horses, and for borrowing of Money and Plate to supply the Army: and upon Certificate from those Committees (who had power to set what Value or Rates they pleas'd upon these Provisions of any kind) "the same should be enter'd with their Treasurer, "who should hereafter repay the same. It was then alledg'd, "that this would only draw supplies from their friends, and "the well affected; and that others, who either liked not "their proceedings, or lov'd their Money better than the Liberty of their Country, would not contribute. Upon this it was order'd, "that in case the Owners refused to bring in
"Money,

"Money, Provisions, Plate, and Horse, upon the publick
 "Faith, for the use of the Army; for the better preventing
 "the spoil, and imbezelling of such Provisions of Money,
 "Plate, and Horses, by the disorder of the Soldiers, and that
 "they may not come into the hands of the Enemies, that the
 "Committees, or any two of them, should be authoris'd,
 "and enabled to send for such Provisions, Money, Plate, and
 "Horses; and to take the same into their Custody, and to set
 "indifferent value and rate upon them; which value they
 "should certify to the Treasurers, for the proportions to be
 "repaid at such time, and in such manner, as should be order'd
 "by both Houses of Parliament.

THIS was done only to shew what they meant to do over
 all *England*, and as a stock of credit to them. For at present
 it would neither supply their wants; neither was it seasonable
 for them, or indeed possible to endeavour the execution of it
 in many Counties. *London* was the place from whence only
 their present help must come. To them therefore they de-
 clared, "that the King's Army had made divers Assessments
 "upon several Counties, and the Subjects were compell'd, by
 "the Soldiers, to pay the same; which Army, if it continued,
 "would soon ruin, and waſt the whole Kingdom; and over-
 "throw Religion, Law, and Liberty: That there was no
 "probable way, under God, for the suppressing that Army,
 "and other ill affected Persons, but by the Army rais'd by
 "the Authority of the Parliament; which Army could not be
 "maintain'd, without great Sums of Money; and for raising
 "such Sums, there could be no Act of Parliament pass'd with
 "his Majesty's Assent, albeit there was great Justice that such
 "Money should be rais'd: That, hitherto, the Army had
 "been, for the most part, maintain'd by the voluntary contri-
 "butions of well affected People, who had freely contributed
 "according to their Abilities: That there were divers others
 "within the Cities of *London*, and *Westminster*, and the Su-
 "burbs, that had not contributed at all towards the main-
 "tenance of that Army, or if they had, yet not answerable
 "to their Estates; who notwithstanding receiv'd benefit, and
 "Protection by the same Army, as well as any others; and
 "therefore it was most just, that They should, as well as
 "others, be charg'd to contribute to the maintenance thereof.

UPON these grounds, and reasons, it was ordain'd "by
 "the Authority of Parliament, that *Isaac Pennington*, the then
 "Lord Mayor of *London*, and some other Aldermen, and
 "Citizens, or any four of them, should have Power and Au-
 "thority to Nominate, and Appoint, in every Ward, within
 "the City of *London*, six such Persons as they should think
 "fit, who should have power to enquire of all who had not
 "contri-

"contributed upon the Propositions concerning the raising of
 "Money, Plate, &c. and of such able Men, who had contri-
 "buted, yet not according to their Estates, and Abilities;
 "and those Persons so constituted, or any four of them, within
 "their several Wards and Limits, should have power to Assess
 "all Persons of Ability who had not contributed, and also
 "those who had contributed, yet not according to their Abi-
 "lity, to pay such Sums of Money, according to their Estates,
 "as the Assessors, or any four of them should think reason-
 "able, so as the same exceeded not the twentieth part of their
 "Estates; and to nominate fit Persons for the receipt thereof.
 "And if any Person so Assess'd should refuse to pay the Mo-
 "ney so Assess'd upon him, it should be Lawful for the As-
 "sessors, and Collectors, to levy that Sum by way of distress,
 "and sale of the goods of Persons so refusing. And if any
 "Person distrain'd should make resistance, it should be Lawful
 "for the Assessors, and Collectors, to call to their Assistance
 "any of the Train'd-bands of *London*, or any other of his Ma-
 "jesty's Subjects; who were required to be aiding, and assist-
 "ing to them. The Burgesses of *Westminster*, and *Southwark*,
 "and a Committee appointed to that purpose, were to do the
 "same within those Limits, as the other in *London*.

AND that there might be no stratagem to avoid this Tax
 (so strange and unlook'd for) by a second Ordinance in ex-
 planation of the former, They ordain'd, "that, if no sufficient
 "distress could be found for the payment of what should be
 "Assess'd, the Collectors should have power to enquire of any
 "Sum of Money due to those Persons so Assess'd, from what
 "Persons soever, for Rents, Goods, or Debts, or for any
 "other thing, or cause whatsoever. And the Collectors had
 "power to receive all such Debts, until the full Value of the
 "Sums so Assess'd, and the Charges in levying or recovering
 "the same should be satisfied: and lest the discovery of those
 "Debts might be difficult, the same Collectors had power to
 "compound for any Rents, Goods, or Debts, due to such
 "Persons so Assess'd, with any Person by whom the same was
 "due, and to give full discharges for the Money so com-
 "pounded for, which should be good and effectual to all pur-
 "poses. And if the Money Assess'd could not be levied by
 "any of these ways, then the Persons Assess'd should be im-
 "prison'd in such places of the Kingdom, and for so long time,
 "as the Committee of the House of Commons for examina-
 "tions should appoint, and order; and the Families of all
 "such Persons so imprison'd should no longer remain within
 "the Cities of *London*, or *Westminster*, the Suburbs, or the
 "Counties adjacent. And all Assessors, and Collectors, should
 "have the protection of both Houses of Parliament, for their
 "Indemnity

"Indemnity in that Service, and receive allowance for their pains, and charges. Several additional, and explanatory Orders they made for the better execution of this grand one, by every of which some clause of severity, and monstrous irregularity was added, and for the complement of all, they order'd that themselves, the Members of either House, should not be Assess'd by any but themselves.

THE truth is, the King was not sorry to see this Ordinance, which he thought so prodigious, that he should have been a greater Gainer by it than they that made it; seeing it was so palpable, and clear a demonstration of the Tyranny the People were to live under, that they would easily have discern'd the change of their condition: yet he took so much pains, to awaken his Subjects to a due apprehension of it, and to apply the thorough consideration of it to them, that he publish'd a Declaration upon that Ordinance; the which, presenting many things to them, which have since fallen out, may be, in this place, fit to be insert'd in the King's own words, which were these:

"IT would not be believ'd (at least great pains have been
 "taken that it might not) that the pretended Ordinance of
 "the Militia (the first attempt that ever was, to make a
 "Law by Ordinance, without Our consent) or the keeping
 "Us out of Hull, and taking Our Armes and Ammunition
 "from Us, could any way concern the Interest, Property, or
 "Liberty of the Subject: And it was confess'd, by that despe-
 "rate Declaration it self of the 26th of May, that if they were
 "found guilty of that charge of destroying the Title and In-
 "terest of Our Subjects to their Lands, and Goods, it were
 "indeed a very great crime. But it was a strange fatal Le-
 "thargy which had seiz'd Our good People, and kept them
 "from discerning that the Nobility, Gentry, and Common-
 "alty of *England*, were not only stripp'd of their Preemi-
 "nences, and Privileges, but of their Liberties, and Estates,
 "when Our just Rights were denied Us; and that no Sub-
 "ject could from thenceforth expect to dwell at home, when
 "We were driven from Our Houses, and Our Towns. It
 "was not possible, that a Commission could be granted to
 "the Earl of *Essex*, to raise an Army against Us, and; for
 "the safety of Our Person, and preservation of the Peace of
 "the Kingdom, to pursue, kill, and slay Us, and all who
 "wish well to Us: But that, in a short time, inferior Com-
 "manders, by the same Authority, would require Our good
 "Subjects, for the maintenance of the property of the Sub-
 "ject, to supply them with such Sums of Money as they
 "think fit, upon the penalty of being plunder'd with all ex-
 "tremity

*His Majesties
 Declaration
 upon occasion
 of the former
 Ordinance.*

"tremity of War (as the Title of *Sr Edward Bainton's* War-
 "rant runs against Our poor Subjects in *Wilt-shire*) and by
 "such Rules of unlimited Arbitrary Power as are inconsistent
 "with the least pretence or shadow of that property, it would
 "seem to defend.

"If there could be yet any Understanding so unskillful
 "and supine to believe, that these Disturbers of the publick
 "Peace do intend any thing but a general Confusion, they
 "have brought them a sad argument to their own doors to
 "convince them. After this Ordinance and Declaration, it
 "is not in any sober Man's power to believe himself to be
 "worth any thing, or that there is such a thing as Law, Li-
 "berty, or Property, left in *England*, under the jurisdiction
 "of these Men. And the same power that robs them now of
 "the twentieth part of their Estates, hath, by that, but made
 "a claim, and entitled it self to the other nineteen, when it
 "shall be thought fit to hasten the general Ruin. Sure, if the
 "minds of all Men be not stubbornly prepared for Servitude,
 "they will look on this Ordinance, as the greatest Prodigy
 "of Arbitrary Power and Tyranny, that any Age hath brought
 "forth in any Kingdom. Other Grievances (and the great-
 "est) have been conceiv'd intolerable, rather by the Logick
 "and Consequence, than by the pressure it self: This, at
 "once sweeps away all that the Wisdom, and Justice of Par-
 "liaments have provided for them. Is their Property in their
 "Estates (so carefully look'd to by their Ancestors, and so
 "amply establish'd by Us, against any possibility of Invasion
 "from the Crown) which makes the meanest Subject as
 "much a Lord of his own as the greatest Peer, to be valued,
 "or consider'd? Here is a twentieth part of every Man's
 "Estate, or so much as four Men will please to call the twen-
 "tieth part, taken away at once, and yet a power left to
 "take a twentieth still of that which remains: and this to be
 "levied by such circumstances of Severity, as no Act of Par-
 "liament ever consented to.

"Is their Liberty, which distinguishes Subjects from
 "Slaves, and in which this Freeborn Nation hath the advan-
 "tage of all *Christendom*, dear to them? They shall not only
 "be imprison'd in such places of this Kingdom (a latitude
 "of Judgement no Court can challenge to it self in any Cases)
 "but for so long time, as the Committee of the House of
 "Commons for examination shall appoint and order: The
 "House of Commons it self having never assumed, or in the
 "least degree pretended to, a power of Judicature; having
 "no more Authority to administer an Oath, the only way to
 "discover and find out the truth of Facts, than to cut off the
 "Heads of any of Our Subjects: And this Committee being

"so far from being a part of the Parliament, that it is de-
 "structive to the Whole, by usurping to it self all the power
 "of King, Lords, and Commons. All who know any thing
 "of Parliaments know that a Committee of either House
 "ought not, by the Law, to publish their own Results;
 "neither are their conclusions of any Force, without the con-
 "firmation of the House, which hath the same power of
 "Controlling them, as if the matter had never been debated.
 "But that any Committee should be so contracted (as this
 "of Examination, a style no Committee ever bore before this
 "Parliament) as to exclude the Members of the House, who
 "are equally trusted by their Country, from being present
 "at the Counsels, is so monstrous to the Privileges of Par-
 "liament, that it is no more in the power of any Man to
 "give up that Freedom, than of himself to order, that, from
 "that time, the place for which he Serves shall never more
 "send a Knight or Burgess to the Parliament; and in truth is
 "no less than to alter the whole frame of Government, to
 "pull up Parliaments by the Roots, and to commit the
 "Lives, Liberties, and Estates, of all the People of *England*
 "to the Arbitrary power of a few unqualified Persons, who
 "shall dispose thereof according to their discretion, without
 "account to any Rule or Authority whatsoever.

"ARE their Friends, their Wives, and Children, the
 "greatest blessings of Peace, and Comforts of Life, precious
 "to them? Would their penury, and imprisonment be less
 "grievous by those Cordials? They shall be divorced from
 "them, banished, and shall no longer remain within the Ci-
 "ties of *London*, and *Westminster*, the Suburbs and the Coun-
 "ties adjacent, and how far those adjacent Counties shall ex-
 "tend no Man knows. Is there now any thing left to enjoy
 "but the Liberty to Rebel, and destroy one another? Are
 "the outward blessings only of Peace, Property, and Liberty,
 "taken and forced from our Subjects? Are their Consciences
 "free and unassaulted by the Violence of these Firebrands?
 "Sure the Liberty and Freedom of Conscience cannot suffer
 "by these Men. Alas! all these punishments are imposed
 "upon them, because they will not submit to Actions con-
 "trary to their natural Loyalty, to their Oaths of Allegiance,
 "and Supremacy, and to their late voluntary Protestation,
 "which obliges them to the care of our Person, and our just
 "Rights.

"How many Persons of Honour, Quality, and Reputa-
 "tion, of the several Counties of *England*, are now impris-
 "son'd, without any objections against them, but suspicion of
 "their Loyalty? How many of the gravest, and most sub-
 "stantial Citizens of *London*, by whom the Government and

"Discipline of that City was preserved, are disgraced, robbed, and imprison'd, without any Process of Law, or Course of Accufation, but of obedience to the Law, and Government of the Kingdom? Whilst *Anabaptists*, and *Brownists*, with the Assistance of vicious and debauched Persons of desperate Fortunes, take upon them to break up and rife Houses, as publick and avow'd Ministers of a new-invented Authority. How many Godly, Pious, and Painful Divines, whose Lives and Learning have made them of Reverend Estimation, are now slander'd with inclination to Popery, discountenanced, and imprison'd, for discharging their Consciences, instructing the People in the Christian duty of Religion and Obedience? Whilst Schismatical, Illiterate, and Scandalous Preachers, fill the Pulpits and Churches with Blasphemy, Irreverence, and Treason; and incite their Auditory to nothing but Murther, and Rebellion.

"WE pass over the Vulgar Charm, by which they have captivated such who have been contented to dispence with their Consciences for the Preservation of their Estates, and by which they perswade Men chearfully to part with this twentieth part of their Estates to the good work in hand. For whosoever will give what he hath may escape Robbing. They shall be repaid upon the Publick Faith, as all other Monies lent upon the Propositions of both Houses. It may be so. But Men must be condemn'd to a strange unthriftiness, who will lend upon such Security. The Publick Faith indeed is as great an earnest as the State can give, and engages the Honour, Reputation, and Honesty of the Nation, and is the Act of the Kingdom: 'Tis the Security of the King, the Lords, and Commons, which can never need an Executor, can never die, never be bankrupt; and therefore We willingly consented to it for the indemnity of Our good Subjects of *Scotland* (who, We hope, will not think the worse of it for being so often, and so cheaply mention'd since) But that a Vote of One, or Both Houses, should be an Engagement upon the Publick Faith, is as impossible, as that the Committee of the House of Commons for Examinations should be the High Court of Parliament.

"AND what is, or can be said, with the least shadow of Reason, to justify these extravagancies? We have not heard lately of the fundamental Laws, which used to Warrant the Innovations: these need a refuge even below those foundations. They will say, they cannot manage their great Undertakings without such extraordinary ways. We think so too. But that proves only, they have undertaken somewhat they ought not to undertake, not that it is lawful for them

"them to do any thing that is convenient for those ends. We
 "remember'd them long ago, and We cannot do it too often,
 "of that excellent Speech of Mr *Pym's*, The Law is that
 "which puts a difference betwixt Good and Evil, Just and
 "Unjust: If you take away the Law, all things will be in a
 "confusion, every Man will become a Law unto himself;
 "which, in the deprav'd condition of human Nature, must
 "needs produce many great Enormities. Lust will become
 "a Law, and Envy will become a Law, Covetousness and
 "Ambition will become Laws; and what dictates, what de-
 "cision such Laws will produce may easily be discern'd. It
 "may indeed by sad Instances over the whole Kingdom.

"BUT will Posterity believe, that, in the same Parliament,
 "this Doctrine was avow'd with that Acclamation, and these
 "Instances after produced? That, in the same Parliament,
 "such care was taken that no Man should be committed in
 "what case soever, without the cause of his imprisonment
 "express'd; and that all Men should be immediately Bail'd
 "in all casesailable; and, during the same Parliament, that
 "Alderman *Pennington*, or indeed any body else, but the
 "sworn Ministers of Justice, should imprison whom they
 "would, and for what they would, and for as long time as
 "they would? That the King should be reproached with
 "breach of Privilege, for accusing *St John Hotham* of High
 "Treason, when with force of Armes he kept him out of
 "*Hull*, and despised him to his face, because in no case a
 "Member of either House might be committed, or accused
 "without leave of that House of which he is a Member; and
 "yet that during the same Parliament, the same Alderman
 "shall commit the Earl of *Middlesex*, a Peer of the Realm,
 "and the Lord *Buckhurst*, a Member of the House of Com-
 "mons, to the Counter, without reprehension? That to be a
 "Traytor (which is defin'd, and every Man understands)
 "should be no crime, and to be call'd Malignant, which no
 "body knows the meaning of, should be ground enough for
 "close imprisonment? That a Law should be made, that who-
 "soever should presume to take Tonnage and Poundage with-
 "out an Act of Parliament, should incur the penalty of a
 "Præmunire, and, in the same Parliament, that the same im-
 "position should be laid upon Our Subjects, and taken by
 "Order of both Houses, without, and against Our consent?
 "Lastly, that, in the same Parliament, a Law should be made
 "to declare the Proceedings, and Judgement upon Ship-
 "money to be illegal, and void; and, during that Parlia-
 "ment, that an Order of both Houses shall, upon pretence of
 "necessity, enable four Men to take away the twentieth part
 "of their Estates from all their Neighbours, according to their
 "discretion.

H 2

"BUT

"BUT Our good Subjects will no longer look upon these
 "and the like results, as upon the Counsels and Conclusions
 "of both Our Houses of Parliament (though all the world
 "knows, even That Authority can never justify things un-
 "warrantable by the Law) They well know how few of the
 "Persons trusted by them, are trusted at Their consultations,
 "of above five hundred of the Commons not fourscore : and
 "of the House of Peers, not a fifth part : That they who are
 "present enjoy not the Privilege and Freedom of Parliament,
 "but are besieged by an Army, and awed by the same Tu-
 "mults which drove Us, and their fellow Members from
 "thence, to consent to what some few seditious schismatical
 "Persons among them do propose. These are the Men,
 "who joyning with the *Anabaptists*, and *Brownists* of *Lon-*
 "*dou*, first changed the Government and discipline of that
 "City ; and now, by the pride and power of that City, would
 "undo the Kingdom : whilst their Lord Mayor, a Person ac-
 "cused and known to be guilty of High Treason, by a new
 "Legislative Power of his own, suppresses, and reviles the
 "Book of Common Prayer, robs and imprisons whom he
 "thinks fit ; and, with the Rabble of his Faction, gives Laws
 "to both Houses of Parliament, and tells them, *They will have*
 "*no Accommodation* : whilst the Members sent, and intrusted
 "by their Countries, are expell'd the House, or committed,
 "for refusing to take the Oath of Association to live and die
 "with the Earl of *Essex*, as very lately *St Sydney Mountague*.
 "These are the Men who have presumed to send Embassa-
 "dors, and to enter into Treaties with Forreign States in
 "their own behalfs, having at this time an Agent of their own
 "with the States of *Holland*, to negotiate for them upon pri-
 "vate Instructions : These are the Men who not thinking
 "they have yet brought Mischief enough unto this Kingdom,
 "at this time invite, and sollicite Our Subjects of *Scotland*,
 "to enter this Land with an Army against Us : In a word,
 "these are the Men who have made this last devouring Or-
 "dinance to take away all Law, Liberty, and Property from
 "our People, and have by it really acted that upon our Peo-
 "ple, which with infinite Malice, and no Colour, or Ground,
 "was laboured to be infused into them, to have been Our in-
 "tervention by the Commissions of Array.

"WE have done : What Power and Authority these Men
 "have, or will have, We know not : For Our self, We chal-
 "lenge none such. We look upon the Pressures and Incon-
 "veniencies our good Subjects bear, even by Us, and Our
 "Army (which the Army first raised by them enforced Us
 "to raise in Our defence, and their refusal of all offers and
 "desires of Treaty enforceth Us to keep) with very much

"sadness

“sadness of heart. We are so far from requiring a twentieth part of their Estates, though for their own visible preservation, that, as We have already sold or pawn’d our own Jewels, and Coin’d our own Plate, so We are willing to sell all our own Lands and Houses for their relief: Yet We do not doubt but Our good Subjects will seriously consider Our condition, and their own duties, and think our readiness to protect them with the utmost hazard of our Life, deserves their readiness to assist Us with some part of Their fortunes; and, whilst other Men give a twentieth part of their Estates to enable them to forfeit the other nineteen, that they will extend themselves to Us in a liberal, and free proportion, for the preservation of the rest, and for the maintenance of God’s true Religion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and the Safety, and very Being of Parliaments, and this Kingdom: For if all these ever were, or can be, in manifest danger, ’tis now in this present Rebellion against Us.

“LASTLY, We will and require all Our loving Subjects, of what degree or quality soever, as they will Answer it to God, to Us, and to Posterity, by their Oaths of Allegiance, and Supremacy; as they would not be look’d upon now, and remember’d hereafter, as Betrayers of the Laws and Liberties they were born to; that they in no degree submit to this wild pretended Ordinance, and that they presume not to give any Encouragement, or Assistance to the Army now in Rebellion against Us; which if notwithstanding they shall do, they must expect from Us the severest punishment the Law can inflict, and a perpetual Infamy with all good Men.

WHATSOEVER every Man could say to another against that Ordinance, and whatsoever the King said to them all against it, it did bring in a great supply of Money, and gave them a stock of Credit to borrow more; so that the Army was again drawn out, though but to Winter Quarters, twenty Miles from London, and the Earl of *Essex* fix’d his head Quarters at *Windsor*, to streighten the King’s new Garrison at *Reading*, and sent strong Parties still abroad, which got as much ground as, at that time of the year, could reasonably be expected; that is, brought those adjacent Counties entirely under the obedience of the Parliament, which would at least have kept themselves Neutral: And still perswaded the People, “that their work was even at an end, and that the King’s Forces would be swallow’d up in a very short time: so that there was no day, in which they did not publish themselves to have obtain’d some notable Victory, or taken some Town,

when in truth each Party wisely abstain'd from disturbing the other : Yet the Bulk of their supply came only from the City of *London*. For though their Ordinance extended over the whole Kingdom, they had power to execute it only there ; for it was not yet time to try the Affections of all places within their own Verge, with the severe exercise of that Authority.

AND therefore divers of the Wealthiest and most Substantial Citizens of *London*, observing liberty to be taken by all Men to Petition the Houses, and the Multitude of the Petitioners to carry great Authority with them, and from those Multitudes and that Authority, the brand to have been laid upon the City, "of being an Enemy to Peace, met together, and prepared a very modest and moderate Petition to the Houses ; in which they desired "such Propositions and Addresses might be made by Them to his Majesty, as he might "with his Honour comply with, and thereby a happy Peace "ensue ; which, being sign'd by many thousand hands, was ready to be presented, but was not receiv'd by the House of Commons, for no other reason publicly given, but "that it "was prepared by a Multitude ; and objections were framed against the principal Promoters of it, upon other pretences of Delinquency ; so that they were compell'd to forsake the Town, and that Party were, for the present, discountenanced.

AT the same time the Inhabitants of *Westminster*, *St Martins*, and *Covent-Garden*, who always underwent the Imputation of being well affected to the King, prepared the like Petition, and met with the same reproach, being strictly inhibited to approach the Houses with more than six in Company. This unequal kind of proceeding added nothing to their reputation, and they easily discern'd those humours, thus obstructed, would break out the more violently : therefore they again resumed all professions of a desire of Peace, and appointed a Committee to prepare Propositions to be sent to the King to that purpose ; and because they found that would be a work of time (for the reasons which will be anon remember'd) and that many Arts were to be applied to the several affections, and to wipe out the imagination that the City desired Peace upon any other Terms than They did, and the disadvantage that accrew'd to them by such imagination, and also to stay the appetite of those who were importunate to have any advance made towards Peace, having procured, by the Activity of their Agents and Ministers, to have such a Common Council chosen for the City, as would undoubtedly comply with their desires and designs, they underhand directed their own Mayor to engage that Body in such a Petition to his Majesty, as, carrying the sense and reputation of the whole

whole City, might yet signify nothing to the prejudice of the two Houses; and so a Petition was framed in these words:

To the King's most Excellent Majesty;

*A Petition
of the City
to the King.*

*The humble Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons
of the City of London.*

"Sheweth,

"THAT the Petitioners, your Majesties most humble and Loyal Subjects, being much pierced with the long and great divisions between your Majesty and both your Houses of Parliament, and with the sad and bloody effects thereof, both here, and in *Ireland*, are yet more deeply wounded by the misapprehension, which your Majesty seemeth to entertain of the Love and Loyalty of this your City, as if there were some cause of fear, or suspicion of danger to your Royal Person if your Majesty should return hither; and that this is made the unhappy bar to that blessed Reconciliation with your Great and most Faithful Council for preventing that dissolution, and destruction, which is now most apparently imminent to your Majesty, and all your Kingdoms.

"FOR satisfaction therefore of your Majesty, and clearing of the Petitioners innocency, they most humbly declare, as formerly they have done, That they are no way conscious of any disloyalty, but abhor all thoughts thereof; and that they are resolv'd to make good their late solemn Protestation, and sacred Vow, made to Almighty God; and, with the last drop of their dearest bloods, to defend, and maintain the true Reform'd Protestant Religion, and, according to the duty of their Allegiance, your Majesty's Royal Person, Honour, and Estate (whatsoever is maliciously and falsely suggested to your Majesty to the contrary) as well as the Power, and Privileges of Parliament, and the Lawful Rights and Liberty of the Subject: And do hereby engage Themselves, their Estates, and all they have, to their utmost power, to defend and preserve your Majesty, and both Houses of Parliament, from all Tumults, Affronts, and Violence, with as much Loyalty, Love, and Duty, as ever Citizens express'd towards your Majesty, or any of your Royal Progenitors in their greatest glory.

"THE Petitioners therefore, upon their bended Knees, do most humbly beseech your Majesty, to return to your Parliament (accompanied with your Royal, not Martial attendance) to the end that Religion, Laws, and Liberties, may be settled, and secured, and whatsoever is amiss in Church, and Common-wealth, reform'd by Their advice,

“according to the fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom:
 “And that such a Peace may thereby be obtain’d, as shall be
 “for the glory of God, the Honour, and Happines of your
 “Majesty, and Posterity, and Welfare of all your Loyal Sub-
 “jects; who (the Petitioners are fully assured) whatsoever is
 “given out to the contrary, do unanimously desire the Peace
 “herein express’d.

THOUGH this Petition was in effect no other than to de-
 fire the King to disband his Army, and to put himself into
 the absolute disposal of the Parliament, and therefore all wise
 Men concluded that no great Progress would be made by it
 towards Peace; yet so sotted and infatuated were the People,
 that, upon this very Petition, they were prevailed with to
 submit to another Subscription for Money, and Plate, for the
 necessary Provision of Armes, Ammunition, and Pay of their
 Army, until their disbanding and return home to their fev-
 eral Counties: that so they might not be occasion’d, through
 want of Pay, to Plunder, Rob, or Pillage by the way home-
 wards, after their discharge and dismissal. So that Men were
 perswaded that this was now the last Tax they should be in-
 vited to, though every one of those Ordinances and Declara-
 tions loaded the King with some new calumnies, and re-
 proaches, that it was plain the Authors of them meant not so
 soon to put themselves under his Subjection.

THIS Petition was, about the tenth of *January* 1642, pre-
 sented to the King at *Oxford*, by some Aldermen, and others
 of the Common Council, who were for the most part of mo-
 derate Inclinations. The King consider’d sadly what Answer
 to return; for, albeit it appear’d that the Petition had been
 craftily framed by those who had no thoughts of Peace, and
 that there was no Argument in it to hope any good from that
 People; yet there were, to Vulgar Understandings, very spe-
 cious and popular Professions of great Piety, and Zeal to his
 service, and care of his security; and he was to be very ten-
 der in seeming to doubt the Inclinations, and Affections of
 that City, by whose strength chiefly the War was supported,
 and that strength procured by corrupting those Affections:
 And therefore the King was not sorry to have this opportu-
 nity of saying somewhat, and communicating himself freely to
 the City, being perswaded, that the ill they did, proceeded
 rather from misinformation than any general, or habitual Ma-
 lice in them. All his Proclamations, Messages, and Declara-
 tions, had been with so much industry suppress’d there, that
 they were not in truth generally inform’d of the matter of
 Fact, and the Justice of the King’s cause; and therefore he
 was perswaded that if he enlarg’d himself, in his Answer to

this

this Petition, and expos'd those few Men who were most notoriously Malignant against the Government of the Church and State, and who were generally known to be so, to the knowledge of the People, that it would at least lessen their Power and Ability to do hurt; and so he resolv'd to return an Answer to them in these words:

“THAT his Majesty doth not entertain any misapprehen-
 sion of the Love, and Loyalty of his City of *London*; as he
 hath always express'd a singular regard and esteem of the Af-
 fections of that City, and is still desirous to make it his chief
 place of residence, and to continue, and renew many Marks
 of his favour to it; so he believes, much the better and
 greater part of that his City is full of Love, Duty, and Loy-
 alty to his Majesty; and that the Tumults which heretofore
 forced his Majesty, for his safety, to leave that place, though
 they were contriv'd and encourag'd by some principal Mem-
 bers thereof (who are since well known, though they are
 above the reach of Justice) consisted more of desperate Per-
 sons of the Suburbs, and the neighbouring Towns (who were
 misled too by the cunning and malice of their Seducers)
 than of the Inhabitants of that City. He looks on his good
 Subjects there as Persons groaning under the same burthen
 which doth oppress his Majesty, and awed by the same Per-
 sons who begot those Tumults, and the same Army which
 gave Battle to his Majesty: And therefore, as no good Sub-
 ject can more desire, from his Soul, a composure of the ge-
 neral Distractions; so no good Citizen can more desire the
 establishment of the particular Peace, and Prosperity of that
 place, by his Majesty's access thither, than his Majesty him-
 self doth.

*The King's
Answer.*

“BUT his Majesty desires his good Subjects of *London*, se-
 riouly to consider, what confidence his Majesty can have of
 security there, whilst the Laws of the Land are so notoriously
 despised, and trampled under foot, and the wholesome Go-
 vernment of that City, heretofore so famous over all the
 world, is now submitted to the Arbitrary Power of a few
 desperate Persons, of no reputation, but for malice and dis-
 loyalty to Him; whilst Armes are taken up, not only with-
 out, but against His Consent, and express Command, and
 Collections publickly made, and Contributions avow'd, for
 the maintenance of the Army which hath given him Battle,
 and therein used all possible means Treason and Malice could
 suggest to them, to have taken his Life from him, and to
 have destroyed his Royal Issue; whilst such of his Majesty's
 Subjects, who, out of Duty and Affection to his Majesty,
 and compassion of their bleeding Country, have labour'd for
 Peace,

"Peace, are reviled, injured, and murdered, even by the
 "Magistrates of that City, or by Their Directions: Lastly,
 "what hopes his Majesty can have of safety there, whilst Al-
 "derman *Pennington*, their pretended Lord Mayor, the prin-
 "cipal Author of those Calamities which so nearly threaten
 "the ruin of that famous City, *Ven*, *Foulke*, and *Manwairing*,
 "all Persons notoriously guilty of Schism and High Treason,
 "commit such Outrages, in oppressing, robbing; and impris-
 "soning, according to their discretion, all such his Majesty's
 "Loving Subjects, whom they are pleased to suspect for but
 "wishing well to his Majesty.

"AND his Majesty would know, whether the Petitioners
 "believe, that the reviling, and suppressing the Book of Com-
 "mon Prayer, establish'd in this Church ever since the Refor-
 "mation, the discountenancing and imprisoning Godly, Learn-
 "ed, and Painful Preachers, and the cherishing and counte-
 "nancing of *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and all manner of Secta-
 "ries, be the way to defend and maintain the true Reform'd
 "Protestant Religion? That to comply with, and assist Per-
 "sons who have actually attempted to kill his Majesty, and to
 "allow, and favour Libels, Pasquils, and seditious Sermons
 "against his Majesty, be to defend his Royal Person, and Ho-
 "nour, according to the duty of their Allegiance? Whether
 "to imprison Mens Persons, and to plunder their Houses,
 "because they will not Rebel against his Majesty, nor assist
 "those that do; whether to destroy their property by taking
 "away the twentieth part of their Estates from them, and by
 "the same Arbitrary Power, to refer to four Standers by, of
 "their own Faction, to judge what that twentieth part is, be
 "to defend the Lawful Rights, and Liberties of the Subject?
 "And if they think these Actions to be instances of either;
 "whether they do not know the Persons before named to be
 "guilty of them all? Or whether they think it possible, that
 "Almighty God can bless that City, and preserve it from de-
 "struction, whilst Persons of such known guilt, and wicked-
 "ness, are defended, and justified among them, against the
 "power of that Law, by which they can only subsist.

"His Majesty is so far from suffering himself to be in-
 "censed against the whole City, by the Actions of these ill
 "Men, though they have hitherto been so prevalent, as to
 "make the Affections of the rest of little use to him; and is
 "so willing to be with them, and to protect them, that the
 "Trade, Wealth, and Glory thereof, so decayed and eclipsed
 "by these publick distractions, may again be the Envy of all
 "Forreign Nations, that he doth once more graciously offer
 "his free and general Pardon to all the Inhabitants of that his
 "City of *London*, the Suburbs and City of *Westminster* (except

"the

"the Persons formerly excepted by his Majesty) if they shall
 "Yet return to their Duty, Loyalty, and Obedience. And
 "if his good Subjects of that his City of *London* shall first so-
 "lemnly declare, that they will defend the known Laws of
 "the Land, and will submit to, and be govern'd by, no other
 "Rule; if they shall first manifest, by defending themselves,
 "and maintaining their own Rights, Liberties, and Interests,
 "and suppressing any Force and Violence unlawfully raised
 "against those and his Majesty, their power to defend, and
 "preserve him from all Tumults, Affronts, and Violence;
 "Lastly, if they shall apprehend, and commit to safe custody,
 "the Persons of those four Men who enrich themselves by the
 "spoil, and oppression of his Loving Subjects, and the ruin
 "of the City, that his Majesty may proceed against them by
 "the Course of Law, as guilty of High Treason; his Majesty
 "will speedily return to them with his Royal, and without
 "his Martial Attendance, and will use his utmost endeavours,
 "that they may hereafter enjoy all the blessings of Peace and
 "Plenty; and will no longer expect obedience from them,
 "than he shall, with all the faculties of his Soul, labour in
 "the preserving, and advancing the true Reform'd Protestant
 "Religion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty and Property
 "of the Subjects, and the just Privileges of Parliament.

"If, notwithstanding all this, the Art, and Interest of these
 "Men can prevail so far, that they involve more Men in
 "their guilt, and draw that his City to sacrifice its present
 "happiness, and future hopes, to their Pride, Fury, and
 "Malice, his Majesty shall only give them this warning;
 "That whosoever shall henceforward take up Armes, with-
 "out His consent, contribute any Money, or Plate, upon what
 "pretence of Authority soever, for maintenance of the Army
 "under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, or any other
 "Army in Rebellion against him, or shall pay Tonnage and
 "Poundage, till the same shall be settled by Act of Parlia-
 "ment, every such Person must expect the severest punish-
 "ment the Law can inflict; and, in the mean time, his Ma-
 "jesty shall seize upon any part of his Estate within his power,
 "for the Relief and Support of Him and his Army, raised
 "and maintained for the Defence of his Person, the Laws,
 "and this his Kingdom: And since he denies to his Majesty
 "the duty and benefit of his Subjection, by giving Assistance
 "to Rebels, which, by the known Laws of the Land, is High
 "Treason; his Majesty shall likewise deny Him the benefit
 "of his Protection, and shall not only signify to all his For-
 "eign Ministers, that such Person shall receive no advan-
 "tage by being his Subject, but shall, by all other ways and
 "means, proceed against him as a publick Enemy to his Ma-
 "jesty, and this Kingdom.

"YET

"YET his Majesty hopes, and doubts not, but his good Subjects of *London* will call to mind the Acts of their Predecessors, the Duty, Affection, Loyalty, and Merit towards their Princes, the Renown they have had with all Posterity for, and the blessing of Heaven which always accompanied those Virtues; and will consider the perpetual scorn, and infamy which unavoidably will follow Them and their Children, if infinitely the meaner part in Quality, and much the lesser part in Number, shall be able to alter the Government, so admirably establish'd, destroy the Trade so excellently settled, and to waste the Wealth so industriously gotten, of that flourishing City: And they will easily gather up the Courage and Resolution to joyn with his Majesty in Defence of that Religion, Law, and Liberty, which hitherto hath, and only can, make Themselves, his Majesty, and his Kingdom, happy.

"FOR concurring with the advice of his two Houses of Parliament, which, with reference to the Common-wealth, may be as well at this distance, as by being at *White-Hall*, his Majesty doubts not, but his good Subjects of *London* well know, how far, beyond the example of his Predecessors, his Majesty hath concurr'd with their advice, in passing of such Laws, by which he willingly parted with many of his known Rights, for the benefit of his Subjects; which, the fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom did not oblige him to consent unto; and hath used all possible means to beget a right understanding between them: And will therefore apply themselves to those who by making just, peaceable, and honourable Propositions to his Majesty, can only beget that concurrence.

THIS Answer the King sent by a Servant of his own, supposing, that if he sent by the Messengers who brought the Petition, it might either be suppress'd, or not communicated in that manner as He desired. Besides, the Messengers themselves, after the King had caused it to be read to them, were very well contented that it should be delivered by other hands than their's. So they promised his Majesty, that they would procure a Common Hall (which is the most general Assembly of the City, the meanest Person being admitted) to be call'd assoon as they return'd; where his Messenger might deliver it: and having been graciously used by the King and the Court, after two days stay, they return'd from *Oxford* together with the Gentleman sent by his Majesty. When they came to *London*, the contents of the Answer were quickly known, though not deliver'd; and the two Houses made an Order, "that the Lord Mayor should not call a
Common

"Common Hall, till he receiv'd farther direction from Them. So that, though the Gentleman, sent by the King, often solicited the Lord Mayor, "that he would call a Common Hall, at which he was to deliver a Message from the King, many days passed before any Orders were issued to that purpose.

At last, a day was appointed: and, at the same time, a Committee of the Lords and Commons were sent to be present, to see that it might not have such a reception, as might render their Interest suspected. As soon as the Gentleman sent by the King had read his Majesty's Answer, the Earl of *Manchester* told them, "of the high value the Parliament had "of the City; that they had consider'd of those wounding "Aspersions, which, in that Answer, were cast upon Persons "of such eminent Affection in their City, and upon others, "of great Fidelity and Trust among them: That they own'd themselves to be equally interest'd in all things that concern'd them, and would stand by them with their Lives, "and Fortunes, for the Preservation of the City in general, "and those Persons in particular who had been Faithful, and "deserv'd well both of the Parliament, and Kingdom. And "they would pursue all means with their Lives and Fortunes, "that might be for the Preservation of that City, and for the "procuring of Safety, Happiness, and Peace, to the whole "Kingdom.

As soon as his Lordship had finish'd his Oration, which was receiv'd with marvellous Acclamations, Mr *Pym* enlarg'd himself, in a Speech then printed, upon the several parts of the King's Answer (for it was so long before it was deliver'd, that the printed Copies from *Oxford*, which were printed there after the Messenger was gone so long that all Men concluded it was deliver'd, were publick and in all hands) and told them the sense of the two Houses of Parliament, upon every part of it. Among the rest, "that the demanding the "Lord Mayor, and the other three Citizens, was against the "Privilege of Parliament (two of them being Members of "the House of Commons) and most dishonourable to the City, "that the Lord Mayor of *London* should be subjected to the "violence of every base Fellow; and that they should be commanded to deliver up their chief Magistrates, and such eminent Members of the City, to the King's pleasure, only because they had done their duty, in adhering to the Parliament, for the defence of the Kingdom.

He told them, "that, to the objection that the Government of the City had been managed by a few desperate Persons, and that they did exercise an Arbitrary Power, the "two Houses gave them this Testimony, that they had, in "most

“most of the great occasions concerning the Government of
 “the City, follow’d Their direction : and that direction which
 “the Parliament had given, They had executed; and they
 “must, and would maintain to be such, as stood with Their
 “honour in giving it, and the other trust, and fidelity in
 “performing it.

To the objection, “that the Property of the Subject was
 “destroy’d, by taking away the twentieth part by an Arbitrary Power, he told them, “that That Ordinance did not
 “require a twentieth part, but did limit the Assessors that
 “they should not go beyond a twentieth part, and that was
 “done by a Power deriv’d from both Houses of Parliament;
 “the Lords, who had an hereditary Interest in making of
 “Laws in this Kingdom; and the Commons, who were elected and chosen to represent the whole Body of the Commonwealth, and trusted, for the good of the People, when
 “ever they see cause, to charge the Kingdom. He said farther, “that the same Law which did enable the two Houses
 “of Parliament to raise Forces to maintain, and defend the
 “the safety of Religion, and of the Kingdom, did likewise
 “enable them to require contributions whereby those Forces
 “might be maintain’d; or else it were a vain power to raise
 “Forces, if they had not a power likewise to maintain them
 “in that Service for which they were raised. He observ’d,
 “that it was reported, that the King declared he would send
 “some Messengers to observe their carriage in the City, and
 “what was done among them : the Parliament had just cause
 “to doubt, that those would be Messengers of sedition, and
 “trouble, and therefore desired them to observe and find them
 “out, that they might know who they were. He concluded
 “with “commending unto their consideration, the great danger that they were all in; and that the danger could not be
 “kept off, in all likelyhood, but by the Army that was then
 “on foot; and assured them, “that the Lords and Commons
 “were so far from being frighted by any thing, in that Answer, that they had, for Themselves, and the Members of
 “both Houses, declared a farther contribution, towards the
 “maintenance of that Army; and could not but hope, and
 “desire, that the City, which had shew’d so much good Affection in the former necessities of the State, would be sensible of their own, and of the condition of the whole Kingdom, and add to that which they had already done, some
 “farther Contribution, whereby that Army might be maintain’d for all their safeties.

WHETHER the solemnity for the reception of this Message after it was known what the contents were, and the bringing so great a Guard of arm’d Men to the place where it was

to be deliver'd, frighted the well affected Party of the City from coming thither, or frighted them, when they were there, from expressing those Affections, I know not. But it is certain, these Speeches and Discourses were receiv'd, and entertain'd with all imaginable applause, and that meeting was concluded with a general Acclamation, "that they would live, and die with the Houses, and other expressions of that nature. So that all thoughts of farther Address, or compliance with his Majesty from the City, were so entirely and absolutely laid aside, that the Licence of Seditious and Treasonable discourses daily encreased; insomuch, that complaint being made to the then Lord Mayor, that a certain desperate Person, had said, "that he hoped shortly to wash his hands in the King's blood, that Minister of Justice refused to send any Warrant, or to give any direction to any Officer, for the apprehension of him. This was the success of that Petition, and Answer.

THE Houses now began to speak Themselves, of sending Propositions to the King for Peace. For, how great soever the compliance seem'd with them from the City, or the Country, they well enough discern'd that compliance was generally upon the hope and expectation that they would procure a speedy Peace. And they had now procured That to pass both Houses, which they only wanted, the Bill for the extirpation of Episcopacy: in the doing whereof, they used marvellous Art, and Industry. They who, every day, did somewhat, how little soever then taken notice of, to make Peace impossible, and resolv'd, that no Peace could be safe for Them, but such a one as would be unsafe for the King, well enough knew that they should never be able to hold up, and carry on the War against the King in *England*, but by the help of an Army out of *Scotland*; which they had no hope to procure but upon the Stock of the Alteration of the Government of the Church; to which that Nation was violently inclin'd. But to compass That, was very difficult; very much the Major part, even of those Members who still continued with them, being cordially Affected to the Government establish'd, at least not Affected to any Other. To those therefore, who were so far engaged as to desire to have it in Their power to compel the King to consent to such a Peace as they desired, they represented, "the consequence of getting the *Scots* to declare for them; which would more terrify the King, and keep the Northern parts in Subjection more, "than any Forces they should be able to raise: That it was "impossible to draw such a Declaration from them, without "first declaring themselves that they would alter the Government by the Bishops; which that People pretended to "believe

"believe the only justifiable ground to take up Armes. To others, which was indeed their publick, and avow'd, and current Argument in debates, they alledg'd, "that they could not expect that any Peace would be effected by the King's free concurrence to any Message they could send to him, "but that it must arise, and result from a Treaty between them, upon such Propositions as either Party would make upon their own Interest: that it could not be expected that such Propositions would be made on either side, as would be pertinaciously insisted on by them who made them; it being the course, in all Affairs of this Nature, to ask more than was expected to be consented to; that it concern'd Them as much, to make demands of great Moment to the King, from which they meant to recede, as others upon which they must insist: that all Men knew the inclination and affection the King had to the Church, and therefore if he saw That in danger, he would rescue it at any price, and very probably their departing from their Proposition concerning the Church, might be the most powerful Argument to the King, to gratify them with the Militia.

Commissioners sent to the King with Propositions of Peace about the end of January.

By these Artifices, and especially by concluding obstinately, "that no Propositions should be sent to the King for Peace, till the Bill for extirpation of Bishops was pass'd "the Lords House (where it would never otherwise have been submitted to) they had their desire, and, about the end of January, they sent the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Holland, with eight Members of the Commons to Oxford, with their Petition and Propositions. And here I cannot omit one Stratagem, which, at that time, occasion'd some Mirth. The Common People of London were perswaded, "that there was so great scarcity of Victual and Provisions at Oxford, and in all the King's Quarters, that they were not without danger of starving; and that, if all other ways fail'd, That alone would in a short time bring the King to them. To make good this report, Provisions of all kinds, even to Bread, were sent in Waggon, and on Horses from London to Oxford, for the supply of this Committee: when, without doubt, they found as great plenty of all things where they came, as they had left behind them. The Petition presented to his Majesty with the Propositions were, in these words, at the presentation, read by the Earl of Northumberland.

The humble desires, and Propositions of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, tender'd to his Majesty.

"WE your Majesty's most humble and faithful Subjects, "the Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled, having

"in our thoughts the glory of God, your Majesty's honour,
 "and the prosperity of your People, and being most grievously
 "afflicted with the pressing Miseries, and Calamities, which
 "have overwhelm'd your two Kingdoms of *England*, and
 "*Ireland*, since your Majesty hath, by the perswasion of evil
 "Counsellors, withdrawn your self from the Parliament,
 "raised an Army against it, and, by force thereof protected
 "Delinquents from the justice of it, constraining Us to take
 "Armes for the defence of Our Religion, Laws, Liberties,
 "Privileges of Parliament, and for the sitting of the Parlia-
 "ment in safety; which fears and dangers are continued, and
 "encreased, by the raising, drawing together, and Arming of
 "great Numbers of Papists, under the Command of the Earl
 "of *New-Castle*; likewise by making the Lord *Herbert of Rag-*
 "*land*, and other known Papists, Commanders of great
 "Forces, whereby many grievous oppressions, rapines, and
 "cruelties have been, and are daily exercised upon the Per-
 "sons and Estates of your People, much innocent blood hath
 "been spilt, and the Papists have attain'd means of attempting,
 "with hopes of effecting, their mischievous designs of root-
 "ing out the Reform'd Religion, and destroying the Profes-
 "sors thereof: In the tender sense, and compassion of these
 "Evils, under which your People, and Kingdom lie (accord-
 "ing to the duty, which We owe to God, your Majesty, and
 "the Kingdom, for which we are trusted) do most earnestly
 "desire, that an end may be put to these great distempers and
 "distractions, for the preventing of that desolation which doth
 "threaten all your Majesty's Dominions: And as We have
 "render'd, and still are ready to render to your Majesty, that
 "Subjection, Obedience, and Service, which We owe unto
 "you, so We most humbly beseech your Majesty, to remove
 "the causes of this War, and to vouchsafe Us that Peace and
 "Protection, which We, and Our Ancestors have formerly
 "enjoyed under your Majesty, and your Royal Predecessors,
 "and graciously to accept, and grant these Our most humble
 "Desires and Propositions:

1. "THAT your Majesty will be pleased to disband your
 "Armies, as We likewise shall be ready to disband all those
 "Forces, which We have raised; and that you will be pleased
 "to return to your Parliament.

2. "THAT you will leave Delinquents to a Legal Tryal,
 "and Judgement of Parliament.

3. "THAT the Papists may not only be disbanded, but
 "disarm'd according to Law.

4. "THAT your Majesty will be pleased to give your
 "Royal Assent unto the Bill for taking away the superstitious
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"Innovations; to the Bill for the utter abolishing, and
 "taking away of all Arch-bishops, Bishops, their Chancellors,
 "and Commissaries, Deans, Sub-Deans, Deans and Chapters,
 "Arch-Deacons, Canons, and Prebendaries, and all Chaunters,
 "Chancellors, Treasurers, Sub-Treasurers, Succentors, and Sa-
 "cristis, and all Vicars Choral, Choiristers, old Vicars, and new
 "Vicars of any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, and all other
 "their under-Officers out of the Church of *England*: to the
 "Bill against scandalous Ministers; to the Bill against Plu-
 "ralities; and to the Bill for consultation to be had with
 "Godly, Religious, and Learned Divines. That your Majesty
 "will be pleased to promise to pass such other good Bills for
 "settling of Church Government, as upon Consultation with
 "the Assembly of the said Divines, shall be resolv'd on by both
 "Houses of Parliament, and by them presented to your Majesty.

5. "THAT your Majesty having exprest, in your Answer
 "to the Nineteen Propositions of both Houses of Parliament,
 "an hearty Affection and Intention for the rooting out of
 "Popery out of this Kingdom; and that, if both the Houses
 "of Parliament can yet find a more effectual course to disable
 "Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recusants, from disturbing the
 "State, or eluding the Laws, that you would willingly give
 "your consent unto it; that you would be graciously pleased,
 "for the better Discovery, and speedier Conviction of Re-
 "cusants, that an Oath may be establish'd by Act of Parlia-
 "ment, to be administer'd in such manner as by both Houses
 "shall be agreed on; wherein they shall abjure and renounce
 "the Pope's Supremacy, the Doctrine of Transubstantiation,
 "Purgatory, Worshipping of the Consecrated Host, Cruci-
 "fixes, and Images: And the refusing the said Oath, being
 "tender'd in such manner as shall be appointed by Act of
 "Parliament, shall be a sufficient Conviction in Law of Re-
 "cusancy. And that your Majesty will be graciously pleased
 "to give your Royal Assent unto a Bill, for the Education of
 "the Children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Re-
 "ligion. That for the more effectual execution of the Laws
 "against Popish Recusants, your Majesty will be pleased to
 "consent to a Bill, for the true Levying of the Penalties a-
 "gainst them; and that the same Penalties may be Levied,
 "and disposed of in such manner as both Houses of Parlia-
 "ment shall agree on, so as your Majesty be at no loss; and
 "likewise to a Bill, whereby the practice of Papists against
 "the State may be prevented, and the Law against them
 "duly executed,

6. "THAT the Earl of *Bristol* may be remov'd from your
 "Majesty's Councils; and that both He, and the Lord *Her-*
 "*bert*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Worcester*, may likewise be
 "restrain'd

"restrain'd from coming within the Verge of the Court; and
 "that they may not bear any Office, or have any Employ-
 "ments concerning State or Common-wealth

7. "THAT your Majesty will be graciously pleased, by Act
 "of Parliament, to settle the Militia both by Sea and Land,
 "and for the Forts and Ports of the Kingdom, in such a man-
 "ner as shall be agreed on by both Houses.

8. "THAT your Majesty will be pleased, by your Letters
 "Parents, to make *St John Brampton*, Chief Justice of the
 "Court of King's Bench; *William Lenthall* Esquire, the now
 "Speaker of the Common's House, Master of the Rolls; and
 "to continue the Lord Chief Justice *Banks*, Chief Justice of
 "the Court of Common Pleas; and likewise to make Mr
 "Serjeant *Wild*, Chief Baron of your Court of Exchequer;
 "and that Mr Justice *Bacon* may be continued; and Mr Ser-
 "jeant *Rolls*, and Mr Serjeant *Atkins*, made Justices of the
 "King's Bench: That Mr Justice *Reeves*, and Mr Justice *For-*
 "ster, may be continued; and Mr Serjeant *Pheasant*, made
 "one of the Justices of your Court of Common Pleas; That
 "Mr Serjeant *Creswell*, Mr *Samuel Brown*, and Mr *John Pu-*
 "leston, may be Barons of the Exchequer; and that all these,
 "and all the Judges of the same Courts, for the time to
 "come, may hold their places by Letters Patents under the
 "Great Seal, *Quam diu se bene gesserint*: And that the several
 "Persons not before named, that do hold any of these places
 "before mention'd, may be removed.

9. "THAT all such Persons, as have been put out of the
 "Commissions of Peace, or Oyer and Terminer, or from being
 "*Custodes Rotulorum*, since the first day of April 1642 (other
 "than such as were put out by desire of both or either of the
 "Houses of Parliament) may again be put into those Com-
 "missions, and Offices; and that such Persons may be put out
 "of those Commissions, and Offices, as shall be excepted a-
 "gainst by both Houses of Parliament.

10. "THAT your Majesty will be pleased to pass the Bill
 "now presented to your Majesty, to vindicate and secure the
 "Privileges of Parliament, from the ill consequence of the
 "late Precedent in the Charge and Proceeding against the
 "Lord *Kimoolton*, now Earl of *Manchester*, and the five Mem-
 "bers of the House of Commons.

11. "THAT your Royal Assent may be given unto such
 "Acts as shall be advised by both Houses of Parliament, for
 "the satisfying and paying the Debts, and Damages, wherein
 "the two Houses of Parliament have engaged the Publick
 "Faith of the Kingdom.

12. "THAT your Majesty will be pleased, according to a
 "gracious Answer heretofore receiv'd from you, to enter into

“a more strict Alliance with the States of the united Pro-
 “vinces, and other Neighbour Princes, and States of the Pro-
 “testant Religion, for the defence and maintenance thereof
 “against all designs and attempts of the Popish, and Jesuitical
 “Faction, to subvert and suppress it; whereby your Subjects
 “may hope to be free from the mischiefs which this Kingdom
 “hath endured, through the power which some of that Party
 “have had in your Counsels; and will be much encouraged,
 “in a Parliamentary way, for your Aid and Assistance in re-
 “storing your Royal Sister, and the Prince Elector, to those
 “Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them; and re-
 “lieving the other Protestant Princes who have suffer’d in
 “the same Cause.

13. “THAT in the general Pardon which your Majesty
 “hath been pleased to offer to your Subjects, all Offences and
 “Misdemeanours committed before the 10th of *January* 1641,
 “which have been or shall be question’d, or proceeded a-
 “gainst in Parliament, upon Complaint in the House of
 “Commons, before the 10th of *January* 1643, shall be ex-
 “cepted; which Offences, and Misdemeanours shall neverthe-
 “less be taken, and adjudged to be fully discharged against
 “all other inferior Courts. That likewise there shall be an
 “exception of all Offences committed by any Person or Per-
 “sons, which hath, or have had, any hand or practice in the
 “Rebellion of *Ireland*; which hath, or have given, any
 “Counsel, Assistance, or Encouragement to the Rebels there,
 “for the maintenance of that Rebellion; as likewise an ex-
 “ception of *William* Earl of *New-Castle*, and *George* Lord *Digby*.

14. “THAT your Majesty will be pleased to restore such
 “Members of either House of Parliament to their several
 “places of Services, and Employment, out of which they
 “have been put since the beginning of this Parliament; that
 “they may receive satisfaction, and reparation for those places,
 “and for the profits which they have lost by such removals,
 “upon the Petition of both Houses of Parliament: And that
 “all others may be restored to their Offices, and Employ-
 “ments, who have been put out of the same upon any dis-
 “pleasure conceiv’d against them, for any Assistance given to
 “both Houses of Parliament, or Obeying their Commands,
 “or forbearing to leave their Attendance upon the Parliament
 “without Licence; or for any other occasion, arising from
 “these unhappy differences, betwixt your Majesty, and both
 “Houses of Parliament, upon the like Petition of both Houses.

“THESE things being granted, and perform’d, as it hath
 “always been our hearty Prayer, so shall We be enabled to
 “make it our hopeful Endeavour, that your Majesty, and
 “your People, may enjoy the blessings of Peace, Truth, and
 “Justice;

"Justice; the Royalty and Greatness of your Throne may
"be supported by the Loyal, and Bountiful Affections of
"your People; Their Liberties, and Privileges, maintain'd
"by your Majesty's Protection, and Justice; and this publick
"Honour, and Happiness of your Majesty, and all your Do-
"minions, communicated to other Churches, and States of
"your Alliance, and derived to your Royal Posterity, and the
"future Generations of this Kingdom for ever.

THEY who brought this Petition and Propositions, spake
to their friends at *Oxford* with all freedom of the Persons
from whom they came; inveighed against "their Tyranny,
"and Unreasonableness, and especially against the Proposi-
tions themselves had brought; but positively declar'd, "that,
"if the King would vouchsafe so gracious an Answer (which
"they confess'd they had no reason to expect) as might en-
"gage the two Houses in a Treaty, it would not be then in
"the power of the Violent Party to deny whatsoever his Ma-
"jesty could reasonably desire. However (though the King
expected little from those private undertakings, well know-
ing, that they who wish'd best, were of least power, and
that the greatest among them, as soon as they were but sus-
pected to incline to Peace, immediately lost their Reputation)
his Majesty, within two days, graciously dismissed those Mes-
sengers with this Answer.

"IF his Majesty had not given up all the faculties of his
"Soul to an earnest endeavour of Peace, and Reconciliation
"with his People; or if he would suffer himself, by any Pro-
"vocation, to be drawn to a sharpness of Language, at a time
"when there seems somewhat like an Overture of Accom-
"modation, he could not but resent the heavy Charges upon
"him in the Preamble of these Propositions; would not suf-
"fer himself to be reproached, with protecting of Delin-
"quents, by force, from justice (his Majesty's desire having
"always been, that all Men should be try'd by the known
"Law, and having been refused it) with raising an Army
"against his Parliament, and to be told that Armes have been
"taken up against Him for the defence of Religion, Laws,
"Liberties, and Privileges of Parliament, and for the sitting
"of the Parliament in safety, with many other particulars in
"that Preamble so often and so fully answer'd by his Ma-
"jesty, without remembring the world of the Time, and
"Circumstances of raising those Armes against him; when
"his Majesty was so far from being in a condition to invade
"other Mens Rights, that he was not able to maintain, and
"defend his own from Violence; and without telling his
"good Subjects, that their Religion (the true Protestant Re-
"ligion,

“ligion, in which his Majesty was born, hath faithfully liv’d,
 “and to which He will die a willing Sacrifice) their Laws,
 “Liberties, Privileges, and safety of Parliament, were so
 “amply settled, and establish’d, or offer’d to be so by his
 “Majesty, before any Army was rais’d against him, and long
 “before any rais’d by him for his defence, that if nothing
 “had been desired but that Peace and Protection which his
 “Subjects, and their Ancestors, had in the best times enjoy’d,
 “under his Majesty, or his Royal Predecessors, this mil-
 “understanding and distance between his Majesty and his
 “People, and this general Misery and Distraction upon the
 “face of the whole Kingdom, had not been now the dis-
 “course of all *Christendom*.

“BUT his Majesty will forbear any expressions of bitter-
 “ness, or of a sense of his own Sufferings, that, if it be pos-
 “sible, the Memory thereof may be lost to the world. And
 “therefore, though many of the Propositions, presented to
 “his Majesty by both Houses, appear to him very deroga-
 “tory from, and destructive to, his just Power and Prero-
 “gative, and no way beneficial to his Subjects, few of them
 “being already due to them by the Laws establish’d (and
 “how Unparliamentary it is by Arms to require new Laws,
 “all the world may judge) yet (because these may be waved, or
 “mollified, and many things, that are now dark and doubtful
 “in them, clear’d, and explain’d upon debate) his Majesty
 “is pleas’d, such is his sense of the Miseries, this Kingdom
 “suffers by this unnatural War, and his earnest desire to re-
 “move them by an happy Peace, that a speedy time and
 “place be agreed upon, for the meeting of such Persons as
 “his Majesty and both Houses shall appoint to discuss these
 “Propositions, and such others here following as his Majesty
 “doth propose to them.

1. “THAT his Majesty’s own Revenue, Magazine, Towns,
 “Forts, and Ships, which have been taken or kept from him
 “by force, be forthwith restored unto him.

2. “THAT whatsoever hath been done, or publish’d, con-
 “trary to the known Laws of the Land, or derogatory to his
 “Majesty’s Legal, and known Power and Rights, be renoun-
 “ced, and recalled, that no seed may remain for the like to
 “spring out of for the future.

3. “THAT whatsoever illegal Power hath been claimed,
 “and exercised by, or over his Subjects, as imprisoning their
 “Persons without Law, stopping their *Habeas Corpus*’s, and
 “imposing upon their Estates without Act of Parliament &c.
 “Either by both, or either House, or any Committee of
 “both, or either, or by any Persons appointed by any of them,
 “be

"be disclaimed; and all such Persons so committed, forthwith
"discharged.

4. "THAT as his Majesty will readily consent (having
"done so heretofore) to the execution of all Laws already
"made, and to any good Acts to be made for the suppressing
"of Popery, and for the firm settling of the Protestant Reli-
"gion now establish'd by Law; so he desires, that a good Bill
"may be framed, for the better preserving the Book of Com-
"mon Prayer from the scorn and violence of *Brownists*, *Ana-*
"*baptists*, and other Sectaries, with such Clauses for the ease
"of tender Consciences, as his Majesty hath formerly offer'd.

5. "THAT all such Persons, as, upon the Treaty, shall be
"excepted out of the general Pardon, shall be tried *per pares*,
"according to the usual Course, and known Law of the
"Land; and that it be left to that, either to acquit, or con-
"demn them:

6. "AND to the intent this Treaty may not suffer inter-
"ruption, by any intervening Accidents, that a Cessation of
"Armes, and free Trade for all his Majesties Subjects, may
"be first agreed upon.

"THIS offer and desire of his Majesty, he hopes, will be
"so chearfully entertain'd, that a speedy, and blessed Peace
"may be accomplish'd. If it shall be rejected, or, by insisting
"upon unreasonable circumstances, be made impossible (which,
"he hopes, God in his Mercy to this Nation will not suffer)
"the guilt of the blood which will be shed, and the desola-
"tion which must follow, will lie upon the heads of the Ru-
"fousers. However, his Majesty is resolv'd, through what Ac-
"cidents soever he shall be compell'd to recover his Rights,
"and with what prosperous success soever it shall please God
"to bless him, that by his earnest, constant Endeavours to
"propagate and promote the true Protestant Religion, and by
"his governing according to the known Laws of the Land,
"and upholding the just Privileges of Parliament, according
"to his frequent protestations made before Almighty God
"(which he will always inviolably observe) the world shall
"see, that he hath undergone all these difficulties, and ha-
"zards, for the defence and maintenance of those, the zea-
"lous preservation of which, his Majesty well knows, is the
"only foundation and means for the true happiness of Him,
"and his People.

WHILST these Overtures and Discourses were made of
Peace, the Kingdom, in all parts, felt the sad effects of War;
neither the King, nor the Parliament, being slack in pursuing
the business by the Sword; and the Persons of Honour and
Quality in most Counties more vigorously declaring them-

selves than they had done. Among the rest, upon the King's retreat from *Brantford*, whilst he yet staid about *Reading*, some of the well affected Gentry of *Suffex*, upon the confidence of their Interests in those parts, offer'd the King to raise Forces there; and presumed they should be able to seize some place of security and importance for their retreat, if the Enemy should attempt upon them; which, at that time of the year, was not conceiv'd could be with any notable success. And being arm'd with such Authority, and Commissions, as they desired, and seconded with a good Number of considerable Officers, their first success was answerable to their own hopes, and they possess'd themselves, partly by Force, and partly by Stratagem, of the City of *Chichester*; which, being encompass'd with a very good old Wall, was very easy to be so fortified, that, with the Winter, they might well think themselves secure against any forcible Attempt could be made upon them. And no doubt they had been so, if the Common People of the County (out of which the Soldiers were to rise) had been so well affected as was believ'd.

Chichester
possess'd by
the King's
Forces:

BUT before they could draw in Men or Provisions into the City, the Earl of *Essex* sent *St William Waller* with Horse, Foot, and Cannon, to infect them; who, with the Assistance of the Country, quickly shut them up within their Walls. They within the Town were easily reduced to streights they could not contend with; for, besides the Enemy without, against which the Walls and the Weather seem'd of equal power, and the small stock of Provisions, which, in so short time, they were able to draw thither, they had cause to apprehend their Friends would be weary before their Enemies; and that the Citizens would not prove a trusty part of the Garrison; and their Number of Common Men was so small, that the constant duty was perform'd by the Officers, and Gentlemen of Quality, who were absolutely tired out. So that after a week or ten days Siege, they were compell'd, upon no better Articles than Quarter, to deliver that City, which could hardly have been taken from them; by which (with the Loss of fifty or three-score Gentlemen of Quality, and Officers of Name, whose very good reputation made the loss appear a matter of absolute, and unavoidable necessity) the King found that he was not to venture to plant Garrisons so far from his own Quarters, where he could not, in reasonable time, administer succour or supply.

Was surren-
der'd to St
W. Waller.

THIS Triumph of the Enemy was shortly after abated, and the loss on the King's part repaired, by the winning of *Cirencester*, a good Town in *Glocester-shire*, which the Rebels were fortifying, and had in it a very strong Garrison; and, being upon the edge of *Wilt-shire*, *Berk-shire*, and *Oxford-shire*, shrewdly

shrewdly streighten'd the King's Quarters. The Marquis of *Hertford* bringing with him, out of *Wales*, near two thousand Foot, and one Regiment of Horse, intended, with the Assistance of Prince *Rupert*, who appointed to joyn with him with some Regiments from *Oxford*, to take in that Town; But by the extreme foulness of the ways, the great fall of rain at that time (being about *Christmas*) and some mistake in Orders between the two Generals, that Design was disappointed: And the Alarm gave the Enemy so much the more courage, and diligence to provide for an Assault.

IN the beginning of *February*, Prince *Rupert* went upon the same Design with better success; and at one and the same time, storming the Town in several places, their Works being not yet finish'd, though pertinaciously enough defended, enter'd their Line with some loss of Men, and many hurt, but with a far greater of the Enemy; for there were not so few as two hundred kill'd upon the place, and above one thousand taken Prisoners, whereof *Warneford*, and *Fettyplace* (two Gentlemen of good Quality and Fortune near that Town, and very active in the Service) Mr *George*, a Member of Parliament who serv'd for that Burrough, and two or three *Scotish* Officers of the Field, whereof *Carr* the Governour was one, were the chief. The Town yielded much Plunder; from which the undistinguishing Soldier could not be kept, but was equally injurious to Friend and Foe; so that many honest Men, who were imprison'd by the Rebels for not concurring with them, found themselves at Liberty and Undone together: amongst whom *John Plot*, a Lawyer of very good reputation, was one; who being freed from the hard, and barbarous imprisonment in which he had been kept, when he return'd to his own House, found it full of Soldiers, and twelve hundred pounds in Money taken from thence, which could never be recover'd. The Prince left a strong Garrison there, that brought almost all that whole County into contribution, and was a great enlargement to the King's Quarters, which now, without interruption, extended from *Oxford* to *Worcester*; that important City, with the other of *Hereford*, and those Counties, having, some time before, been quitted by the Rebels; the Earl of *Stamford*, who was left in those parts by the Earl of *Essex*, being call'd from thence, by the growth of the King's Party in *Cornwal*, to the securing the West.

WE remember'd before, when the Marquis of *Hertford* transported himself and his few Foot into *Wales* from *Mimhead*, that Sr *Ralph Hopton*, and the other Gentlemen, mention'd before, with their small Force, consisting of about one hundred Horse, and fifty Dragoons, retired into *Cornwal*, neglected by the Earl of *Bedford*, as fit and easy to be suppress'd

Cirencester
none by the
King's
Forces under
Prince Ru-
pert.

St. Ralph
Hopton and
St. Bevil
Greenvil's
progress in
Cornwal
together with
other Gentle-
men there

press'd by the Committees. And in truth, the Committees were entirely possess'd of *Devonshire*, and thought themselves equally sure of *Cornwal*, save that the Castle of *Pendennis* was in the Custody of one they had no hope of. They were welcomed into *Cornwal* by *St. Bevil Greenvil*, who march'd with them towards the West of the County, as being best affected, where they might have leisure to refresh their wearied and almost tired Horse and Men, and to call the well disposed Gentry together; for which they chose *Truro* as the fittest place, the East part of the County being possess'd by *St. Alexander Carew*, and *St. Richard Buller*, two Members of the House of Commons, and active Men for the settling of the Militia. There was in this County, as throughout the whole Kingdom, a wonderful and superstitious reverence towards the name of a Parliament, and a prejudice to the power of the Court; yet a full submission, and Love of the establish'd Government of Church and State, especially to that part of the Church as concern'd the Liturgy or Book of Common Prayer, which was a most general object of Veneration with the People. And the jealousy, and apprehension that the other Party intended to alter it, was a principal advancement of the King's Service. Though the Major, and most considerable part of the Gentry, and Men of Estates, were heartily for the King, many of them being of the House of Commons, and so having seen, and observ'd by what spirit the distemper was begot, and carried on; yet there were others of Name, Fortune, and Reputation with the People, very solicitous for the Parliament, and more active than the other. There was a Third sort (for a Party they cannot be call'd) greater than either of the other, both of Fortune, and Number, who, though they were satisfied in their Consciences of the justice of the King's Cause, had yet so great a dread of the Power of the Parliament, that they sat still as Neuters, assisting neither. So that they who did boldly appear, and declare for the King, were compell'd to proceed with all wariness, and circumspection; by the known and well understood Rules of the Law, and Justice; and durst not oppose the most extravagant Act of the other Side but with all the formality that was used in full Peace: Which must be an Answer to all those over-sights, and omissions, which Posterity will be apt to impute to the King, in the morning of these Distractions.

THE Committee of the Parliament, who were entirely possess'd of *Devonshire*, and believ'd themselves Masters of *Cornwal*, drew their Forces of the Country to *Launceston*, to be sure that *St. Ralph Hopton*, and his Adherents (whose power they thought contemptible) might not escape out of their hands. This was before the Battle of *Edge-hill*, when the King

King was at lowest, and when the Authority of Parliament found little opposition in any place. The Quarter Sessions came, where they caused a Presentment to be drawn, in form of Law, "against divers Men unknown, who were lately comē arm'd into that County *contra pacem* &c. Though none were named, all understood Who were meant; and therefore *Sr Ralph Hopton*, who very well understood those proceedings, voluntarily appear'd; took notice of the Presentment, and produced the Commission granted by the King, under the Great Seal of *England*, to the Marquis of *Hertford*, by which he was constituted General of the West; and a Commission, from his Lordship, to *Sr Ralph Hopton*, of Lieutenant General of the Horse; and told them, "he was sent "to assist them, in the defence of their Liberties, against all "illegal Taxes, and Impositions. Hereupon, after a full and solemn debate, the Jury, which consisted of Gentlemen of good Quality, and Fortunes in the County, not only acquitted *Sr Ralph Hopton*, and all the other Gentlemen his Companions, of any disturbance of the Peace; but declared, "that it was a great favour, and justice of his Majesty, to "send down aid to them who were already marked out to "destruction; and that they thought it the duty of every "good Subject, as well in Loyalty to the King, as in gratitude to those Gentlemen, to joyn with them with any hazard of Life and Fortune.

As this full vindication was thus gotten on the King's part, so an Indictment was preferr'd against *Sr Alexander Carew*, *Sr Richard Buller*, and the rest of the Committee, "for a Rout and unlawful Assembly at *Launceston*; and for "Riots and Misdemeanours committed against many of the "King's good Subjects, in taking their Liberties from them (for they had intercepted, and apprehended divers Messengers, and others of the King's Party, and employ'd by them) This Indictment and Information was found by the Grand Jury, and thereupon, according to a Statute in that case provided, an Order of Sessions was granted to the High Sheriff, a Person well affected to the King's Service, "to "raise the *posse Comitatus*, for the dispersing that unlawful "Assembly at *Launceston*, and for the apprehension of the "Rioters. This was the Rise and Foundation of all the great Service that was after perform'd in *Cornwal*, by which the whole West was reduced to the King. For, by this means, there were immediately drawn together, a Body of three thousand Foot, well arm'd; which by no other means could have been done: with which *Sr Ralph Hopton*, whom they all willingly obeyed, advanced towards *Launceston*, which the Committee had fortified, and from thence had sent
Messāges

Messages of great contempt upon the proceedings of the Sessions; for besides their confidence in their own *Cornish* strength, they had a good Body of Horse to second them upon all occasions, in the Confines of *Devon*.

SIR *George Chudliegh* a Gentleman of good Fortune, and Reputation in that County, and very active for the Militia, being then at *Tavistock*, with five or six full Troops of Horse, raised in that County to go to Their Army, but detain'd till *Cornwall* could be settled; upon the News of *Sr Ralph Hopton's* advancing, these drew to *Litton*, a Village in *Devonshire*, but within three Miles of *Launceston*, *Sr Ralph Hopton* march'd within two Miles of the Town, where he refresh'd his Men, intending, the next Morning early, to fall on the Town: But *Sr Richard Buller*, and his Confederates, not daring to abide the Storm, in great disorder quitted the Town that Night, and drew into *Devonshire*, and so towards *Plymouth*; so that in the Morning *Sr Ralph Hopton* found the Gates of *Launceston* open, and enter'd without resistance. As the submission to, and reverence of, the known practiced Laws had, by the Sheriffs Authority, raised this Army within very few days, so the extreme superstition to it, as soon dissolv'd it. For when all the Persons of Honour, and Quality, who well knew the desperate form'd designs of the other Party, earnestly press'd the pursuing the dishearten'd, and dismay'd Rebels into *Devon*, by which they should quickly encrease their Numbers, by joyning with the well affected in that large and populous County, who were yet aw'd into silence: It was powerfully objected, "that the Sheriff, by whose Legal Authority only that Force was drawn together, might not lawfully march out of his own County, "and that it was the principal Privilege of the Train'd-bands, "that they might not be compell'd to march farther than the "limits of their Sheriff.

How grievous and inconvenient soever this doctrine was discern'd to be, yet no Man durst presume so far upon the temper of that People, as to object Policy, or necessity to the notions of Law. And therefore, concealing, as much as was possible, the true reasons, they pretended their not following the Enemy proceeded from apprehension of their strength, by their joyning with *Sr George Chudliegh*, and of want of Ammunition (either of which were not unreasonable) and so march'd to *Salt-ash*, a Town in *Cornwall* upon an Arm of the Sea; which only divided it from *Plymouth*, and *Devon*, where was a Garrison of two hundred *Scots*; who, upon the approach of *Sr Ralph Hopton*, as kindly quit *Salt-ash*, as the others had *Launceston* before. So that being now entirely Masters of *Cornwall*, they fairly dismiss'd those who could

not

not be kept long together, and retired with their own handful of Horse and Dragoons, till a new provocation from the Enemy should put fresh Vigour into that County.

IN the mean time, considering the casualty of those Train'd-bands, and that strength, which on a suddain could be raised by the *posse Comitatus*, which, though it made a Gallant shew in *Cornwal*, they easily saw would be of no use towards the quenching the General Rebellion over *England*, they enter'd upon thoughts of raising voluntary Regiments of Foot; which could be only done by the Gentlemen of that Country among their Neighbours, and Tenants, who depended on them. *Sr Bevil Greenvil* (the generally most belov'd Man of that Country) *Sr Nicholas Slanning*, the Gallant Governour of *Pendennis* Castle, *John Arundel*, and *John Trecannon*, two young Men of Excellent hopes, and Heirs to great Fortunes in that Country (all four of them Members of the House of Commons, and so better inform'd, and acquainted with the desperate humours of the adverse Party) undertook the raising Regiments of Voluntiers: many young Gentlemen, of the most considerable Families of the County, assisting them as inferior Officers. So that, within a shorter time than could be expected, from one single County, there was a Body of Foot, of near fifteen hundred, raised, arm'd, and well disciplin'd for Action. But there was then an Accident, that might have discomposed a People which had not been very well prepared to perform their duties.

THE Lord *Mohun* (who had departed from *York* from the King with all professions of Zeal, and Activity in his Service) had, from the time of the first motion in *Cornwal*, forborne to joyn himself to the King's Party; staying at home at his own House, and imparting himself equally to all Men of several Constitutions, as if he had not been yet sufficiently inform'd which Party to adhere to.—But after all the adverse Party was driven out of *Cornwal*, and the fame of the King's marching in the Head of an Army, and having Fought the Battle at *Edge-hill* (the effect whereof was variously reported) without acquainting any Body with his Intention, he took a Journey towards *London*, at the time when the King march'd that way, and presented himself to his Majesty at *Brentford*, as sent from *Sr Ralph Hopton* and the rest of those Gentlemen engaged in *Cornwal*; though many Men believ'd that his purpose was, in truth, for *London*, if he had not then found the King's condition better than it was generally believ'd. Upon his Lordships information of the State of those Western parts, and upon a supposition that he spake the sense, and desires of those from whom he pretended to come, the King granted a Commission joynly to his Lordship, *Sr Ralph Hopton*,
son,

ton, *Sr John Berkley*, and Colonel *Ashburnham*, to govern those Forces, in the absence of the Lord Marquis of *Hertford*; with which he return'd into *Cornwal*, and immediately raised a Regiment of Foot; behaving himself as actively, and being every way as forward in the advancing the great business, as any Man; so that Men imputed his former reservedness, only to his not being satisfied in a condition of Command.

ON the other side, they who were concern'd in that alteration, were not at all well contented. For before, these Gentlemen of *Cornwal*, upon whose interest and activity the work depended, had, with great readiness, complied with the other, both out of great value of their Persons, with whom they had good familiarity, and friendship, and in respect of their Authority, and Commissions, with which they came qualified in that County: for, as was remember'd before, *Sr Ralph Hopton* had a Commission from the Marquis of *Hertford*, to be Lieutenant General of the Horse, *Sr John Berkley*, to be Commissary General, and Colonel *Ashburnham* to be Major General of the Foot; so that there was no dispute of Commands. But now, the Lord *Mohun's* coming into an equal Command with any, and superior to those who thought Their reputation and interest to be superior to His (for he had not the good fortune to be very gracious in his own Country) and this by his own sollicitation, and interposition, gave them some indignation. However their publick-heartedness, and joyn't concernment in the good Cause, so totally suppress'd all Animosities, and indeed Indispositions, that a greater concurrence could not be desired, in whatsoever could contribute to the work in hand; so that they not only preserv'd *Cornwal* entire, but made bold incursions into *Devon*, even to the Walls of *Plymouth*, and *Exeter*; though the Season of the year, being the deep Winter, and the want of Ammunition, soon forced them to retire into *Cornwal*.

THE reputation of their being Masters of that one County, and the apprehension of what they might be shortly able to do, made the Parliament think it time to take more care for their suppression. And therefore they sent their whole Forces out of *Dorset*, and *Somerſet*, to joyn with those of *Devon*, to make an entire conquest of *Cornwal*. With these, *Ruthen* (a *Scotch-man*, the Governour of *Plymouth*) advanced into *Cornwal*, by a Bridge over the *Tamar*, six miles above *Salt-ash* (where he had before endeavour'd to force his passage by Water, but had been beaten off with loss) having master'd the Guard there; the Earl of *Stamford* following him, two or three days march behind, with a new supply of Horse, and Foot; albeit those the *Scotch-man* had with him, were much superior

superior to those of the King's; which, upon this suddain Invasion, were forced to retire with their whole strength to *Bodmin*; whither, foreseeing this storm some few days before it came, they had again summon'd the *posse Comitatus*, which appear'd in considerable Numbers.

THEY had scarce refresh'd themselves there, and put their Men in order, when *Ruthen*, with his Horse, Foot, and Cannon, was advanced to *Liskard*, within seven miles of *Bodmin*; from whence they moved towards the Enemy with all alacrity, knowing how necessary it was for them to Fight before the Earl of *Stamford*, who was at that time come to *Launceston* with a strong Party of Horse and Foot, should be able to joyn with the Rebels. And as this consideration was of importance to hasten the one, so it prevail'd with the other Party too; for *Ruthen*, apprehending that his Victory, of which he made no question, would be clouded by the presence of the Earl of *Stamford*, who had the chief Command, resolv'd to dispatch the business before He came. And so *Sr Ralph Hopton* (to whom the other Commissioners, who had a joyn't Authority with him, willingly devolv'd the sole Command for that day, lest confusion of Orders might beget distraction) was no sooner known to be drawing towards him (to whom a present Battle was so necessary, that it was resolv'd, upon all disadvantages, to have fallen on the Enemy in the Town rather than not Fight) but *Ruthen* likewise drew out his Forces, and choosing his ground upon the East side of *Bradock-Down* near *Liskard*, stood in Battalia to expect the Enemy; *Sr Ralph Hopton*, having likewise put His Men in order, caused publick Prayers to be said, in the head of every Squadron (which the Rebels observing, told their fellows, "they were at Mass, to stir up their Courages in the cause of Religion) and having winged his Foot with his Horse and Dragoons, he advanced within Musquet-shot of the Enemy, who stood without any motion. Then perceiving that their Cannon were not yet come up from the Town, he caused two small iron Minion Drakes (all the Artillery they had) to be drawn, under the cover of little Parties of Horse, to a convenient distance from the Body of the Enemies; and after two shots of those Drakes (which being not discern'd, and doing some execution strook a greater terror into them) advanced with his Body upon them; and, with very easy contention, beat them off their ground; they having lined the Hedges behind them with their Reserve, by which they thought securely to make their retreat into the Town. But the *Cornish* so briskly bestir'd themselves, and press'd them so hard on every side, being indeed excellent at Hedge-work, and that kind of Fight, that they quickly wone That ground too, and put their whole Army in a rout, *Sr Ralph Hopton beats the Rebels at Bradock-Down under Ruthen.*

and had the full execution of them as far as they would pursue. But after that advantage, they were always more sparing than is usually known in Civil Wars, shedding very little Blood after resistance was given over, and having a very noble and Christian sense of the lives of their Brethren: insomuch as the Common Men, when they have been press'd by some fiercer Officer, to follow the execution, have answer'd, "they could not find in their hearts to hurt Men who had nothing in their hands.

IN this Battle, without the loss of an Officer of Name, and very few Common Men, they took twelve hundred and fifty Prisoners, most of their Colours, all their Cannon, being four Brass Guns (whereof two were twelve Pounders) and one iron Saker, all their Ammunition, and most of their Armes. *Ruthen* himself, and those who could keep pace with him, fled to *Salt-ash*; which he thought to fortify, and by the Neighbourhood of *Plymouth*, and assistance of the Shipping, to defend; and thereby still to have an influence upon a good part of *Cornwall*. The Earl of *Stamford*, receiving quick Advertisment of this Defeat, in great disorder retired to *Tavistock*, to preserve the utmost parts of *Devon* from incursions. Hereupon, after a solemn Thanksgiving to God for this great Victory (which was about the middle of *January*) and a little refreshing their Men at *Liskard*, the King's Forces divided themselves; *Sr John Berkley*, and Colonel *Asburnham*, with *Sr Bevil Greenvil*, *Sr Nicholas Slanning's*, and Colonel *Trevannion's* Voluntary Regiments, and such a Party of Horse and Dragoons as could be spared, advanced to *Tavistock* to visit the Earl of *Stamford*; the Lord *Mohun*, and *Sr Ralph Hopton*, with the Lord *Mohun's*, and Colonel *Godolphin's* Voluntary Regiments, and some of the Train'd-bands, march'd towards *Salt-ash*, to dislodge *Ruthen*; who within three days (for there was no more between his defeat at *Braddock-Down*, and his visitation at *Salt-ash*) had cast up such works, and planted such store of Cannon upon the narrow Avenues, that he thought himself able, with the help of a goodly Ship of four hundred Tuns, in which were sixteen pieces of Cannon, which he had brought up the River to the very side of the Town, to defend that place against any strength was like to be brought against him. But he quickly found that the same spirit possess'd his Enemies that drove him from *Liskard*, and the same that possess'd his own Men when they fled from thence; for as soon as the *Cornish* came up, they fell upon his works, and in a short time beat him out of them; and then out of the Town, with a good execution upon them; many being kill'd in the Fight, and more drown'd: *Ruthen* himself hardly getting into a Boat, by which he got into *Plymouth*, leaving all

Salt-ash
taken by the
King's
Forces.

his Ordinance behind him, which together with the Ship, and sevenſcore Priſoners, and all their Colours, which had been ſaved at *Liskard*, were taken by the Conquerors, who were now again entire Maſters of *Cornwall*.

THE Earl of *Stamford* had not the ſame patience to abide the other Party at *Taviſtock*, but, before their approach, quitted the Town; ſome of his Forces making haſt into *Plymouth*, and the reſt retiring into *Exeter*. And ſo, though the old ſuperſtition, of not going out of the County, again diſbanded the Train'd-bands, the *Cornish*, with all their Voluntary Forces, drew into *Devon*, and fixed Quarters within leſs than a mile of *Plymouth*, and kept Guards even within Muſquet-shot of Their Line. *St John Berkley* in the mean time with a good Party Volant, of Horſe and Dragoons, with great diligence, and galantry, viſiting all places in *Devon*, where their People were gather'd together, and diſſolving them, took many Priſoners of name; and ſo kept *Chudliegh*, the Major General of the Parliament Forces, from raiſing a Body there; which he induſtriouſly intended.

IN thoſe neceſſary and brisk expeditions in falling upon *Chagford* (a little Town in the South of *Devon*) before day, the King loſt *Sidney Godolphin*, a young Gentleman of incomparable parts; who, being of a conſtitution and education more delicate, and unacquainted with contentions, upon his obſervation of the wickedneſs of thoſe Men in the Houſe of Commons; of which he was a Member, out of the pure indignation of his Soul againſt them, and conſcience to his Country, had, with the firſt, engaged himſelf with that Party in the Weſt: and though he thought not fit to take Command in a Profeſſion he had not willingly choſen, yet as his advice was of great Authority with all the Commanders, being always one in the Council of War, and whoſe notable abilities they had ſtill uſe of in their Civil Tranſactions, ſo he expoſed his Perſon to all Action, Travel, and Hazard; and by too forward engaging himſelf in this laſt, receiv'd a mortal ſhot by a Muſquet, a little above the knee, of which he died in the inſtant; leaving the miſfortune of his death upon a place, which could never otherwiſe have had a mention to the world.

Mr Sidney
Godolphin
ſlain.

AFTER this, which happen'd about the end of *January*, in reſpect of the ſeaſon of the year, and the want of Ammunition, finding that they could make no impreſſion upon the ſtrong-holds of the Enemy, they retired, with their whole Forces, to *Taviſtock*; where they reſreſhed, and reſted themſelves many days, being willing to eaſe their faſt Friends of *Cornwall* as much as was poſſible from the trouble, and charge of their little Army. The difficulties they were entangled

The King's
Cornish
Forces come
to Tavi-
ſtock.

with, were very prodigious; of which one was, that the other parts of the West were so entirely possess'd by the Enemy, that they could have no correspondence, or receive any intelligence from the King, not one Messenger in ten arriving at his Journey's end. Then though the Justice, and Piety of the cause, added much power to particular Persons in raising an Army; yet the money that was raised for the maintenance, and payment of that Army, was entirely upon the Reputation, Credit, and Interest of particular Men: and how long that spring would supply those streams, the most Sanguine among them could not presume; but the want of Ammunition troubled them most of all: they had yet had none but what had been taken out of the low store of *Pendennis* Castle, and what they had wone from the Enemy; the first wanted a supply for it's own provision, but which way to procure that supply they could not imagine; and the fear, and apprehension of such streights, against which no probable hopes occur, is more grievous and insupportable, than any present want.

Captain
Carteret
supplies them
with Am-
munition.

IN this instant, as if sent by Providence, they met with an opportunity they had scarce Courage to hope for: Captain *Carteret*, the Controller of the King's Navy, having in the beginning of the Troubles, after he had refused to have Command in their Fleets, without noise withdrawn Himself and his Family out of *England* to *Jersey*, and being there impatient of being quiet, whilst his Master was in the Field, transported himself into *Cornwall* with a purpose to raise a Troop of Horse, and to engage in that Service: when he came thither, he was unanimously importun'd by the Commanders, after they had acquainted him with their hopeles, and desperate want of Powder, to assist them in that manner, that the many good Ports in their power, might be made of some use to them in the supply of Powder: whereupon he shortly return'd into *France*; and first upon his own Credit, and then upon return of such Commodities out of *Cornwall* as they could well spare, he supplied them with such great proportions of all kinds of Ammunitions, that they never found want after.

IN the mean time, when they were clouded with that want, at *Tavistock*, some Gentlemen of *Cornwall* who adhered to the Rebels, and were thereby dispossest of their County, made some Overtures, "that a Treaty might be enter'd into, where-
"by the Peace of those two Counties of *Cornwall*, and *Devon*,
"might be settled, and the War be removed into other parts. They who had most experience of the humours and dispositions of the Factious Party, easily concluded the little hope of Peace by such a Treaty; yet the Proposition was so Specious and Popular, that there was no rejecting it; and therefore they agreed to a meeting between Persons chosen of either
side;

side; and the Earl of *Stamford* himself seem'd so ingenuous, that, at the very first meeting, to shew their clear intentions, it was mutually agreed, that every Person employed and trusted in the Treaty, should first make a Protestation in these words. "I do solemnly vow, and protest, in the presence

*A Treaty
between the
two Parties
in Devon
and Corn-*

of Almighty God, that I do not only come a Commissioner to this Treaty, with an hearty and fervent desire of concluding an honourable and firm Peace between the two Counties of *Cornwal*, and *Devon*; but also will, to the ut-

*This Prote-
station being
first taken
by both.*

most of my power, prosecute, and really endeavour to accomplish and effect the same, by all lawful ways and means I possibly can; first by maintaining the Protestant Religion establish'd by Law in the Church of *England*, the just Rights and Prerogative of our Sovereign Lord the King, the just Privileges, and Freedom of Parliaments; together with the just Rights and Liberty of the Subjects; and that I am without any intention (by fomenting this unnatural War) to gain, or hope to advantage my self with the real, or personal Estate of any Person whatsoever, or obtaining any Office, Command, Title of Honour, Benefit, or Reward, either from the King's Majesty, or either, or both Houses of Parliament now assembled. And this I take, in the presence of Almighty God, and as I shall answer the same at His Tribunal, according to the literal sense and meaning of the foregoing Words, without any Equivocation, mental Reservation, or other Evasion whatsoever. So help me God.

THE taking this Protestation with that solemnity, and the blessed Sacrament thereupon, made even those who before expected little fruit from the Treaty, believe, that Men, being so engaged, would not be liable to those Passions, and Affections, which usually transported that Party; and so to hope that some Good might proceed from it: and therefore the King's Party were easily induced to retire with their Forces into *Cornwal*; and thereupon, a Truce, and Cessation, was agreed upon, that a Treaty might proceed without Interruption. In which Treaty, the same continuing beyond the expiration of the present year 1642, We shall for the present leave them; that We may take a short survey of the Northern Parts, and remember by what degrees They came to feel the Calamities, and to bear Their Burthen in the Civil War.

*A Truce,
and Cessati-
on there-
upon.*

WHEN the King left *Yorkshire*, he appointed *Sr Thomas Glemham*, at the desire of the Gentlemen of that County, as was before remember'd, to stay in *York*, to order and command those Forces, which they should find necessary to raise, to defend themselves from the excursions of *Hull*, whence

*An account
of the North-
ern Parts
disposition, at
that time.*

young *Hotham* infested the Country more than his Father; who was willing enough to sit still in his Garrison, where he believ'd he could make advantage upon the success of either Party; and they who were most inclined to the Parliament (whereof the Lord *Fairfax*, and his Son were the chief) from whom the King was so far from expecting any notable mischief, that he left them all at their own Houses, when he went from thence; and might, if he had thought it requisite, have carried them away Prisoners with him) were rather desirous to look on, than engage themselves in the War; presuming that one Battle would determine all disputes, and the Party which prevail'd in that, would find a general submission throughout the Kingdom. And truly, I believe, there was scarce one Conclusion, that hath contributed more to the continuance and length of the War, than that generally receiv'd opinion in the beginning, that it would be quickly at an end. Hereupon, there being but one visible difference like to beget distractions in the Country, which was about the Militia, the King appointing it to be govern'd, and disposed by the Commission of Array, and the Parliament by Their Ordinance; for the composing whereof, the Gentlemen of the several opinions, propos'd, between themselves, "that neither "the One, nor the Other should be medled with; but that all "should be contented to sit still, without engagement to either Party: this seem'd very reasonable to the Parliament Party there, who were rather carried away with an implicate reverence to the very name of a Parliament (the fatal disease of the whole Kingdom at that time) than really transported with the passion and design of the furious part of it; and who plainly discern'd, that, by much the greatest part of the Persons of Honour, Quality, and Interest in the County, would cordially oppose their Proceedings: For, besides the Lord *Fairfax*, there were in truth few of good Reputation, and Fortune, who run that way. On the other hand, the King's Party thought Their work done by it; for they having already sent two good Regiments of Foot, the one under Colonel *John Bel-lasis*, younger Son to the Lord Viscount *Falconbridge*, and the other under Sr *William Pennyman*; and two Regiments of Dragoons, the one under Colonel *Duncomb*, the other, Colonel *Gowre*; besides three or four good Troops of Horse; and the King being at that distance, that they could not send Him farther supply; they thought they had nothing to do, but to keep the Country in such a Peace, that it might do the King no harm by sending Men to the Earl of *Effex*, or adhering to the Garrison of *Hull*; and concluding, as the other did, that the decision between the King and Parliament would be at the first Encounter. Upon these deliberations, Articles were for-

lemnly

seemly drawn up, consented to and subscribed by the Lord *Fairfax*, and *Harry Bellasis*, the Heir Apparent of the Lord *Falconbridge*, who were the two Knights who serv'd in Parliament for *York-shire*, nearly allyed together, and of great kindness till their several opinions, and affections had divided them in this Quarrel: the former adhering to the Parliament, the latter, with great Courage and Sobriety, to the King.

Articles of Neutrality agreed in York-shire between both parties:

WITH them, the Principal Persons of either Party subscribed the Articles, and gave their mutual Faiths to each other, that they would observe them; being indeed no other than an Engagement of Neutrality, and to assist neither Party. Of all the Gentry of *York-shire*, there were only two Dissenters on the Parliament side, young *Hotham*, and Sr *Edward Rhodes*; who, though of the better Quality, was not so much known, or consider'd, as the other. But they quickly found Seconds enough; for the Parliament no sooner was inform'd of this Transaction, than they express'd their detestation of it, and gently in words (though scornfully in matter) reprehending the Lord *Fairfax*, and his Party, "for being couzen'd, and over-reach'd by the other: They declared, "that none of the Parties to that Agreement had any Authority to bind that Country to any such Neutrality, as "was mention'd in that Agreement; it being a peculiar and proper Power, and Privilege of Parliament, where the whole Body of the Kingdom is represented, to bind all, or any part thereof: That it was very prejudicial and dangerous to the whole Kingdom, that one County should withdraw themselves from the Assistance of the rest, to which they were bound by Law, and by several Orders and Declarations of Parliament. That it was very derogatory to the Power and Authority of Parliament, that any private Men should take upon them to suspend the execution of the Ordinance of the Militia, declar'd by both Houses to be according to Law, and very necessary, at that time, for the preservation of the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom. And therefore, they said, they thought themselves bound in Conscience, to hinder all farther proceedings upon that Agreement; and order'd; "that no such Neutrality should be observ'd in that County. For if they should suffer particular Counties to divide themselves from the rest of the Kingdom, it would be a means of bringing all to Ruin and Destruction. And therefore they farther declar'd, that "neither the Lord *Fairfax*, nor the Gentlemen of *York-shire*, who were Parties to those Articles, nor any other Inhabitants of that County, were bound by any such Agreement; but required them to pursue their former Resolutions, of Maintaining and Assisting the Parliament,

But disown'd by the Parliament, upon which they enter'd into Acts of Hostility there.

“in Defence of the Common Cause, according to the General Protestation wherein they were bound with the rest of the Kingdom, and against the Particular Protestation by themselves lately made; and according to such Orders and Commissions as they should receive from both Houses of Parliament, from the Committee of the Lords and Commons appointed for the Safety of the Kingdom, or from the Earl of *Essex* Lord General. And lest this their Declaration should not be of Power enough to Dissolve this Agreement, they publish'd their Resolution, and directed that Mr *Hotham*, and Sr *Edward Rhodes*, should proceed upon their former Instructions; and that they should have power to seize, and apprehend all Delinquents that were so Voted by the Parliament, and all such others, as Delinquents, as had, or did shew themselves opposite and disobedient to the Orders and Proceedings of Parliament.

UPON this Declaration, and Vote, not only young *Hotham* fell to the practice of Acts of Hostility, with all Licence, out of the Garrison at *Hull*, but the Lord *Fairfax* himself, and all the Gentlemen of that Party, who had, with that Protestation, sign'd the Articles, instead of resenting the reproach to themselves, tamely submitted to those unreasonable conclusions: and, contrary to their solemn Promise and Engagement, prepar'd themselves to bear a part in the War, and made all hast to Levy Men.

UPON so great a disadvantage were the King's Party in all places; who were so precise in promises, and their personal undertakings, that they believ'd they could not serve the King, and his Cause, if Their Reputation and Integrity were once blemish'd, though some particular Contract prov'd to his disadvantage: whilst the Others expos'd their Honours for any present Temporary conveniencies, and thought themselves Absolv'd by any new Resolution of the Houses, to whose Custody their Honour, and Ingenuity was committed. The present disadvantage of this Rupture was greater to the King's Party there, than to the other. For (besides that many who concurr'd with them very frankly and solicitously in the Neutrality, separated themselves from them now there was a necessity of Action) they had neither Money to raise Men, nor Armes to arme them; so that the strength consisted in the Gentlemen themselves, and their Retinue; who, by the good Affections of the Inhabitants of *Tork*, were strong enough to secure one another within the Walls of that City. Then the Earl of *Cumberland*, in whom the chief power of Command was to raise Men and Money in a case of necessity, though he was a Person of entire devotion to the King, was in his nature Unactive, and utterly unexperienced in Affairs and Exigents of that Nature.

ON

ON the other hand, the opposite Party was strengthen'd and enabled by the strong Garrison of *Hull*, whence young *Hotham*, on all occasions, was ready to second them with his Troop of Horse, and to take up any well affected Person who was suspected to be Loyal; which drove all resolv'd Men from their Houses into *York*, where they only could be safe. The other could have what Men more they desired from *London*, and both ready Money from thence to *Hull*, and Ordinances to raise what they would in the County to pay them. *Leeds*, *Hallifax*, and *Bradford*, three very populous, and rich Towns (which depending wholly upon Clothiers too much maligned the Gentry) were wholly at their disposition. Their Neighbours in *Lincoln-shire* were in a Body to second them, and *Sr John Gell* was on the same behalf possess'd of *Derby*, and all that County, there being none that had the hardiness Yet, to declare there for the King. So that, if *Sr John Hotham's* wariness had not kept him from being active, and his Pride, and Contempt of the Lord *Fairfax*, upon whom the Country chiefly depended, hinder'd him from seconding, and assisting his Lordship; or if any Man had Had the entire Command of those parts, and Forces, to have united them, the Parliament had, with very little resistance, been absolute Masters of all *York-shire*; and, as easily of the City it self. But their want of Union in Particulars, though they agreed too well in the Main, gave the King's Party time to breath, and to look about for their preservation. Thereupon, they sent to the Earl of *New-Castle* for Assistance; offering, "if he would march into *York-shire*, they would joyn with him, and be entirely Commanded by him; the Earl of *Cumberland* willingly offering to wave any Title to Command.

It was before remember'd, that when the King left *York*, he had sent the Earl of *New Castle*, as a Person of great Honour, and Interest in those parts, to be Governour of *New-Castle*; and so to secure that Port, that the Parliament might neither seize it, nor the *Scots* be brib'd by it to come to the Assistance of their Brethren. Which Commission from the King, his Lordship no sooner executed, without the least Hostility (for that Town receiv'd him with all possible acknowledgements of the King's goodness in sending him) but he was impeach'd by the House of Commons of High Treason. From his going thither (which was in *August*) till toward the end of *November*, the Earl spent his time in disposing the People of *Northumberland*, and the Bishoprick of *Durham*, to the King's Service, and to a right understanding of the matters in difference; in the Fortifying *New-Castle*, and the River; whereby that Harbour might only be in the

King's Obedience; in raising a Garrison for that place, and providing Armes for a farther advance of the King's Service. Then he provided for the Assistance of his Friends in *York-shire*, whose Condition grew every day more desperate. For the Parliament, finding the inconveniencies of having no Commander in Chief in those parts, had caused their Generalissimo, the Earl of *Essex*, to send a Commission to the Lord *Fairfax*, "to Command all the Forces of *York-shire*, and the "adjacent Counties, in Chief; by which, in less time than could be reasonably imagin'd, he was able to draw together an Army of five or six thousand Horse and Foot; so that *York* must presently have been swallow'd up.

The Lord
Fairfax
made General
of *York-shire* for the
Parliament.

The Earl of
New-Castle
comes
from New-
Castle into
York.

BUT, in the beginning of *December*, the Earl of *New-Castle* march'd to their Relief; and having left a good Garrison in *New-Castle*, and fixed such small Garrisons in his way, as might secure his Communication with that Port, to which all his Ammunition was to be brought; with a Body of near three thousand Foot, and six or seven hundred Horse and Dragoons, without any Encounter with the Enemy (though they had threaten'd loud) he enter'd *York*; having lessend the Enemies strength, without Blood, both in Territories and Men. For, as soon as he enter'd *York-shire*, two Regiments raised in *Richmond-shire*, and *Cleveland*, dissolv'd of themselves; having it yet in their choice to dwell at Home, or to leave their Houses to new Comers. The Earl being now master of the North as far as *York*, thought rather of forming an Army, and providing Money to pay it, than of making any farther progress in the Winter; and therefore suffer'd the Lord *Fairfax* to enjoy the Southern part of that large rich County, till the Spring, and the improvement of his condition, should enable him to advance: Yet few days pass'd without blows, in which the Parliament Forces had usually the worst.

SHORTLY after the Earl's coming to *York*, General *King* repaired to him, whom he made Lieutenant General of his Army; who, notwithstanding the unavoidable prejudice, in that Conjunction, of his being a *Scotch-man*, order'd the Foot with great wisdom and dexterity: the Charge of the Horse being at the same time committed to General *Goring*; who, by the Queen's favour, notwithstanding all former failings, was recommended to that Province, and quickly apply'd himself to Action: so that, though the Lord *Fairfax* kept *Selby*, and *Cawood*, both within a small distance from *York*, the Earl was absolute Master of the Field. And now the North yielded secure footing for those who had been unreasonably persecuted for their Obedience to the King, the Queen her self thought of returning into *England*.

HER Majesty had, from her first going into *Holland*, dexterously

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terously endeavour'd to advance the King's Interest, and sent very great quantities of Armes and Ammunition to *New-Castle* (though, by the vigilance of the Parliament Agents in those parts, and the power of their Ships, too much of it was intercepted) with some considerable Sums of Money, and good store of Officers; who, by the connivance of the Prince of *Orange*, came over to serve their own King. And from this extraordinary care of her Majesty's, and her known grace and favour to the Person of the Earl of *New-Castle*, who she well knew had contracted many Enemies by the eminency of his devotion to the King, that Army was by the Parliament stiled the *Queen's Army*, and the *Catholick Army*, thereby to expose her Majesty the more to the rude malice of the People, and the Army to their prejudice; perswading them, "that it consisted of none but profess'd Papists, who intended nothing "but the extirpation of the Protestants, and establishing their "own Profession.

ABOUT the middle of *February*, the Queen took Shipping from *Holland*, in a States Man of War, assign'd by the Prince of *Orange* with others for her Convoy, and arriv'd safely in *Burlington-Bay*, upon the Coast of *York-shire*; where she had the patience to stay on Shipboard at Anchor, the space of two days, till the Earl had notice, "to draw such a part of "his Forces that way, as might secure her Landing, and wait "on her to *York*; which he no sooner did (and he did it with all imaginable expedition) but her Majesty came on Shore; and, for the present, was pleased to refresh her self in a convenient House upon the very Key, where all accommodations were made for her reception; there being many things of Moment to be unshipp'd before she could reasonably enter upon her Journey towards *York*.

The Queen arrives at Burlington from Holland.

THE second day after the Queen's Landing, *Batten*, Vice-Admiral to the Earl of *Warwick* (who had waited to intercept her passage) with four of the King's Ships, arriv'd in *Burlington Road*; and, finding that her Majesty was Landed, and that she lodged upon the Key, bringing his Ships to the nearest distance, being very early in the morning, discharged above a hundred Cannon (whereof many were laden with Cross-bar-shot) for the space of two hours upon the House where her Majesty was lodged; whereupon she was forced out of her Bed, some of the shot making way through her own Chamber; and to shelter her self under a Bank in the open Fields; which Barbarous and Treasonable Act, was so much the more odious, in that the Parliament never so far took notice of it, as to disavow it. So that many believ'd it was very pleasing to, if not Commanded by Them; and that if the Ships had encounter'd at Sea, they would have left no hazard unrun to have destroyed her Majesty.

THE

The Earl of
New-Cas-
tle fixt a
Garrison at
Newark.

Sr Hugh
Chol-
mondley
deliver'd up
Scarbo-
rough (a-
sile to the
Queen.

The condi-
on at that
time of
Lancashire,
Cheshire,
and Shrop-
shire.

THE Queen shortly after remov'd to *York*, and the King's affairs prosper'd to that degree, that, as the Earl of *New-Castle* had before fixt a Garrison at *Newark* in *Nottingham-shire*, which kept the Forces of *Lincoln* from joyning entirely with the Lord *Fairfax*, and had with great Courage beaten off a form'd Body of the Rebels who attempted it; so he now sent *Charles Cavendish*, the younger Brother of the Earl of *Devon-shire*, with a Party Volant of Horse and Dragoons, into *Lincoln-shire*; where, about the middle of *March*, he assaulted *Grantham*, a new Garrison of the Rebels; which he took, and in it above three hundred Prisoners, with all their Officers, Armes, and Ammunition: and, about the same time, *Sr Hugh Cholmondley*, who had done very notable service to the Parliament, and oftner defeated the Earl of *New-Castle's* Troops (though he had been in truth hurried to that Party, rather by the engagement of *Sr John Hotham*, with whom he had long friendship, than by his own inclination) than any Officer of those parts, very frankly revolted to his Allegiance; and waiting on her Majesty for her Assurance of his Pardon, deliver'd up the Castle of *Scarborough* (a place of importance) to the King; the Command and Government whereof, was again by the Earl committed to him; which he discharged with Courage, and singular Fidelity. By this means, and those successes, the Lord *Fairfax* quitted *Selby*, *Cawood*, and *Tadcaster*, and retired to *Pomfret*, and *Hallifax*; whereby the Earl was, upon the matter, possess'd of that whole large County, and so able to help his Neighbours. This was the State of that part of the North which was under the Earl of *New-Castle's* Commission: For *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and *Shropshire*, were in a worse condition; of which, and the Neighbour Counties, it will be necessary in the next place to say somewhat; and of those first which lie farthest off.

WE have said before, that when the King left *Shrewsbury*, and march'd to meet the Earl of *Essex* (which he did at *Edgehill*) all his designs being to come to a Battle; and the opinion of most, that a Battle would determine all; he was to apply all the strength and forces he could possibly raise, to the encreasing his Army; so that he left no Garrison behind him, but relied upon the Interest and Authority of the Lord *Strange* (who was, by the death of his Father, now Earl of *Derby*) to suppress all Commotions, and Insurrections, which might happen in the Counties of *Lancashire*, and *Cheshire*; which his Lordship was confident he should be able to do, and was then generally believ'd to have a greater Influence upon those two Counties, and a more absolute Command over the People in them, than any Subject in *England* had, in any other Quarter of the Kingdom. The Town of *Shrewsbury*,
and

and that good County, where the King had been so prosperous (and by which the People were more engaged) he intrusted only to that good spirit that then possess'd it, and to the Legal Authority of the Sheriffs, and Justices of the Peace. And it fared in those Counties as in all other parts of the Kingdom, that the number of those who desired to sit still, was greater than of those who desired to engage in either Party; so that they were generally inclined to Articles of Neutrality. And in *Cheshire*, the active People of Both sides came to those Capitulations, with as much solemnity as had been in *Yorkshire*, and by the same Declaration of the Parliament (so much the Same, that there was no other difference but alterations of Names and Places) were absolv'd from the observation of them. And then *St William Bruerton*, a Gentleman of a competent Fortune in that County, and Knight for that Shire in Parliament, but most notorious for a known aversion to the Government of the Church, bringing with him from *London* a Troop of Horse, and a Regiment of Dragoons, march'd thither to protect those who were of that Party, and, under such a shelter, to encourage them to appear.

THE City of *Chester* was firm to the King, by the virtue of the Inhabitants, and Interest of the Bishop, and Cathedral Men; but especially by the reputation, and dexterity of *Mr O. Bridgman*, Son to the Bishop, and a Lawyer of very good estimation; who not only inform'd them of their duty, and encouraged them in it, but upon his Credit and Estate, both which were very good, supplied them with whatsoever was necessary for their defence; so that they were not put to be Honest and Expensive together. But as they had no Garrison of Soldiers, so they had no Officer of skill and experience to manage, and direct that Courage which, at least, was willing to defend their own Walls; which they were now like to be put to. Therefore the King sent thither *St Nicholas Byron*, a Soldier of very good Command, with a Commission to be "Colonel-General of *Cheshire*, and *Shropshire*; and to be Governor of *Chester*; who being a Person of great affability, and dexterity, as well as Martial knowledge, gave great life to the designs of the well affected there; and, with the encouragement of some Gentlemen of *North Wales*, in a short time raised such a power of Horse and Foot, as made often Skirmishes with the Enemy; sometimes with notable advantage, never with any signal loss. *St William Bruerton* fortified *Nantwich*, as the King's Party did *Chester*; from which Garrisons, containing both their Forces, they contended which should most prevail upon, that is most subdue, the Affections of the County, to declare for, and joyn with them. But the fair expectation of *Cheshire* was clouded by the storms that
arose

arose in *Lancashire*, where Men of no Name, and concern'd Interest, by the meer credit of the Parliament, and frenzy of the People, on a suddain snatch'd that large and populous County, from their Devotion to the Earl of *Derby*.

THE Town of *Manchester* had, from the beginning (out of that Factious humour which possess'd most Corporations, and the pride of their Wealth) oppos'd the King, and declar'd magistrally for the Parliament. But as a great part of the County consisted of Papists, of whose Insurrections they had made such use in the beginning of the Parliament, when they had a mind to Alarm the People with dangers; so it was confidently believ'd, that there was not one Man of ten throughout that County, who meant not to be dutiful, and loyal to the King: yet the restless spirit of the seditious Party was so sedulous, and industrious, and every one of the Party so ready to be engaged, and punctually to obey; and, on the other hand, the Earl of *Derby* so Unactive, and so uncomplying with those who were fuller of alacrity, and would have proceeded more vigorously against the Enemy; or, through want of experience so irresolute, that instead of countenancing the King's Party in *Cheshire*, which was expected from him, the Earl, insensibly, found *Lancashire* to be almost possess'd against him: the Rebels, every day, gaining, and fortifying all the strong Towns, and surprizing his Troops, without any considerable Encounter. And yet, so hard was the King's condition, that though he knew those great misfortunes proceeded from want of Conduct, and of a vigorous and expert Commander, he thought it not safe to make any alteration, lest that Earl might be provoked, out of disdain to have any Superior in *Lancashire*, to manifest how much he could do Against him, though it appear'd he could do little For him. Yet it was easily discern'd, that his Ancient power there depended more upon the Fear, than Love of the People; there being very many, now in this time of Liberty, engaging themselves against the King, that they might not be subject to that Lord's Commands.

HOWEVER, the King committing *Lancashire* still to his Lordship's care (whose Fidelity, without doubt, was blameless, whatever his Skill was) he sent the Lord *Capel* to *Shrewsbury*, with a Commission of "Lieutenant General of *Shropshire*, *Cheshire*, and North *Wales*"; who, being a Person of great Fortune, and Honour, quickly engaged those parts in a chearful Association; and rais'd a Body of Horse and Foot, that gave *St William Bruerton* so much trouble at *Nantwich*, that the Garrison at *Chester* had breath to enlarge it's Quarters, and to provide for it's own security; though the Enemy omitted no opportunity of infesting them, and gave them

as much trouble as was possible. It cannot be denied but Sir *William Bruerton*, and the other Gentlemen of that Party, albeit their Educations, and course of life, had been very different from their present Engagements, and for the most part were very unpromising in matters of War, and therefore were too much contemn'd Enemies, executed their Commands with notable Sobriety, and indefatigable Industry (virtues not so well practiced in the King's Quarters) insomuch as the best Soldiers who encounter'd with them, had no cause to despise them. It is true, they had no other freights, and difficulties to struggle with, than what proceeded from their Enemy; being always supplied with Money to pay their Soldiers, and with Armes to Arme them; whereby it was in their power not to grieve and oppress the People. And thereby (besides the spirit of Faction that much govern'd) the Common People were more devoted to them, and gave them all Intelligence of what might concern them; whereas they who were intrusted to govern the King's Affairs, had intolerable difficulties to pass through; being to raise Men without Money, to Arme them without Weapons (that is they had no Magazine to supply them) and to keep them together without Pay; so that the Country was both to Feed, and Cloath the Soldiers; which quickly inclined them to remember only the Burthen, and forget the Quarrel.

THE difference in the temper of the Common People of both sides was so great, that they who inclined to the Parliament, left nothing unperform'd that might advance the Cause; and were incredibly vigilant and industrious to cross, and hinder whatsoever might promote the King's: whereas they who Wish'd well to Him, thought they had perform'd their duty in doing So, and that they had done enough For him, in that they had done nothing Against him.

THOUGH, by this sending the Lord *Capel*, those Counties of *Shropshire*, and *Cheshire*, with the Assistance of North *Wales*, kept those parts so near their Obedience, that their Disobedience was not yet pernicious to the King, in sending Assistance to the Earl of *Essex* against his Majesty, or to the Lord *Fairfax* against the Earl of *New-Castle*; yet those Counties which lay in the line between *Oxford* and *York*, were, upon the matter, entirely possess'd by the Enemy. The Garrison of *Northampton* kept that whole County in obedience to the Parliament, save, that from *Banbury* the adjacent Parts were forced to bring some contribution thither. In *Warwick-shire* the King had no footing; the Castle of *Warwick*, the City of *Coventry*, and his own Castle of *Killingworth*, being fortified against him. The Lord *Grey*, Son to the Earl of *Stamford*, had the Command of *Leicester-shire*; and had put a Garrison into

The condition, at that time, of the Counties between Oxford, and York,

into *Leicester*. *Derby-shire*, without any visible Party in it for the King, was under the power of *St John Gell*, who had fortified *Derby*. And all these Counties, with *Stafford-shire*, were united in an Association against the King under the Command of the Lord *Brook*; who was, by the Earl of *Essex*, made General of that Association; a Man cordially Disaffected to the Government of the Church, and upon whom that Party had a great dependence. This Association receiv'd no other Interruption from, or for the King, than what Colonel *Hastings* gave; who, being a younger Son to the Earl of *Huntington*, had appear'd eminently for the King from the beginning; having rais'd a good Troop of Horse with the first, and, in the head thereof, charged at *Edge-hill*.

AFTER the King was settled at *Oxford*, Colonel *Hastings*, with his own Troop of Horse only, and some Officers which he easily gather'd together, went with a Commission into *Leicester-shire* "of Colonel General of that County, and fixed himself at *Asby de la Zouch*, the House of the Earl of *Huntington*, his Father, who was then living; which he presently fortified; and, in a very short time, by his Interest there, rais'd so good a Party of Horse and Foot, that he maintain'd many Skirmishes with the Lord *Grey*: the King's Service being the more advanced there, by the notable Animosities between the two Families of *Huntington* and *Stamford*; between whom the County was divided passionately enough, without any other Quarrel. And now the Sons fought the Publick Quarrel, with their Private Spirit and Indignation. But the King had the advantage in His Champion, the Lord *Grey* being a young Man of no eminent parts, and only backed with the Credit and Authority of the Parliament: whereas Colonel *Hastings*, though a younger Brother, by his personal reputation, had supported his Family; and, by the interest of It, and the Affection that People bore to him, brought, no doubt, an addition of Power to the very Cause. Inasmuch as he not only defended himself against the Forces of the Parliament in *Leicester-shire*, but disquieted *St John Gell* in *Derby-shire*, and fixed some convenient Garrisons in *Stafford-shire*.

ABOUT the same time, some Gentlemen of that County, rather well affected than experienced, before they were well enough provided to go through their work, seized on the Close in *Lichfield* for the King; a place naturally strong, and defended with a Mote, and a very high and thick Wall; which in the Infancy of the War was thought a good Fortification. To suppress this growing Force, within the limits of his Association, the Lord *Brook* advanced with a form'd Body of Horse, Foot, and Cannon; part drawn from the Earl of *Essex's* Army, and the rest out of the Garrisons of *Coven-*

try, and *Warwick*; and without any resistance, enter'd the City of *Lichfield*; which, being unfortified, was open to all Comers. The Number in the Close was not great, nor their Provisions such as should have been, and very well might have been, made; so that he made no doubt of being speedily Master of it: *Sr John Gell* having brought up a good addition of strength to him from *Derby*. He was so far from apprehending any danger from the besieged, that himself lodg'd in a House within Musquet-shot of the Close; where, the very day he meant to assault it, sitting in his Chamber, and the Window open, he was, from the Wall of the Close, by a Common Soldier, shot with a Musquet in the Eye; of which he instantly died without speaking a word.

The Lord Brook shot in besieging the Cathedral of Lichfield, which was soon after taken by Sr John Gell.

THERE were many discourses and observations upon his death, that it should be upon *St Chad's* day (being the second day of *March*) by whose Name, he being a Bishop shortly after the planting of Christianity in this Island, that Church had been anciently call'd. And it was reported, that in his Prayer, that very Morning (for he used to pray publicly though his Chaplain were in the presence) he wilh'd, "that if the Cause he were in, were not right and just, he might be presently cut off. They who were acquainted with him, believ'd him to be well natured, and just; and rather seduced, and corrupted in his understanding, than perverse and malicious. Whether his Passions or Conscience sway'd him, he was undoubtedly one of those who could have been with most difficulty reconciled to the Government of Church or State: And therefore his death was look'd upon as no ill Omen to Peace, and was exceedingly lamented by His Party; which had scarce a more absolute confidence in any Man than in Him. However, it brought not that relief to the besieged in the Close as was believ'd it would; for the same Forces, under *Sr John Gell*, proceeded so vigorously in the work, and they Within so faintly, and unskillfully, that without any of that distress which Men thought it might bear, and which it did, within a short time after, bear against the King, the place was yielded without other conditions than of Quarter; by which many Persons became Prisoners, of too good Quality to have their Names remember'd.

BY this prize, the Spirits of that Party were much exalted, and the King's Party in those parts as much cast down. Yet some Gentlemen betook themselves to the Town of *Stafford*, and having too much declared for the King, when they thought *Lichfield* would have been of strength to secure them, to hope to live unhurt at their Houses, resolv'd to defend that place; against which *Sr John Gell* drew his late flesh'd Troops. But the Earl of *Northampton* (who intended the relief of *Lichfield*,

Stafford Garrison'd by some Gentlemen for the King.

Lichfield, if they had Had any patience to expect it) with a strong Party of Horse, and Dragoons, from his Garrison of *Banbury*, came seasonably to their Succour, and put himself into the Town; and, the same Night, beat up a Quarter of the Enemies, in which he kill'd and took above an hundred of their Horse. *Sr John Gell* retir'd so far as to meet with *Sr William Bruerton*, who, from *Nantwich*, was coming to joyn with him for the subduing of *Stafford*; and, having done that, resolv'd to march in a Body for the clearing the other Counties. When they were joyn'd, being near three thousand Foot, and Horse, with a good Train of Artillery, they moved back towards *Stafford*; imagining the Earl of *Northampton* would meet them without the Walls: and it so fell out; for the Earl no sooner heard that the Rebels were drawing towards the Town; but he drew out his Party to encounter them; imagining it could be only *Gell*, whose Numbers he understood, and whose Courage he much undervalued.

It was on a *Sunday*, about the middle of *March*, when, in the afternoon, he march'd out of *Stafford*; his Party consisting of Horse, and Dragoons, and some few Foot, the whole Number being under one thousand, and found the Enemy, in very good Order, expecting them upon a place call'd *Hopton-Heath*, some two Miles from *Stafford*. Though the Number was more than double to the Earl's, yet the Heath seeming very fair, the breadth of it being more than Musquet-shot from Enclosure on each side, and the number of his Horse being at least equal to the other, he resolv'd to charge them; and accordingly Did, with so good success, that he totally routed that part of their Horse; and, rallying again his Men, he Charg'd the other part of their Horse, which stood more in shelter of their Foot; and so totally routed, and dispersed them, that the Enemy had scarce a Horse left upon the Field; and took likewise from them eight pieces of Cannon.

IN this second Charge, the Earl of *Northampton* being engaged on the execution, very near, or among their Foot, had his Horse kill'd under him. So that his own Horse (according to their unhappy practice) with too much fury pursuing the Chase, he was left encompass'd by his Enemies. What His behaviour was afterwards, and Their Carriage towards Him, can be known only by the Testimony of the Rebels; who confess'd, that after he was on his feet, he kill'd with his own hand the Colonel of Foot who made first hast to him; and that after his head-piece was stricken off with the But-end of a Musquet, they offer'd him Quarter; which, they say, he refused; answering, "that he scorn'd to take Quarter

“from such base Rogues, and Rebels, as They were. After which, he was slain by a blow with a Halbert on the hinder part of his head, receiving, at the same time, another deep wound in his face.

The Earl of Northampton slain on Hopton Heath near Stafford, having first vanquished the Enemies Horse that opposed him.

ALL this time the Enemies Foot stood, which (after their Horse were dispersed) *St Thomas Byron*, who Commanded the Prince of *Wales's* Regiment, a Gentleman of great Courage, and of very good Conduct, Charg'd with good execution. But the Night came on a pace, and the Field which they thought so fair, was found full of Coal-pits, and holes dangerous for their Horse; so that they thought fit to forbear farther Action, till they might have the Morning's light; and stood all that Night in the Field. When the Morning appear'd, there was no Enemy to be seen. For as soon as the Fight ended, and the Night drew on, that they were unperceiv'd, they had left the Field, in hope that their scatter'd Horse would find them in Quarters more remote from the danger. The Victorious Party was so harrassed with duty, and tir'd with the Fight, so cast down with the loss of their General, and so destitute of Officers to Direct, and Command, what was next to be done (For the Lord *Compton*, the Earl's eldest Son, had receiv'd a shot in the Leg; *St Thomas Byron* a shot in the Thigh, whereby they were not able to keep the Field; and many other Officers hurt) that they retir'd to refresh themselves at *Stafford*, after they had taken the Spoil of the Field and bury'd their Dead.

In this Fight, which was sharp, and short, there were kill'd, and taken Prisoners, of the Parliament Party, above two hundred, and more than that number wounded. For, the Horse Charging among their Foot, more were hurt than kill'd. Eight pieces of their Cannon, and most of their Ammunition was likewise taken. Of the Earl's Party were slain but five and twenty, whereof there were two Captains, some inferior Officers, and the rest Common Men: but there were as many hurt, and those of the chief Officers. They who had all the Ensigns of Victory, but their General, thought themselves undone; whilst the other side, who had escaped in the Night, and made a hard shift to carry his dead Body with them, hardly believ'd they were losers:

*Et, velut equali bellatum sorte fuisset,
Componit cum classe virum ———*

THE truth is, a greater Victory had been an unequal recompence for such a loss. He was a Person of great Courage, Honour, and Fidelity, and not well known till his Evening; having, in the ease, and plenty, and luxury of that too happy

His Character.

time, indulg'd to himself, with that licence which was then thought necessary to great Fortunes: but from the beginning of these Distractions, as if he had been awaken'd out of a Lethargy, he never proceeded with a luke-warm temper. Before the Standard was set up, he appear'd in *Warwick-shire* against the Lord *Brook*, and as much upon his own Reputation as the Justice of the Cause (which was not so well then understood) discountenanced, and drove him out of that County. Afterwards he took the Ordnance from *Banbury-Castle*, and brought them to the King. As soon as an Army was to be rais'd, he Levied, with the first, upon his own charge, a Troop of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot; and (not like some other Men, who warily distributed their Family to both sides, one Son to serve the King, whilst his Father, or another Son, engaged as far for the Parliament) entirely dedicated all his Children to the Quarrel; having four Sons Officers under him, whereof three Charged that day in the Field: And, from the time he submitted himself to the profession of a Soldier, no Man more punctual upon Command, no Man more diligent and vigilant in Duty. All distresses he bore like a Common Man, and all wants, and hardships, as if he had never known plenty, or ease; most prodigal of his Person to danger; and would often say, "that if he out liv'd these Wars, he was certain never to have so noble a death. So that it is not to be wonder'd, if, upon such a stroke, the Body that felt it, thought it had lost more than a Limb.

AS SOON as it was known where the Enemy rested after their Retreat, the young Earl of *Northampton* sent a Trumpet to *Sr John Gell*, to desire the Body of his Father, that he might give it such decent burial as became him. *Gell* and *Bruerton*, jointly, by Letter, demanded, "in exchange for "the dead Body, all their Ammunition, Prisoners, and Cannon, they had lost at the Battle; which demands being so unreasonable, and against the Law of Arms, the Earl sent again to them, to desire, "that if they would not return the "Corps, that his Chirurgeon might have leave to embalm "it, whereby it might be preserv'd to receive those rights, "when they should be willing to gratify him, which, he presum'd, upon more dispassion'd thoughts, they would be. Their Answer to this was as unreasonable as the other, "That they would neither send the Body, nor permit his "Chirurgeons to come to embalm it; presuming, it is probable, that the piety of the Son would have prevail'd to have their unheard of Propositions comply'd with.

AND so We shall, for the present, leave these parts, and visit the Principality of *Wales*; of which, hitherto, very little hath

*The State of
the Principality of
Wales at
that time.*

hath been said; and from the Affection whereof, the King had, from the beginning, a very great benefit; it having supply'd him with three or four good Regiments of Foot, in which many of their Gentry were engaged, before the Battle of *Edge-hill*.

It hath been before remember'd, that the Marquis of *Hertford* drew with him out of *Wales*, and brought to *Oxford*, about *Christmas*, near two thousand Men; leaving *Wales* guarded only with the Courage and Fidelity of the Gentry, and Inhabitants. After that, North *Wales* lying most convenient to back *Chester*, and *Shrewsbury*, which places, whilst the Enemy was Master of the Field, receiv'd their chief supplies of Men and Provisions from thence; the King always put it under the Government of those to whom he committed those parts. South *Wales* which is much the larger, and richer part of that Dominion, he committed to the charge of The Lord the Lord *Herbert*, eldest Son to the Marquis of *Worcester*; Herbert, Son of the Earl of Worcester, made General of South Wales. whom he made his Lieutenant General, adding *Monmouthshire* to his Commission.

THERE were, in the opinion of many, great objections against committing that Employment to that noble Lord, whose Person many Men lov'd, and very few hated. First, he had no knowledge, or experience in the Martial Profession; then his Religion, being of that sort of Catholics the People render'd odious, by accusing it to be most Jesuited, Men apprehended would not only produce a greater brand upon the King of favouring Papists and Popery, than he had been yet reproach'd with (for, though he had some Papists entertain'd in his Armies, yet all Men trusted by him in Superior Commands, were Men of unblemish'd integrity in the Protestant Religion: and in all his Armies, he had but one General Officer, of the contrary Religion, *St Arthur Aston*, whom the Papists notwithstanding would not acknowledge for a Papist) This gave opportunity and excuse to many Persons of Quality, and great Interest in those Counties (between whom and that Lord's Family, there had been perpetual Feuds, and Animosities) to lessen their Zeal to the King's Cause, out of jealousy of the others Religion; and those Contestations had been lately improv'd with some sharpness, by the Lord *Herbert's* Carriage towards the Lord Marquis of *Hertford*, during the time of his Residence there; when, out of vanity to magnify his own power, he had not shew'd that due regard to That of the other, which he should have had. And no doubt, if he had been of that mind, it would much more have advanced the King's Service, if he would have contributed his full Assistance to another, who more popularly might have borne the Title of such a Command.

BUT on the other side, the necessity of disposing those parts, divided from the rest of the Kingdom, under the Command of some Person of Honour and Interest, was very visible; and the expedition in doing it was as necessary; the Parliament being possess'd of *Glocester*, and *Bristol*, and so having such an influence upon the Trade and Livelyhood of that People, by their absolute Command of the *Severn*, that except there were extraordinary care of keeping them, they would be quickly lost. Besides that, at the same time, there was discourse, in the Houses, "of sending the Earl of *Pembroke* thither, whose Estate was very great in those parts, and his Reputation equal. The Parliament had already such footing in *Pembroke-shire*, that many of the principal Gentlemen had declared for Them; and the Harbour of *Milford-Haven* gave their Fleet opportunity to give them all supplies, and relief. This being the State of those parts, the Lord *Herbert* not only offer'd, but desir'd to receive that Command; and engaged himself, "not only to secure it from the Opposition, "and Malignity of the other Party, but, before the Spring, "to raise such a strength of Horse, and Foot, and to provide such an Equipage to march with, that might reduce "*Glocester*, and be then added to the King's Army, when he "should be ready to take the Field; and all this so much at his own charge (for his Father, who was well able, would furnish Money, as was pretended, upon the King's promise to repay him, when he should be restored to his own) "that he would receive no part of the King's Revenue, or "of such Money, as his Majesty could be able to draw for "the supply of his own more immediate occasions.

THIS was a very great offer, and such as no Man else could so reasonably make. For the Marquis of *Worcester* was generally reputed the greatest Money'd Man of the Kingdom; and, probably, might not think it an unthrifty thing, rather to disburse it for the King, who might be able to repay it, than to have it taken from him by the other Party; which would be hardly questionable if They prevail'd. The Lord *Herbert* himself was a Man of more than ordinary Affection and Reverence to the Person of the King, and one, who, he was sure, would neither deceive nor betray him. For his Religion, it might work upon Himself, but could not disquiet other Men. For though he were a Papist, he was never like to make others so; and his Reputation and Interest was very great with many Gentlemen of those Counties, who were not at all friends to his Religion. It was not possible to employ any Person of Interest, and Power in those parts; and there were many objections from the Nature, and Manners of that People, against a meer Stranger, against whom there would

would not be some Faction, and Animosity; for the Emulations, and Dissention between Families was general, and notorious: and therefore it would be best to choose such a one, who was like to have a greater Faction for him, than against him. And it was to be hoped that the old Grudges, and Prejudices, which had been rather against the House of *Worcester*, and the Popish Religion professed there; than against the Person of this Lord, would have been composed, and declined by his fair and gentle Carriage towards all Men (as in truth he was of a civil, and obliging Nature) and by the publick-heartedness of those, who, for the Cause, and Conscience sake, would, it was hoped, sacrifice all trivial and private Contentions to a Union that must vindicate the Religion, Honour, and Justice of the Kingdom.

UPON these reasons, and these presumptions, the King granted such a Commission, as is before mention'd, to the Lord *Herbert*; who, with more expedition than was expected by many, or by others believ'd possible, raised a Body of The Lord Herbert raises a little Army above fifteen hundred Foot, and near five hundred Horse, very well and sufficiently Arm'd; which encreased the merit of the Service.

THE Horse he put under the Command of his Brother, the Lord *John Somerset*, a maiden Soldier too; and the Foot under Colonel *Lawly*, whom he made his Major General, a bold and a sprightly Officer. About the middle of *February* he march'd towards *Glocester*, with an ill Omen at his setting out; for a Rabble of the Country People being got together, without Order, or Officer of Name, Barricadoed a little Village in the Forrest of *Deane*, call'd *Cover* (through which he was to pass) and refused to give him entrance; and out of a Window kill'd Colonel *Lawly*, and two Officers more, without hurting a Common Soldier; whereby that Body was destitute of any Person of experience to Command them. However the Lord *Herbert*, who was himself seldom with his Forces, shortly after placed Colonel *Brett* in that Command; who, without any skirmish of importance, march'd through the Forrest of *Deane*, and fixed a Quarter, which contain'd his whole Body, at the *Vineyard*, the Bishop of *Glocester's* Palace, within less than half a Mile of *Glocester*. And by that means, there being only a long Bridge over the *Severn*, by which Men could come out or go in to *Glocester*, he fully Block'd up the Town on that side, expecting that Prince *Maurice* from *Cirencester*, should take equal care to distress it on the other; which he did to a good degree.

BUT *Sr William Waller*, with a light Party of Horse, and Dragoons, near two thousand, from the Earl of *Essex's* Army, had made a quick March through *Wiltshire* (after his taking

of *Chichester*) and taking, with little loss and trouble, a small Garrison of the King's, consisting of about six or seven score at *Malmsbury*, before it was fortified, or provided, made a face of looking towards *Cirencester*; where when he found he was expected, by a suddain Night march, in which he was very dexterous and successful, he posted to the River of *Severn*, six Miles West of *Glocester*, from whence he had appointed many flat Boates to meet him; and in them, in the light day, the Guard of the River being either Treacherously, or Sortiliously neglected by the Lord *Herbert's* Forces, transported his whole Body, which, upon the advantage of that Pass, might have been resisted by a few Men. Hereupon the consternation was so great among the new *Welsh* Soldiers, very few of their Officers having ever seen an Enemy, that though their Works were too good to be enter'd by Horse, and Dragoons; though the Avenues were but narrow, in all which they had Cannon planted, and their Numbers very near, if not fully, equal to the Enemy; upon the advance of *St William Waller* upon them, without giving, or receiving blow, they fairly sent out to Treat; and as kindly deliver'd up Themselves, and their Armes, upon the single grant of Quarter: A Submission so like a Stratagem, that the Enemy could hardly trust it. Yet, in the end, they made a shift to put near thirteen hundred Foot, and three Troops of Horse, Prisoners into *Glocester*, the Lord *Herbert* himself being at that time at *Oxford*, and the Lord *John Somerset* with three or four Troops at a safe distance from the rest.

Is surpris'd
by *St William Waller*
and Routed.

THIS was the end of that Mushroom-Army, which grew up and perish'd so soon, that the loss of it was scarce apprehended at *Oxford*, because the Strength, or rather the Number, was not understood. But if the Money, which was laid out in Raising, Arming, and Paying that Body of Men, which never advanced the King's Service in the least degree, had been brought into the King's receipt at *Oxford*, to have been employ'd to the most advantage, I am perswaded the War might have been ended the next Summer. For I have heard the Lord *Herbert* say, "that those preparations, and the other, which by that Defeat were render'd useless, cost above three-score thousand pounds; whereof, though much came from the Marquis's Coffers, yet, no doubt, the general Contributions from the Catholicks made a good part: and very considerable Sums were receiv'd by him of the King's Revenue upon Wardships, and other ways: for it was a common practice in those times, for Men to get into employments upon promises, that they would not do this or that, without which no body else would undertake that Service; and being, upon those terms, receiv'd into it, they immediately did the other,

other, because no other Man would do the Service without it.

THE fame of this prodigious Victory so subdued all those parts, that *Sr William Waller*, with the same spirit of celerity, and attended with the same Success, flew to *Hereford*; and though a walled Town, and replenish'd with a Garrison, had That likewise deliver'd to him upon the same terms as the other was; and from thence (being with more confidence refused to be admitted into *Worcester*, than he thought reasonable to require it) pass'd to *Tewkesbury*; which he likewise surpris'd, being newly Garrison'd; his motion being so quick, that though Prince *Maurice* attended him with all possible diligence, he could never farther engage him than in light Skirmishes; and, having taken this progress, return'd safe to *Glocester*; and from thence to the Earl of *Essex's* Army; having made no other use of his Conquests, than the dishonouring so many places, which had so quietly yielded to him; into which (for he fixed no one Garrison) the King's Forces immediately enter'd again. So that his Majesty's Quarters continued the same they were, harass'd only, and discountenanced, nothing streighten'd by this Incurſion; and the Lord *Herbert* again intended new Levies.

Sr W. Waller takes Hereford, and Tewkesbury: both which he presently left.

HAVING now, with as much clearness as I could, remembred the true State of the King's Affairs, and the condition of the Kingdom, at the end of this year 1642, with which I intend to conclude this sixth Book; I shall, before I return to *Oxford*, to conclude the year, briefly call to remembrance the disconsolate State of *Ireland*; of which, advantage was always taken against the King, to render him odious to the People, as if he countenanced, at least not sufficiently abhorred, that wicked, and unnatural Rebellion. And this Imputation was with so great Art insinuated, that it got credit with many; insomuch as I have heard some, who could make no other Excuse for adhering to the Parliament, say, "they were persuaded that the King favour'd those Rebels; which, they said, "could not be without some design upon the Religion, "Liberty, and Prosperity of *England*. Whereas I can aver truly, upon as good grounds, as ever any Man spoke the heart of another, that the King always look'd upon it, as the most groundless, bloody, and wicked Rebellion, that ever possess'd the Spirits of that People; and was not more griev'd at any one circumstance of the Domestick distractions, than, as it hinder'd him from chastising, and taking Vengeance upon the Other: which from his Soul he desired.

The State of Ireland at that time with reference to the difference between the King and the two Houses Here.

BUT in this discourse of *Ireland*, it cannot be expected, that I should, neither do I intend to mention all the memorable Actions (in which were great Instances of God's own detestation of those inhuman Rebels, by the signal Victories he

gave against them) or the other Transactions within that Kingdom; but shall remember no more of that business, than had immediate reference to, and dependence on, the difference between the King and the two Houses of Parliament.

IT is said before, that when the first visible rupture was declared between them, which was in the business of War (which the King understood to be a direct levying of War against him) in the Protestation made by his Majesty, "that he would no farther treat, or concur with them; in any Acts proposed by them; till he first receiv'd reparation, or satisfaction in that particular; he always excepted what should any way concern *Ireland*: in which he offer'd to consent to whatsoever might reasonably conduce to the reducing those Rebels, and did, after that, concur in some Propositions of that Nature. Yet it is certain that, from that time, the two Houses were so busy in preparing the War for *England*, that they did very little prepare for the War of *Ireland*; save only by some small supplies of Money and Provisions. The King objected to them, "the employing the Monies, raised, by "Act of Parliament, for the preservation and reduction of "*Ireland*, with a special clause that the same should not be diverted to any other use whatsoever, in the supporting the "unnatural War, and Rebellion against his Majesty; particularly one hundred thousand pounds at one time; and that "many Soldiers raised under pretence of being sent into *Ireland*, were, contrary to their expectation and engagement, "forced to serve under the Earl of *Essex* against the King; of which, he named, *Sr Faithful Fortescue's* Regiment of Horse, and the Lord *Wharton's*, and the Lord *Kerry's* Regiment of Foot.

TO this they answer'd, "that albeit they had, upon the "urgent occasions of this Kingdom, sometimes made use of "Monies raised, and collected for *Ireland*; yet that they had "in due time repaid it, and that the other Affairs had never "suffer'd by the Loan: And for the Men, that it proceeded "from his Majesty's own default; for after they had "raised them, with a serious intention to send them into *Ireland*, under the Command of the Lord *Wharton*, the King "refused to grant a Commission to him to transport them, and "so they had been compell'd to use them in their own Service here.

THE King replied, "that it appear'd, they had diverted "that Money to other Uses than those for which it was provided; which was manifestly unlawful; and that it did not "appear they had again reimbursed it, because very little supply was sent thither, and very much wanted: and for the "Soldiers, that They first levied them, without his Majesty's "leave;

"leave ; which they had always before asked, for their other
 "Levies ; and being levied, they desired a Commission for
 "the Lord *Wharton* to Command them absolutely, without
 "any dependence upon the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* ;
 "which had been never heard of, and which his Majesty re-
 "fused ; but offer'd such a Commission as was granted to
 "other Men.

ON the other hand, they objected to the King, " the seif-
 "ing some Cart-Horses at *Chester*, provided for the Train of
 "Artillery for *Ireland* ; that his Forces had taken many
 "Cloaths, and Provisions, on the Road, which were going
 "to *Chester* to be transported thither for the relief of the Sol-
 "diers ; and that he entertain'd, and countenanced Men in
 "his Court, which were Favourers or Actors in that Rebel-
 "lion : naming the Lord Viscount *Costeloe*, and the Lord
Taffe, which gave great umbrage to those who were well
 affected, and as great encouragement to the Rebels there.

TO the first, the King confess'd, " he found about sixscore
 "Horses at *Chester*, which had long lain there ; and, at his
 "remove from *Nottingham*, knowing, the other Horse and
 "Men, raised for *Ireland*, were then marching with the Earl
 "of *Essex* against him, he knew not, but these likewise might
 "be so employed, and therefore in his own necessity took
 "them for his own draughts. For the Cloaths, which had
 "been taken by his Soldiers, that it proceeded by the default
 "of the Parliament ; who, after the War was begun, had
 "sent those Carriages through His Quarters, without sending
 "to his Majesty for a Safe Conduct, or giving any notice to
 "him of it, till after they were taken : that it was within two
 "Miles of *Coventry* (which was then in Rebellion) that those
 "Cloaths were taken ; and that, as soon as he knew they were
 "design'd for *Ireland*, his Majesty had used the best means
 "he could to recover them ; but that the Soldiers, who were
 "almost naked, had divided them for their own Supplies ; and
 "his Majesty offer'd to give a Safe Conduct at all times for
 "whatsoever should be design'd for *Ireland*.

THE occasion of the other reproach, "for countenancing
 "Persons who adhered to the Rebels, was this. The Lords,
Dillon [Viscount *Costeloe*] and *Taffe*, had, four Months be-
 fore, pass'd out of *Ireland* into *England*, having never been
 in consort with the Rebels, but so much trusted by them, that
 they desired, by Their hands, to address a Petition to the
 King ; humble enough, desiring "only to be heard, and of-
 "fering to submit to his Majesty's single Judgement. With
 this Petition, and all other Instructions, as they pretended,
 these Lords acquainted the Lords Justices, and Council of *Ire-*
land ; who were so well satisfied with the Persons employed,
 that

that they granted their Safe Pass, and sent Letters by them of Testimony. They were no sooner Landed in *England*, but they were apprehended, and sent Prisoners to the Parliament, and by them committed with all strictness, "as Agents employed by the Rebels of *Ireland* to the King; and that Circumstance enforced, and spread among the People, with all licentious glosses against the King; who, for that reason, took no notice of their restraint, though from his Ministers he receiv'd advertisement of the truth of the whole business. After some time was spent in close Imprisonment, these Lords, by Petition, and all other Addresses they could make, press'd to be brought to any kind of Examination and Tryal; of which they found no other benefit, than that, upon this importunity, their Imprisonment was less close; and, by degrees, under a formal restraint (which though more pleasant, was not less costly) had the liberty of *London*, and from thence, after four Months restraint, without being formally charged with any crime, or brought to any Tryal, which they often desired, they escaped, and came to *York*; whither a Messenger from the House of Commons follow'd them, and demanded them as Prisoners.

MANY were of opinion, that they should have been deliver'd back; foreseeing that the Parliament would press the scandal of sheltering them much to the King's disadvantage; and any imputations, "of countenancing the Rebels of *Ireland*, found more credit, and made deeper impression with the People, than any other discourses of "protecting Malignants, "and Delinquents. On the other side, it was thought unreasonable, to remit Men to an Imprisonment, which appear'd to have been unjust, by their not being proceeded against in so long time; especially when their coming to the King would be declared such a crime, that it would be now in their Enemies power to cause them to be punish'd; which before they could not do; at best, it were to deliver them up to the Sergeant of the House of Commons, from whence no Innocence could redeem them, without paying such vast fees, as would amount to a greater Sum than they could probably be supplied with. So that the King, who wish'd that they had rather gone any whither than where He was, resolv'd to take no notice of their escape. And so they continued in His Quarters, and put themselves into the Troops; where they behaved themselves with good Courage, and frankly engaged their Persons in all dangerous Enterprises.

IN these Jealousies, and Contentts, the King being visibly and confessedly unable to send Succours of any kind thither, and the Parliament having enough else to do, and, in truth, not taking so much pains to preserve it, as to impute the loss

of

of it to the King, poor *Ireland* got very small relief. The Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, had receiv'd his dispatch from the King, before he went to *Shrewsbury*. But when the King thought he would have gone directly to *Chester*, and so to *Ireland*, his Lordship return'd to *London*; which encreased the King's jealousy, and prejudice to him; which his former Carriage, and a Letter writ lately by him from *Nottingham*, to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and by Order of Parliament printed, had begot to a great degree. Shortly after his return to *London*, the House of Commons demanded "to see the Instructions he had receiv'd from the King; which, as it was unreasonable in them, so he had receiv'd express Command from the King, "not to communicate them. However, after he had avoided it as long as he could, and They continued Peremptory in the demand, in the end, he produced them to be perus'd by the Committee of both Houses. The truth is, the Earl's condition was very slippery, and almost impossible to be safely managed by the most dexterous Person.

HE was design'd to that employment by the King, shortly upon the death of the Earl of *Strafford* (or rather before; not without some advice from that Earl) with as great circumstances of grace and favour, as could be; and as a Person, of whom entirely the King assured himself, being then so ungracious to the Parliament, that as there were some sharp glances at him in that time (which are before remember'd) so nothing preserv'd him from a publick exception, but the Interest of the Earl of *Northumberland*, whose Sister he had married; whom that Party was not willing to irreconcile. After the Rebellion was broke out in *Ireland*, and the King had committed the carrying on the War to the Houses, he thought it absolutely necessary for his Province, to render himself as gracious to that People as was possible; and labour'd That with so good Effect, and Industry, that he omitted that care which should have been observ'd in continuing his Interest at Court. For the King and Queen grew every day less satisfied with him; which sure he did not with wariness enough provide against, though, I believe, he had never unfaithful purposes towards either of them; but did sadly project, by his demeanour, and interest in the Houses, to provide so well for *Ireland*, and to go thither in so good a condition, that, being once there, he might be able to serve the King as he should be required.

BUT one Man is rarely able to act both those parts: For his shewing his Instructions, he gave a reason, which, if he had been free from all other objections, might appear no ill excuse: "He knew his Instructions were such, that, being
"perus'd

“perused by the Committee, could by no misconstruction, or
 “possible perversion, be wrested to the King’s disadvantage;
 as indeed they never were able, nor ever attempted, to fix
 any reproach from them upon the King. “Whereas, after
 “they were so peremptorily required, if he should have as
 “peremptorily refused to submit, they would have concluded
 “that there had been somewhat unjustifiable in them, and upon
 “that jealousy made no scruple of publishing the worst re-
 “proaches upon his Majesty. And it may be, he was not
 without an imagination, that if by this contest he had drawn
 the displeasure of the two Houses upon him, as could not be
 avoided, his misfortune at Court might have suffer’d that con-
 test to have depress’d him. And when he left the King be-
 tween *Nottingham* and *Shrewsbury*, his condition was so low
 at Court, that a Man might have imagined his interest would
 be best preserv’d by being within the Verge of the Parliament’s
 Protection. As his return to *London* was besides the King’s
 expectation, so his stay there was longer than seem’d to be in-
 tended by his own proposal; for he stay’d there above two
 Months, till after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, and both Parties be-
 ing fix’d in their Winter Quarters; and then, without waiting
 again on the King, though *Oxford* was very few Miles out of
 his way, about the end of *November*, he went to *Chester*, with
 a purpose of transporting himself for *Ireland*, but without the
 least appearance of addition of Strength, or Provisions from
 the Parliament; neither were their Ships there ready to trans-
 port him.

ABOUT the end of *November*, four Officers of the Army
 in *Ireland*, *Sr James Montgomery*, *Sr Hardress Waller*, Colonel
Arthur Hill, and Colonel *Audly Mervin*, having been em-
 ployed from *Ireland* to sollicite the Parliament for Succours,
 came from *London* to *Oxford*, and deliver’d a Petition to the
 King; in which they told him, “that they had address’d
 “themselves to the Parliament for supplies, whose sense of
 “their Miseries, and Inclination to redress them, appear’d
 “very tender to them; but the present distempers of the King-
 “dom of *England* were grown so great, that all future pal-
 “sages, by which comfort and life should be conveyed to that
 “gasping Kingdom, seem’d totally to be obstructed; so that,
 “unless his Majesty, out of his singular Wisdom, and fatherly
 “Care, applied some speedy remedy, his loyal, and distress’d
 “Subjects of that Kingdom must inevitably perish. They ac-
 “knowledge’d, his Princely favour and goodness since this
 “Rebellion, so abundantly express’d in a deep sense, and
 “lively resentment of their bleeding condition: And therefore,
 “they besought him, among his other weighty Cares, so to
 “reflect upon the bleeding condition of that perishing King-
 “dom,

dom, that timely relief might be afforded. Otherwise his
 "Loyal Subjects there must yield their Fortunes, as a Prey ;
 "their Lives, a Sacrifice ; and their Religion a Scorn to the
 "merciless Rebels, powerfully assisted from abroad.

AND indeed the condition of the Protestants, in that King-
 dom, was very miserable: for, whilst the distractions of *Eng-
 land* kept them from receiving Succours from thence, the
 Rebels had Armes, Ammunition, Money, and Commanders,
 from *Rome, Spain, and France*; the Pope having sent a for-
 mal avow'd Nuntio, to whose jurisdiction the *Irish* submitted;
 and the Kings of *France, and Spain*, having sent great Sup-
 plies, and their Agents, to countenance and foment the Re-
 bellion; who gave notable Countenance to the Assembly and
 form'd Council for the Rebels, settled at *Kilkenny*.

THE King, who well knew this Petition was sent by the
 permission of those at *Westminster*, and that the Agents em-
 ployed were Men of notorious disaffection to him, who
 look'd for some such Answer as might improve the envy of
 the People, used the Messengers with all possible grace, and
 return'd them as gracious an Answer: "That, from the be-
 "ginning of that monstrous Rebellion, he had Had no greater
 "sorrow, than for the bleeding condition of that his King-
 "dom. That he had, by all means, labour'd, that timely re-
 "lief might be afforded to it, and consented to all Proposi-
 "tions, how disadvantageous soever to Himself, that had
 "been offer'd to him to that purpose; and, not only at first
 "recommended their condition to both his Houses of Parlia-
 "ment, and immediately, of his own meer motion, sent over
 "several Commissions, and caused some proportion of Armes,
 "and Ammunition (which the Petitioners well knew to have
 "been a great support to the Northern parts of that King-
 "dom) to be conveyed to them out of *Scotland*, and offer'd
 "ten thousand Volunteers to undertake that War; but had
 "often press'd, by many several Messages, that sufficient Suc-
 "cours might be hasten'd thither, and other matters of smaller
 "importance laid by, which did divert it; and offer'd, and
 "most really intended, in his own Royal Person, to have
 "undergone the danger of that War, for the defence of his
 "good Subjects, and the chastisement of those perfidious, and
 "barbarous Rebels; and in his several expressions of his de-
 "sires of Treaty and Peace, he had declared, the miserable
 "present condition and certain future loss of *Ireland*, to be
 "one of the principal Motives most earnestly to desire, that
 "the present distractions of This Kingdom might be com-
 "posed, and that others would concur with him to the same
 "end.

HE told them, "he was well pleased, that his Offers, Con-
 "currence,

“currence, Actions, and Expressions, were so rightly understood by the Petitioners, and those who had employed them (notwithstanding the groundless, and horrid aspersions which had been cast upon him) but he wish’d, that, instead of a meer general complaint, to which his Majesty could make no return but of Compassion, they could have digested, and offer’d to him any such desires, by consenting to which, he might convey, at least in some degree, comfort and life to that gasping Kingdom; preserve his distressed, and loyal Subjects of the same from inevitably perishing, and the true Protestant Religion from being scorn’d, and trampled on, by those merciless Rebels. And, if the Petitioners could yet think of any Such, and propose them to his Majesty, he assured them, that by his readiness to consent, and his thanks to them for the proposal, he would make it appear to them, that their most pressing, Personal Sufferings, could not make Them more desirous of relief, than His care of the true Religion, and of his faithful Subjects, and of his Duty, which obliged him, to his power, to protect both, render’d Him desirous to afford it to them.

THE King being fully inform’d now, as well by this Committee, as from his Ministers of State in that Kingdom, of the growing power of the Rebels in *Ireland*, and of the weak Resistance his good Subjects were like to make, whose only hopes depended upon those Succours which they presumed the Lord Lieutenant would bring over with him, and that he was now going thither, without the least addition of strength, or probable assurance that any would be sent after him; his Majesty consider’d likewise, that, besides the damp this naked arrival of the Lord Lieutenant There must cast upon the minds of all, it would make likewise a great alteration in the conduct of Affairs there. For upon His landing, the Commission to the Earl of *Ormond*, of Lieutenant General of the Army, would be determined; and there had those jealousies, and disrespect, pass’d between the Earl of *Leicester* and Him, that the Earl of *Ormond* was resolv’d, no more to continue that Command, but immediately to transport himself out of that Kingdom; by which the King should lose the service of a Person much the most powerful, most able, and most popular within that Kingdom; and who had, with wonderful Courage and Conduct, and almost miraculous success, hitherto restrain’d the rage and fury of the Rebels, and indeed a Man so accomplish’d, that he had either No Enemies, or Such who were ashamed to profess they were so.

UPON these considerations, the King thought fit, for some time, till he might farther weigh the whole business, to suspend the Earl of *Leicester*’s Journey: and therefore sent to

him to *Chester* (where he had lain, in some indisposition of health, above a fortnight; and the Ships being not yet come for his Transportation) "to attend his Majesty at *Oxford*; which he did shortly after *Christmas*, and continued there; the King directing the Earl of *Ormond* (whom about this time he made a Marquis) "to carry on the War as he had done; and, "during the absence of the Lord Lieutenant, to dispose of all "Places, and Offices in the Army which became void. His Majesty likewise at this time made an alteration in the Civil Power; for whereas *Sr William Parsons*, and *Sr John Burlacy*, had continued Lords Justices from, and before the death of the Earl of *Strafford*, the King finding that *Sr William Parsons* (who was a Man of long experience in that Kingdom, and confes'd abilities, but always of suspected reputation) did him all imaginable disservice, and combined with the Parliament in *England*, remov'd him from that Trust; and, in his room, deputed *Sr Harry Tichborne*, a Man of so excellent a fame, that though the Parliament was heartily angry at the remove of the Other, and knew This would never be brought to serve Their turn, they could not fasten any reproach upon the King for this alteration.

ANOTHER circumstance must not be forgotten. After the War broke out in *England*, the Parliament had sent over two of their Members of the Commons (*Mr Reynolds*, and *Mr Goodwyn*) as a Committee into *Ireland*, to reside at *Dublin*, and had given directions to the Lords Justices, "that they "should have leave to be present at their consultations; which they had; and were no other than Spies upon those, who should presume to deliver any opinions there not agreeable to the sense of the Houses. When the King made that alteration in the Government, he likewise took notice, that strangers were admitted to be present at their debates, which had never been before practiced; and therefore required them, "that it "might be so no more. Hereupon, the Committee, who had carried themselves very insolently, and seditiously there, and with notable contempt of the King, and His Authority, were, by the Lords Justices, and Council, inhibited from being present at the Council; and thereupon they quickly left the Kingdom, and return'd to *London*; the Parliament unreasonably accusing the King of a new breach of Privilege, for this disrespect to their Members. This was the State of *Ireland*, the War being that Spring prosperously carried on by the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Earl of *Leicester* still staying at *Oxford* with the Title of Lord Lieutenant. And so We will return to *Oxford*, and *London*.

MANY days being past since the return of the Committee of Lords and Commons from *Oxford*, with the King's Answer

swer to their Propositions, and no Reply being made by the Houses, or indeed any solemn Debate enter'd thereupon (for his Majesty had every day Information of what pass'd among them, even in their most secret Councils) and, on the contrary, preparations more vigorously intended for the War, than had been before, in sending out strong Parties to infect the King's Quarters (for besides the incursions, and progresses of *Sr William Waller*, which are before remember'd, *Mr Hambden* had made some Attempts upon the *Brill*, a Garrison of the King's upon the Edge of *Buckingham-shire*, but without effect, and with some considerable loss) in Levying great Numbers of Men, for the recruiting the Earl of *Essex's* Army; and designing new extraordinary ways for the raising of Money, and associating several Counties of the Kingdom, towards the raising new Armies: the King, as well to have the conveniency of sending to *London* (of which Journeys he made good use) as to quicken, and necessitate them to some reply, sent another Message to them, putting them in mind of "the Proposition he had made for a Cessation of Armes, and desired, "if they approv'd of a Cessation, that the day upon "which they thought fit it should begin, and such particulars, "limits, and conditions of it, as were necessary to be understood, and agreed on, before the Cessation it self could "actually begin, might be proposed by Them. Since, his Majesty said, "he supposed, by the present great preparations "of several Forces to march several ways, that till all that "should be agreed upon, They did not conceive Themselves "obliged to an actual Cessation; so neither, till Then, did "his Majesty conceive Himself obliged to it; however, he "wish'd it might be clearly understood between them, that "no such imputations as had been formerly, might be laid "upon Him, upon occasion of any thing that might intervene.

*The King
puts the two
Houses in
mind of his
Proposition
for a Cessati-
on of Armes.*

THIS Message put a necessity upon them, of entering again upon the Argument, and gave them who desired Peace and Accommodation, an opportunity to press for the Debate, which had been craftily laid aside for the dispatch of other matters; that Party, which was most deeply engaged in the War, and resolv'd to carry it on, having a notable dexterity in keeping those things from being Debated, in which they found Their sense would not prevail. And at this time, the Number of those in both Houses, who really desired the same Peace the King did, was (if they had not been overwitted by them) superior to the other. For, besides that many Persons, who from the beginning had always dissented from them, for their ease and conveniency had stay'd among them, very many were convinced in their understandings,

that they had been misled; and discerned, in what a bottomless Gulph of misery the Kingdom would be plunged, if an immediate Composition were not made; and some of those who had been as fierce as any, and given as great countenance to the kindling the Fire, either out of Conscience that they had done amiss, or fear that the King would prevail by Power, or Anger that they found other Men valued above them; in their present Distraction, or their natural Inconstancy even in ill, were most solicitous for a Treaty. So that within few days after the receipt of this Message, both Houses agreed, "that there should be a Treaty, in which so much of the King's Propositions as concern'd the Magazines, Forts, and Ships, and the Proposition of both Houses for the disbanding the Armies, should be first treated on, and concluded, before the proceeding to treat upon any of the other Propositions; and that the Treaty should begin the fourth of March, or sooner if it might be; and that, from the beginning, the time should not exceed twenty days.

Both Houses agree there should be a Treaty; and they send for a safe conduct.

THE Persons they made choice of to Treat, were the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Say, Mr Pierrepoint, Sr William Armin, Sr John Holland, and Mr Whitlock, for whose Safe Conduct they dispatch'd a Messenger to his Majesty; this resolution being taken but the last day of February. As soon as the request was presented, the King return'd a Safe Conduct for the Earl of Northumberland, and the four Commoners, but refused to admit the Lord Say to his presence, upon the same exception he had formerly refused Sr John Evelyn at Colebrook; his Lordship being personally excepted from Pardon by a former Proclamation; but signified, "that if they would employ any other Person not within the same Rule, he should as freely come as if he were in the Safe Conduct.

The King grants it to all they name; but the Lord Say.

WHETHER the Lord Say was nominated by those who believ'd they should be able, upon the refusal of Him (which they could not but foresee) to break off all Overtures of farther Treaty; or whether they believ'd, they had so far prevail'd by underhand Negotiations at Oxford, that he should be admitted, and that he would have been able to persuade the King to yield to what they proposed, or at least to have engaged the King to those who would have yielded to him, I know not; but as it was not so insisted on at Westminster as to break the Treaty, so many were of opinion at Oxford, that the King should have admitted him. They said, "he was a wise Man, and could not but know, that it would not be possible for him to make any impression upon his Majesty's Judgement in the Propositions in Debate; and therefore, "that he would never have suffer'd himself to be design'd to that Negotiation (which, without doubt, by his Interest

"in both Houses he might have prevented) if he did not purpose to do some signal service to his Majesty. And indeed many believ'd, "that if he had come, and found the King's goodness inclined to pardon, and trust him, that he would have done the best he could, to redeem his former breaches. Others were of opinion, "that he was so far from being inclined to serve the King, or advance the Treaty, that they would have sent him as a Spy, lest others should; and these were the thoughts both at *Oxford* and *London*. But the King, who knew the Lord *Say* as well as any of them, believ'd, that it was not in his Power to do any good, and if it had, that it was not in his Will; was resolv'd not to break his Rule, lest such a remission might give advantage against him in the future: and so sent the Answer above remember'd. Together with this desire of a Safe Conduct, they sent his Majesty word, "that they had likewise consented, that there should be a Cessation of Armes on either side, under the Restrictions, and Limitations, hereafter following.

The two
Houses send
their Terms
for a Cessa-
tion.

1. "THAT all manner of Armes, Ammunition, Victuals, Money, Bullion, and all other Commodities, passing without such a Safe Conduct as may Warrant their passage, may be stay'd and seised on, as if no Cessation was agreed on.

2. "THAT all manner of Persons, passing without such a Safe Conduct as is mention'd in the Article next going before, shall be apprehended, and detain'd, as if no such Cessation were agreed on at all.

3. "THAT his Majesty's Forces in *Oxford-shire* should advance no nearer to *Windsor* than *Wheatly*, and in *Buckingham-shire* no nearer to *Aylesbury* than *Brill*; and that, in *Berk-shire*, the Forces respectively shall not advance nearer the one to the other, than Now they are: And that the Parliament Forces in *Oxford-shire* shall advance no nearer to *Oxford* than *Henly*, and those in *Buckingham-shire* no nearer to *Oxford* than *Aylesbury*: And that his Majesty's Forces shall take no new Quarters, above twelve miles from *Oxford*, any way; and the Parliament Forces shall take no new Quarters, above twelve miles from *Windsor*, any way.

4. "THAT no Siege shall be begun, or continued against *Glocester*; and that his Majesty's Forces, now employ'd in the Siege, shall return to *Cirencester* and *Malmsbury*, or to *Oxford*, as shall be most for their convenience; and the Parliament Forces, which are in *Glocester-shire*, shall remain in the Cities of *Glocester*, *Bristol*, and the Castle, and Town of *Berkly*, or retire nearer to *Windsor*, as they shall see cause: And that those of *Wales*, which are drawn to *Glocester*, shall return to their Quarters where they were before they drew down to *Glocester-shire*.

"5. THAT

5. "THAT, in case it be pretended on either side, that the Cessation is violated, no Act of Hostility is immediately to follow, but first the party complaining is to acquaint the Lord General on the other side, and to allow three days, after notice, for satisfaction; and in case satisfaction be not given, or accepted, then five days notice to be given, before Hostility begin, and the like to be observ'd in the remoter Armies, by the Commanders in chief.

6. "LASTLY, that all other Forces, in the Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales, not before mention'd, shall remain in the same Quarters, and Places, as they are at the time of publishing this Cessation, and under the same conditions as are mention'd in the Articles before. And that this Cessation shall not extend, to restrain the setting forth, or employing of any Ships, for the Defence of his Majesty's Dominions.

ALL which they desired "his Majesty would be pleased to ratify, and confirm: and that this Cessation might begin upon the fourth of *March* next, or sooner if it might be; and continue until the five and twentieth of the same Month; and in the meantime to be publish'd on either side; and that the Treaty might likewise commence upon the same day; and the continuance thereof not to exceed twenty days.

THESE Propositions were deliver'd to his Majesty on the first of *March*, which was almost a Month after the Cessation had been propos'd by him (for His Propositions were made on the third of *February*) which administer'd cause of doubt, that the Overture was not sincere; since it was hardly possible, that the Cessation could begin so soon as the fourth, by which time, though the King should consent to the terms propos'd, upon sight, his Answer could very hardly be return'd to them. But the Articles themselves were such as occasion'd much debate, and difference of opinion, among those who desired the same thing. The King, after the examination of them with his Privy Council, and at a Council of War, made a Committee out of each, to consider the inconvenience, his consent to them might produce to His Party, if that Cessation, and Treaty, did not Produce a Peace; and the inequality in them, if the Overture pass'd from an equal Enemy according to the Rules of War. Some were of opinion, "that the Cessation should be consented to by the King, upon the Articles propos'd, though they should be thought unequal, not only because it would be an Act of great grace, and compassion to the People, to give them some respite, and taste of Peace, and the not consenting to it (the reason not being so easy to be understood) would be as impopular, and

“ungracious; but that, they believ’d, it would at least cast
 “the People into such a slumber, that much of their fury and
 “madness would be abated; and that they would not be ea-
 “sily induced to part with the ease they felt, and would look
 “upon That Party as an Enemy, that robbed them of it; that
 “it would give an opportunity of charitable Intercourse, and
 “revive that freedom of Conversation, which, of it self, upon
 “so great advantage of reason, as they believ’d the King’s
 “cause gave, would rectify the understanding of: many who
 “were misled; but especially, that it would not only hinder
 “the recruit of the Earl of *Essex*’s Army (for that no Man
 “would be so mad to declare themselves against the King,
 “when they saw a Cessation, in order to restoring the King
 “to his Rights) but would lessen the Forces he had already;
 “in that the Army consisted most of Men engaged by the Pay,
 “not Affection to the Cause; who upon such a remission of
 “duty as would necessarily attend a Cessation, would abandon
 “a Party, which they foresaw, upon a Peace, must be
 “condemn’d, though it might be secure: And whereas all Over-
 “tures of a Treaty hitherto had advanced their Levies upon
 “pretence of being in a posture not to be condemn’d, they be-
 “liev’d, a real Cessation would render those Levies impossible.

OTHERS thought “any Cessation disadvantageous enough
 “to the King; and therefore, that the terms, upon which it
 “was to be made, were to be precisely look’d to: that the
 “Articles propos’d would only produce a suspension of pre-
 “sent acts of Hostility, and Blood, among the Soldiers; but
 “not give the least taste of Peace, or admit the least benefit
 “to the People, for that all Intercourse, and Conversation was
 “inhibited, in so much as no Person of the King’s Party,
 “though no Soldier, had liberty to visit his Wife, or Fa-
 “mily, out of the King’s Quarters, during this Cessation;
 “and the hindering Recruits could only prejudice the King,
 “not at all the Earl of *Essex*, who had at present a greater
 “Army than ever before; and the City of *London* was such
 “a Magazine of Men, as could supply him upon very small
 “warning. Besides, though the State of the King’s Army
 “and Quarters, about *Oxford*, was such as might receive
 “some advantage by a Cessation; yet, in the West, it was
 “hoped his Affairs were in the bud; and the Earl of *New-*
 “*Castle* was so much Master in the North, that if a Peace
 “ensued not (which Wise Men did not believe was seriously
 “intended on the Parliament’s part, by reason the Propositions
 “to be Treated on, were so unreasonable, and impossible
 “to be consented to) such a Cessation would hinder the mo-
 “tion and progress of the Earl’s good Fortune, and give
 “time to the Lord *Fairfax*, who was at present very low, to
 “put

"put himself into such a posture as might give new trouble. And 'tis certain the Northern Forces had then great dread of this Cessation.

To these Considerations was added another of greater moment, and which could be less answer'd by any access of benefit, and advantage on the King's Party. Hitherto the Parliament had rais'd their vast Sums of Money, for the support of their Army (which could only be supported by constant great Pay) and for the discharge of their other immense Expences, incident to such a Rebellion, from the City of London, and principally from their Friends, not daring so rigidly to execute their Ordinances generally, but contented themselves with some severe judgements upon particular Men, whom they had branded with some extraordinary mark of Malignancy, out of London, save only that they gleaned among their own Zealots upon voluntary Collections, and plunder'd by their Army, which brought no supply to their Common Stock: And of what they impos'd upon Cities, and Towns, wherein they had Garrisons (in which they had been likewise very tender) they had receiv'd very little; not venturing yet, by any general Tax, and Imposition upon the People, to inflame them, and inform them how they meant to invade their Liberty, and their Property, with the jealousy whereof, they had blown them up to all those swellings, and seditious Humours against the King; and apprehending, that if they should attempt That, any encouragement of strength from any of the King's Armies, would make the whole Kingdom rise against them.

BUT now, after they had agreed to a Treaty, and framed even Articles for a Cessation; they pass'd an Ordinance for a Weekly Assessment throughout the Kingdom, towards the support of the War; by which, was impos'd upon the City of London the Weekly Sum of ten thousand pounds, and upon the whole Kingdom no less than a Weekly Payment of thirty three thousand five hundred and eighteen pounds, amounting in the year to one Million seven hundred forty two thousand nine hundred thirty six Pounds; a prodigious Sum for a People to bear, who, before this War, thought the payment of two Subsidies in a year, which, in the best times, never amounted to above two hundred thousand pounds, and never in our Age to above an hundred and fifty, an insupportable burthen upon the Kingdom: Which indeed had scarce borne the same, under all the Kings that ever Reign'd.

FOR the speedy and exact Collection whereof, they appointed, by the same Ordinance, Commissioners in each County, such as were sufficiently inclined to, and engaged in

*The House
pass an Or-
dinance for
a weekly As-
sessment on
the whole
Kingdom.*

Their designs. To this they added other Ordinances, for exacting the twentieth part, and other payments, throughout the Kingdom; which had been only undergone (and that not generally) in *London*; and, above all, for the sequestering, and seiling of the Estates of all who adher'd to the King. "Now if a Cessation were consented to by the King, on the "Articles propos'd, and thereby the King's Forces lock'd up "within the several limits and narrow bounds, in which they "were contain'd, these Ordinances might be executed throughout all their Quarters; and thereby vast Sums be rais'd. "Their great Association of *Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntington, Bedford, and Essex* (in neither of which the King "had any visible Party, or one fixed Quarter) upon which, "the apprehension of the Earl of *New-Castle's* advance upon "them, kept them from notable pressures, would by this "means yield them a great supply of Men, and Money. In "*Somerset-shire, and Devon-shire*, whilst *Sr Ralph Hopton* "might hereby be kept from advancing, They might raise "what they would, and might dispose of the Stocks, and personal Estates of those, whom they had, and would declare "to be Malignant; and so this Cessation, besides the damage, "and prejudice to the Loyal Party, would probably fill the "Rebels Coffers, the emptiness whereof was the most, if "not only, probable way and means, to determine the "War.

The City of
London
fortified.

The King's
proposals of
Alterations
in the two
Houses Ar-
ticles of Ces-
sation.

THESE considerations made a deep impression upon those, who believ'd the Treaty was not like to produce a Peace; the Number of which was encreased by a new Resolution, at this time enter'd upon, and vigorously prosecuted, "to fortify the City of *London*, and to draw a line about it; which "was executed with marvellous expedition; which, many believ'd, would not have been then done, both for the charge and jealousy of it, if it had not been resolv'd it should not Yet return to the King's Obedience. And many Persons of Honour, and Quality, about the King, who had given great life to his Affairs, were so startled with the sense of it, that they address'd themselves together to his Majesty, and besought him, "that they might not lose That now, by an unequal Cessation, which had been preserv'd for them, during "the Licence of Hostility; and that His, and Their Enemies, "might not be That way enabled to destroy them, which Yet "they durst not attempt to do by any Other. The King hereupon, after solemn Debates in Council, the chief Officers of his Army being present, resolv'd to make such Alterations in the Articles, as might make the terms a little more equal, at least prevent so intolerable disadvantages.

I. "To

1. "To the first Article as it was propos'd by them, his Majesty fully, and absolutely consented.

2. "To the second likewise fully, as far as it concern'd all Officers and Soldiers of the Army; but He propos'd, that all other his Subjects, of what Quality, or Condition soever, might, during the Cessation, pass to and from the Cities of *Oxford*, or *London*, or any other parts of his Majesty's Dominions, without any search, stay, or imprisonment of their Persons, or seizure, and detention of their Goods or Estates: And that all manner of Trade, and Commerce, might be open and free between all his Subjects, except between the Officers, and Soldiers of either Army, or for Armes, Ammunition, Money, Bullion, or Victuals for the use of either Army, without a Pass, or Safe Conduct; which, his Majesty told them, "would be a good beginning to renew the Trade, and Correspondence of the Kingdom, and whereby his Subjects might be restor'd to that Liberty and Freedom they were born to, and had so happily enjoy'd till these miserable distractions; and which, even during this War, his Majesty had, to his utmost, labour'd to preserve, opening the way, by most strict Proclamations, to the passage of all Commodities, even to the City of *London* it self.

3. 4. 5. 6. To these the King likewise consented, with two provisions: First, "that such Ships as were necessary to be set forth, should be Commanded by such Persons as his Majesty should approve of. Secondly, that during the Cessation, none of his Subjects should be imprison'd otherwise than according to the known Laws of the Land, and that there should be no plundering, or violence offer'd to any of his Subjects. The first of these was insert'd (without purpose of insisting on it) left by the King's consent to the Article, in the Terms it was propos'd, he might be thought to consent in any degree to their usurpation of the Naval Authority. And the second was, to prevent the execution of the Ordinances before mention'd.

AND his Majesty told them, "he hop'd, these small Alterations would sufficiently manifest, how solicitous he was for the good of his People, for whose Liberties he should insist, when in matters meerly concerning Himself, he might descend to easier Conditions; and how desirous he was, that, in this unnatural Contention, no more blood of his Subjects might be spilt, upon which he look'd with much Grief, Compassion, and Tendernefs of Heart, even on the blood of those, who had lifted up their hands against him. And therefore he doubted not, but both Houses would consent to them. However, if any scruples should be made, he was

“willing that the Commissioners for the Treaty might never-
 “theless immediately come to him, and so all matters con-
 “cerning the Cessation might be there settled between them.

AFTER this Answer return'd by the King, many days pass'd without any return to Him; and in the mean time another Address was made to his Majesty, upon which the great Managers at *London* had set their hearts, more than upon the Treaty; and for which indeed they deferr'd their Treaty. They had still a great dependence and confidence upon their Brethren of *Scotland*, and yet that People moved very slowly; and, since the Earl of *Essex* had been settled in his Winter Quarters, there had been high Quarrels between the *English*, and *Scotch* Officers, insomuch as, upon some reproachful words which had been cast out, many Swords were one day drawn in *Westminster-Hall*, when the Houses were sitting, between them; and some blood drawn, which (though the Houses industriously labour'd to compose it with Declarations “of their joynt value and respect of that Nation with “their own, and that their deserts could only distinguish them) gave so great umbrage, that many of the *Scots*, some of eminent Command, quitted the Service; and it was hoped it would have broke any farther National Combination in Mischief.

BUT the general inclination to Rebellion master'd those particular considerations, and disobligations; and, about the end of *February*, to facilitate the King's consent to the Grand Proposition for the extirpation of Episcopacy (which the two Houses had been, by the Arts before mention'd, wrought to make; when in truth, there were very few of themselves desired it; as, when it pass'd the House of Peers, there were but five Lords present) there arriv'd at *Oxford* the Earl of *Lowden*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, and Mr *Alexander Henderson*, a Man of equal Fame in the distractions that arose in that Kingdom: the former came as a Commissioner from the Lords of the Secret Council of that Kingdom, or, as they then thought fit to call themselves, “the Conservators of the “Peace between the two Kingdoms; and desired to pass as a Mediator in the differences between the King and the two Houses, and that the King would give them leave upon the matter to be Umpires between them. The other, Mr *Henderson*, had a special employment from the Assembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, to present a Petition from that Body to the King; the which, because it was then thought of a very strange nature, and dialect, and because I shall always report the Acts of that Nation (as far as I am oblig'd to mention them) in their own words, I think very convenient to insert in this place.

BUT

BUT it will be first necessary, for the better understanding one angry clause in it, to remember, that, when the Earl of *New-Castle* march'd into *York-shire*, upon occasion of some *Aspersions* publish'd against him by the Lord *Fairfax*, "that his Army consisted only of *Papists*, and that his design was "to extirpate the Protestant Religion, the Earl set forth a Declaration of the reasons of his marching into that Country, which was, "upon the desire of the principal Gentlemen, to "rescue, and protect them from the Tyranny of the Parli- "ment; and then, taking notice of "the scandalous imputa- "tions upon him in point of Religion, after he had vindicated himself from the least suspicion of Inclination to Popery, he confess'd "he had granted Commissions to many *Papists*, "which, as He knew, was, in this case, agreeable to the Laws "of the Kingdom, so he believ'd it very agreeable to the pre- "sent Policy; and that, the quarrel between the King and "the two Houses, being not grounded upon any matter of "Religion, the Rebels professing themselves to be of the same "of which his Majesty was clearly known to be, and the Pa- "pists generally at this time appearing very Loyal to him, "which too many Protestants were not, he thought Their As- "sistance might very fitly be made use of, to suppress the Re- "bellion of the other. And from thence these Zealous *Scots* concluded, that he prefer'd the *Papists*, in point of Loyalty, before the Protestants; which was a calumny of so publick a concernment, that they could not be silent in. Their Petition follows in these words.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty;

The humble Petition of the Commissioners of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland met at Edenborough Jan. 4. 1643.

"OUR Silence, and ceasing to present before your Ma-
"jesty our humble thoughts and desires, at this time of Com-
"mon danger to Religion, to your Majesty's sacred Person,
"your Crown, and Posterity, and to all your Majesty's Do-
"minions, were impiety against God, unthankfulness, and
"disloyalty against your Majesty, and indirect approbation,
"and hardening of the adversaries of Truth and Peace in their
"wicked ways, and cruelty against Our Brethren, lying in
"such depths of Affliction, and Anguish of Spirit; any one of
"which crimes were, in Us above all others, unexcusable, and
"would prove Us most unworthy of the trust committed un-
"to Us. The flame of this Common Combustion hath al-
"most devour'd *Ireland*, is now wasting the Kingdom of
"England,

The Petition of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland presented to the King by Mr. Henderson, sig'd Jan. 4. 1643

“*England*, and We cannot tell how soon it shall enter upon
 “Our selves, and set this your Majesty’s most Ancient, and
 “Native Kingdom on fire. If in this woful case, and lament-
 “able condition of your Majesty’s Dominions, all others
 “should be silent, it behoveth Us to speak; and if Our
 “Tongues and Pens should cease, Our Consciences within us
 “would cry out, and the stones in the Streets would Answer
 “Us.

“OUR great grief, and apprehension of danger, is not a
 “little encreased, partly by the insolence, and presumption of
 “Papists, and others disaffected to the Reformation of Reli-
 “gion, who, although for their Number, and Power, they
 “be not considerable among Us, yet, through the success of
 “the Popish Party in *Ireland*, and the hopes they conceive of
 “the prevailing power of the Popish Armies, and the Prela-
 “tical faction in *England*, they have of late taken spirit, and
 “begun to speak big words against the Reformation of Reli-
 “gion, and the work of God in this Land; and partly, and
 “more principally, that a chief praise of the Protestant Reli-
 “gion (and thereby our not vain, but just gloriation) is, by
 “the publick Declaration of the Earl of *New-Castle*, General
 “of your Majesty’s Forces for the Northern parts, and nearest
 “unto us, transferr’d unto Papists; who, although they be
 “sworn Enemies unto Kings, and be as infamous for their
 “Treasons, and Conspiracies against Princes and Rulers, as
 “for their known Idolatry, and spiritual Tyranny, yet are
 “they openly declared to be not only good Subjects, or bet-
 “ter Subjects, but Far better Subjects than Protestants: which
 “is a new, and foul disparagement of the Reform’d Religion,
 “a notable Injury to your Majesty in your Honour, a sensible
 “Reflection upon the whole Body of this Kingdom, which is
 “impatient, that any Subjects should be more Loyal than
 “They; but abhorreth, and extremely disdaineth, that Pa-
 “pists, who refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance, should be
 “compared with them in Allegiance, and Fidelity; and which
 “(being a strange Doctrine from the Mouth, or Pen of pro-
 “fess’d Protestants) will suffer a hard construction from all the
 “Reform’d Kirks.

“WE therefore, your Majesty’s most humble and loving
 “Subjects, upon these and the like considerations, do humbly
 “entreat, that your Majesty may be pleased, in your princely
 “Wisdom, first to consider, that the Intentions of Papists, di-
 “rected by the Principles of their profession, are no other
 “than they have been from the beginning, even to build their
 “Babel, and to set up their execrable Idolatry, and Anti-
 “Christian Tyranny, in all your Majesty’s Dominions; to
 “change the face of your two Kingdoms of *Scotland*, and
 “*England*,

"England, into the similitude of miserable *Ireland*; which is
 "more bitter to the People of God, your Majesty's good Sub-
 "jects, to think upon, than death; and whatsoever their pre-
 "sent pretences be, for the Defence of your Majesty's Person
 "and Authority, yet, in the end, by their Armes, and Power,
 "with a display'd Banner, to bring That to pass against your
 "Royal Person, and Posterity, which the fifth of *November*,
 "never to be forgotten, was not able by their subtle and un-
 "dermining Treason to produce; or, which will be their
 "greatest Mercy, to reduce your Majesty, and your King-
 "doms, to the base and unnatural Slavery of their Monarch,
 "the Pope: And next, that your Majesty, upon this unde-
 "niable evidence, may timously and speedily apply your Royal
 "Authority, for disbanding their Forces, suppressing their
 "Power, and disappointing their bloody and merciless Pro-
 "jects.

"AND for this end, We are, with greater Earnestness than
 "before, constrain'd to fall down again before your Majesty,
 "and, in all humility, to renew the supplication of the late
 "general Assembly, and Our own former Petition in Their
 "name, for Unity of Religion, and Uniformity of Church
 "Government in all your Majesty's Kingdoms, and, to this
 "effect, for a meeting of some Divines to be holden in *Eng-
 "land*, unto which, according to the desire of your Majesty's
 "Parliament, some Commissioners may be sent from this Kirk;
 "that, in all points to be proposed, and debated, there may
 "be the greater Consent, and Harmony. We take the bold-
 "ness to be the more instant in this our humble desire, be-
 "cause it concerneth the Lord Jesus Christ so much in His
 "Glory, your Majesty in your Honour, the Kirk of *England*
 "(which We ought to tender as our own Bowels, and whose
 "Reformation is more dear unto Us than Our lives) in Her
 "happiness, and the Kirk of *Scotland* in her purity, and peace;
 "former experience, and daily sense teaching Us, that, with-
 "out the Reformation of the Kirk of *England*, there is no
 "hope or possibility of the continuance of Reformation Here.

"THE Lord of Heaven and Earth, whose Vice-Gerent
 "your Majesty is, calleth for this great work of Reformation
 "at your hands; and the present Commotions, and Troubles
 "of your Majesty's Dominions, are either a preparation, in
 "the mercy of God, for this blessed Reformation and Unity
 "of Religion (which is the desire, prayers, and expectation
 "of all your Majesty's good Subjects in this Kingdom) or,
 "which they tremble to think upon, and earnestly deprecate,
 "are (in the justice of God, for the abuse of the Gospel, the
 "tolerating of Idolatry, and Superstition, against so clear a
 "light, and not acknowledging the day of Visitation) the be-
 "ginning

"ginning of such a doleful desolation, as no policy or power
 "of Man shall be able to prevent, and as shall make your Ma-
 "jesty's Kingdoms, within a short time, as miserable, as they
 "may be happy by a Reformation of Religion. God forbid
 "that, whilst the Houses of Parliament do profess their de-
 "fire of the Reformation of Religion in a Peaceable, and
 "Parliamentary way, and pass their Bills for that end in the
 "particulars; that your Majesty, the Nurse Father of the
 "Kirk of Christ, to whose care the custody and vindication
 "of Religion doth principally belong, should, to the pro-
 "voking of the Anger of God, the stopping of the influence
 "of so many blessings from Heaven, and the grieving of the
 "hearts of all the Godly, frustrate our expectation, make our
 "hopes ashamed, and hazard the loss of the hearts of all your
 "good Subjects; which, next unto the truth, and unity of
 "Religion, and the safety of your Kingdoms, are willing to
 "hazard their Lives, and spend their Blood, for your Ma-
 "jesty's Honour, and Happiness.

"WE are not ignorant, that the work is great, the diffi-
 "culties and impediments many; and that there be both Moun-
 "tains, and Lyons in the way; the strongest let, till it be
 "taken out of the way, is the Mountain of Prelacy: And no
 "wonder, if your Majesty consider, how many Papists, and
 "Popishly-affected, have, for a long time, found peace, and
 "ease, under the shadow thereof; how many of the Prelatical
 "Faction have thereby their life and being; how many pro-
 "phane, and worldly Men, do fear the Yoke of Christ, and
 "are unwilling to submit themselves to the obedience of the
 "Gospel; how many there be, whose Eyes are dazled with
 "the external Glory and Pomp of the Kirk; whose minds are
 "miscarried with a conceit of the Governing of the Kirk by
 "the Rules of human Policy; and whose hearts are affrighted
 "with the apprehensions of the dangerous consequences, which
 "may ensue upon alterations. But when your Majesty, in
 "your Princely and Religious Wisdom, shall remember, from
 "the Records of former times, how against the Gates of Hell,
 "the force and fraud of wicked and worldly Men, and all
 "panick fears of danger, the Christian Religion was first
 "planted; and the Christian Kirk thereafter reform'd: And,
 "from the condition of the present times, how many, from
 "the experience of the Tyranny of the Prelates, are afraid to
 "discover themselves, lest They be revenged upon them here-
 "after (whereas Prelacy being remov'd they would openly pro-
 "fess what they are, and joyn with others in the way of Refor-
 "mation) all obstacles, and difficulties shall be but matter of the
 "manifestation of the power of God, the Principal worker;
 "and means of the greater Glory to your Majesty, the prime
 "Instrument.

"THE

"THE Intermixture of the Government of Prelates with
 "the Civil State, mention'd in your Majesty's Answer to
 "Our former Petition, being taken away and the right Go-
 "vernment by Assemblies, which is to be seen in all the Re-
 "form'd Kirks, and wherein the Agreement will be easy, be-
 "ing settled; the Kirk, and Religion, will be more pure, and
 "free from mixture, and the Civil Government more sound
 "and firm. That Government of the Kirk must suit best
 "with the Civil State, and be most useful for Kings and
 "Kingdoms, which is best warranted by God, by whom Kings
 "do Reign, and Kingdoms are establish'd. Nor can a Refor-
 "mation be expected in the common and ordinary way, ex-
 "press'd also in your Majesty's Answer. The Wilest and most
 "Religious Princes have found it impossible, and implying a
 "Repugnancy, since the Persons to be Reform'd, and Refor-
 "mers, must be diverse; and the way of Reformation must
 "be different from the corrupt way, by which defection of
 "Workmen, and corruption in Doctrine, Worship, and Go-
 "vernment, have enter'd into the Kirk. Suffer Us therefore,
 "Dread Sovereign, to renew our Petitions for this Unity of
 "Religion, and Uniformity of Kirk Government, and for a
 "meeting of some Divines of both Kingdoms, who may pre-
 "pare matters for your Majesty's View, and for the Exami-
 "nation, and Approbation of more full Assemblies. The Na-
 "tional Assembly of this Kirk, from which We have Our
 "Commission, did promise, in their thanksgiving for the many
 "favours express'd in your Majesty's Letter, their best endea-
 "vour to keep the People under their Charge in Unity, and
 "Peace, and in Loyalty, and Obedience to your Majesty, and
 "your Laws, which, We confess, is a duty well beseeming the
 "Preachers of the Gospel.

"BUT We cannot conceal how much both Pastors and
 "People are griev'd, and disquieted with the late reports of
 "the success, boldness, and strength of Popish Forces in *Ire-*
 "*land*, and *England*; and how much danger, from the power
 "of so malicious, and bloody Enemies, is apprehended to the
 "Religion, and Peace of this Kirk, and Kingdom, conceiv'd
 "by them to be the spring, whence have issued all their Ca-
 "lamities, and Miseries. Which We humbly remonstrate
 "to your Majesty as a necessity requiring a General Assembly,
 "and do earnestly supplicate for the Presence, and Assistance
 "of your Majesty's Commissioner, and the day to be appoint-
 "ed; that, by universal consent of the whole Kirk, the best
 "course may be taken for the preservation of Religion, and
 "for the averting of the great Wrath, which they conceive
 "to be imminent to this Kingdom. If it shall please the Lord,
 "in whose hand is the heart of the King, as the Rivers of
 "waters,

"waters, to turn it whithersoever he will, to incline your
 "Majesty's heart to this through Reformation; no more to
 "tolerate the Mass, or any part of Romish Superstition, or
 "Tyranny; and to Command that all good means be used
 "for the conversion of your Princely Consort, the Queen's
 "Majesty (which is also the humble desire of this whole Kirk
 "and Kingdom) your joynt Comforts shall be multiplied a-
 "bove the days of your Affliction, to your incredible joy;
 "your Glory shall shine in brightness, above all your Royal
 "Progenitors, to the admiration of the world, and the terror
 "of your Enemies: And your Kingdoms so far abound in
 "righteousness, peace, and prosperity, above all that have
 "been in former Generations, that they shall say, *It is good
 "for Us, that We have been afflicted.*

THIS Petition was not stranger in itself, than in the Cir-
 cumstances that attended it; for it was no sooner presented to
 the King (if not before) than it was sent to *London*, and
 Printed, and communicated with extraordinary industry to
 the People; that they might see, how far the *Scottish* Nation
 would be engaged for the destruction of the Church; and the
 Messenger who presented it, Mr *Henderson*, confess'd to his
 Majesty, that he had three or four Letters to the most active
 and seditious Preachers about *London*, from Men of the same
 spirit in *Scotland*. Upon this provocation, the King might
 have very reasonably proceeded against Mr *Henderson*, who
 was neither included in the Safe Conduct (as the Lord *Louden*,
 and the rest of the Commissioners were) nor had any Autho-
 rity from the Lords of the Council of that Kingdom (who
 were qualified with large powers) to countenance his Em-
 ployment; being sent only from the Commissioners of the Ge-
 neral Assembly (who were not authorised by their own con-
 stitutions, to make any such Declaration) and there being
 then no Assembly sitting; which it self, with all their new
 Privileges, could not, with any colour of Reason, or Autho-
 rity, have transacted such an Instrument. However the King,
 who well knew the Interest, and Influence the Clergy had
 upon the People of that Kingdom; and that, whilst they pre-
 tended to remove them from all secular Employment, they
 were the principal Instruments, and Engines, by which the
 whole Nation was wrought to Sedition; Resolv'd, not only
 to use the Person of Mr *Henderson* very graciously, and to pro-
 tect him from those Affronts, which he might naturally expect
 in a University (especially, He having used some grave and learn-
 ed Doctors with great insolence, who went civilly to him to
 be inform'd, what Arguments had prevail'd with him, to be
 so profess'd an Enemy to the Church of *England*, and to
 give

give him some information in the Argument; with whom he superciliously refused to hold any discourse) but to return an Answer with all possible Candour to the Petition it self; and so, before he enter'd upon the other Address, made by the Lord Lowden, and the rest, he return'd (after very solemn Debates in Council, where the Earl of Lanerick the Secretary for Scotland, and other Lords of Scotland, who were of the Privy Council, were present, and fully concurr'd, with many expressions of their detestation of the manners of their Country-men, yet with assured confidence that they would not be corrupted to any Act of Hostility) to Mr Henderfon, and, with all expedition, by other hands into Scotland, this Answer; which likewise I think fit to insert in the very words, that Posterity may know how tender and provident the King always was, to prevent any misunderstanding of Him, and his Actions with that People; and consequently any Commotions in that Kingdom; which was the only thing, he fear'd, might contribute to, and continue, the distractions in This.

His Majesty's Answer to the late Petition presented unto him by the hands of Mr Alexander Henderfon, from the Commissioners of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

"WE receiv'd lately a Petition from you, by the hands of *His Majesty's*
 "Mr Alexander Henderfon, to the which We intended to *Answer to*
 "have given an Answer, as soon as We had transacted the *the Petition*
 "business with the other Commissioners, address'd to Us *Mar. 20.*
 "from the Conservators of the Treaty of that our Kingdom. *1641.*
 "But finding the same to be publish'd in Print, and to be
 "dispersed throughout our Kingdom, to the great danger of
 "scandalizing of our well affected Subjects; who may inter-
 "pret the bitterness, and sharpness of some expressions, not
 "to be so agreeable to that regard, and reverence, which is
 "due to our Person, and the matter of the Petition it self to
 "be reproachful to the Honour and Constitution of this
 "Kingdom: We have been compell'd, the more strictly to
 "examine, as well the Authority of the Petitioners, as the
 "matter of the Petition it self, and to publish our Opinion of
 "both, that our Subjects of both Kingdoms may see how
 "equally just, and sensible, We are of the Laws, and Honour
 "of both our Kingdoms.

"AND first, upon perusal of the Petition, We required
 "to see the Commission, by which the Messenger who brought
 "the Petition, or the Persons who sent him, are Qualified to
 "intermeddle in Affairs so Forreign to their Jurisdiction, and
 "of so great Concernment to this our Kingdom of *England.*

"Upon

"Upon examination whereof, and in defence of the Laws,
 "and Government of this our Kingdom, which We are trust-
 "ed, and sworn to defend, We must profess that the Petiti-
 "oners, or the General Assembly of Our Church of *Scotland*,
 "have not the least Authority, or Power to intermeddle, or
 "interpose in the Affairs of this Kingdom, or Church;
 "which are settled, and establish'd by the proper Laws of
 "this Land, and, till they be alter'd by the same competent
 "Power, cannot be inveigh'd against without a due sense of
 "Us, and This Nation; much less can they present any Ad-
 "vice or Declaration to Our Houses of Parliament against the
 "same; or, to that purpose, send any Letters, as they have
 "now done, to any Ministers of Our Church Here; who,
 "by the Laws of this Land, cannot correspond against the same.

"THEREFORE, We do believe that the Petitioners,
 "when they shall consider how unwarranted it is by the Laws
 "of That Kingdom, and how contrary it is to the Laws of
 "This, to the professions they have made to each other,
 "and how unbecoming in it self, for Them to require, the
 "ancient, happy, and establish'd Government of the Church
 "of *England* to be alter'd, and conform'd to the Laws, and
 "Constitutions of another Church, will find themselves misled
 "by the information of some Persons Here, who would wil-
 "lingly engage the Petitioners to foment a difference, and
 "division between the two Kingdoms, which We have, with
 "so much Care and Industry, endeavour'd to prevent; not
 "having labour'd more to quench the combustion in this
 "Kingdom, than We have to hinder the like from either
 "devouring *Ireland*, or entering into *Scotland*; which, if all
 "others will equally labour, will undoubtedly be avoided.
 "But We cannot so easily pass over the mention of *Ireland*,
 "being mov'd to it by the scandalous Aspersions, that have
 "been often cast upon Us, upon that Subject, and the use
 "that hath been made of the woful distractions of that King-
 "dom, as of a Seminary of fears, and jealousies, to beget the
 "like distractions in This; which lest they may have farther
 "influence, We are the more willing to make our Innocence
 "appear in that particular.

"WHEN first that horrid Rebellion begun, We were in
 "Our Kingdom of *Scotland*; and the sense We had then of
 "it, the expressions We made concerning it, the Commissi-
 "ons, together with some other Assistance, We sent imme-
 "diately into that Kingdom, and the instant recommendation
 "We made of it to both our Houses of Parliament in *Eng-
 "land*, are known to all Persons of Quality there and then
 "about Us. After Our return into *England*, our ready con-
 "curring to all the desires of both Houses, that might most

"speedily repress that Rebellion, by passing the Bill of pressing, and in it a Clause, which quitted a Right challeng'd by all, and enjoy'd by many of our Predecessors, by parting with our Rights in the Lands Escheated to Us by that Rebellion, for the Encouragement of Adventurers; by emptying our Magazines of Armes and Ammunition for that Service (which We have since needed for our necessary Defence, and Preservation) by consenting to all Bills for the raising of Money for the same, though containing unusual Clauses, which trusted both Houses without Us with the manner of disposing it: Our often pressing both Houses, not to neglect that Kingdom, by being diverted by considerations, and disputes, less concerning both Kingdoms: Our offer of raising ten thousand Voluntiers to be sent thither; and our several offers to engage our own Royal Person, in the suppression of that horrid Rebellion, are no less known to all this Nation, than our perpetual earnestness, by our Foreign Ministers, to keep all manner of supplies from being Transported for the relief of the Rebels, is known to several Neighbouring Princes; which if all good Subjects will consider, and withal how many of the Men, and how much of the Money raised for that end, and how much time, care, and industry, have been diverted from that employment, and employ'd in this unnatural War against Us (the true cause of the present miseries, and want, which our *British* Armies there do now endure) they will soon free Us from all those Imputations, so scandalously and groundlessly laid upon Us; and impute the continuance of the combustion of that miserable Kingdom, the danger it may bring upon our Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and the beginning of this doleful Desolation, to those who are truly guilty of it.

"For Unity in Religion, which is desired, We cannot but Answer, that We much apprehend, lest the Papists may make some advantage of that expression, by continuing that scandal with more Authority, which they have ever heretofore used to cast upon the Reformation, by interpreting all the differences in Ceremony, Government, or indifferent opinions between several Protestant Churches, to be differences in Religion; and lest our good Subjects of *England*, who have ever esteem'd themselves of the same Religion with you, should suspect themselves to be esteem'd by You to be of a contrary; and that the Religion which They, and their Ancestors have held, ever since the blessed Reformation, and in, and for which, they are resolv'd to die, is taxed, and branded of falsehood, or insufficiency, by such a desire.

"FOR Uniformity in Church Government, We conceiv'd
 "the Answer formerly given by Us (at *Bridgenorth*, 13th
 "October 1642) to the former Petition in this Argument,
 "would have satisfied the Petitioners; and is so full, that We
 "can add little to it; viz. That the Government Here esta-
 "blish'd by the Laws, hath so near a Relation, and inter-
 "mixture with the Civil State (which may be unknown to
 "the Petitioners) that till a composed, digested Form, be pre-
 "sented to Us, upon a free Debate of both Houses in a Par-
 "liamentary way, whereby the consent and approbation of
 "this whole Kingdom may be had, and We, and all our
 "Subjects may discern, what is to be left in, or brought in,
 "as well as what is to be taken away; We know not how
 "to consent to any Alteration, otherwise than to such an Act
 "for the ease of Tender Consciences in the matter of Cere-
 "monies, as We have often offer'd; and that This, and any
 "thing else that may concern the Peace of the Church, and
 "the advancement of God's true Religion, may be soberly
 "discuss'd, and happily effected, We have formerly offer'd,
 "and are still willing, that Debates of that nature may be
 "enter'd into by a Synod of Godly, and Learned Divines, to
 "be regularly chosen according to the Laws, and Customs of
 "this Kingdom: To which We shall be willing that some
 "Learned Divines of our Church of *Scotland* may be likewise
 "sent, to be present, and offer, and debate their reasons. With
 "this Answer the Petitioners had great reason to acquiesce,
 "without enlarging the matter of their former Petition only
 "with bitter expressions against the establish'd Government,
 "and Laws of their Neighbour Nation (as if it were contrary
 "to the word of God) with whom they have so lately en-
 "ter'd into a strict Amity, and Friendship.

"BUT We cannot enough wonder, that the Petitioners
 "should interpose themselves, not only as fit Directors, and
 "Judges, between Us, and our two Houses of Parliament,
 "in business so wholly concerning the Peace, and Govern-
 "ment of this our Kingdom; and in a matter so absolutely
 "entrusted to Us, as what new Laws to consent, or Not to
 "consent to; but should assume, and publish, that the desire
 "of Reformation in this Kingdom is in a Peaceable, and Par-
 "liamentary way; when all the world may know, that the
 "proceedings Here have been, and are, not only contrary to
 "all the Rules and Precedents of former Parliaments, but de-
 "structive to the Freedom, Privilege, and Dignity of Parlia-
 "ments themselves: that We were first driven by Tumults,
 "for the safety of Our life, from our Cities of *London*, and
 "*Westminster*; and have been since pursued, fought withal,
 "and are now kept from thence by an Army, raised and paid,

"as is pretended, by the two Houses, which consist not of
 "the fourth part of the Number they ought to do; the rest
 "being either driven from thence by the same violence, or
 "expell'd, or imprison'd, for not consenting to the Treasons
 "and unheard of Insolences practiced against Us. And if the
 "Petitioners could believe these proceedings to be in a Peace-
 "able, and Parliamentary way, they were very unacquainted
 "with the order, and constitution of this Kingdom, and not
 "so fit Instruments to promote the Reformation, and Peace,
 "they seem to desire.

"We cannot believe the intermixture of the present Ec-
 "clesiastical Government with the Civil State, to be other
 "than a very good reason; and that the Government of the
 "Church should be by the Rules of human Policy, to be
 "other than a very good Rule, unless some other Government
 "were as well Proved, as Pretended, to be better warranted
 "by the word of God.

"Of any Bills offer'd to Us for Reformation, We shall not
 "now speak, they being a part of those Articles upon which
 "We have offer'd, and expect to treat: But cannot but won-
 "der, by what Authority, you prejudge our Judgement here-
 "in, by denouncing God's Anger upon Us, and our hazard
 "of the loss of the hearts of all our good Subjects, if We con-
 "sent not unto them. The influence of so many blessings
 "from Heaven, upon the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and our
 "Father of blessed Memory; and the acknowledgement of
 "Them by all Protestant Churches, to have been careful
 "Nurses of the Church of Christ, and to have excellently
 "discharged their duties, in the Custody, and Vindication of
 "Religion; and the Affection of their Subjects to them; do
 "sufficiently assure Us, that We should neither stop the influ-
 "ence of such blessings, nor grieve the hearts of all the God-
 "ly, nor hazard the loss of the hearts of our Good Subjects,
 "although We still maintain, in this Kingdom, the same esta-
 "blish'd Ecclesiastical Government which flourish'd in Their
 "times, and under Their special Protection.

"We doubt not, but our Subjects of *Scotland* will rest
 "abundantly satisfied with such Alterations in their own
 "Church, as We have assented unto; and not be perswaded
 "by a meer Assertion, that there is no hope of continuance of
 "what is There settled by Law, unless that be likewise alter'd
 "which is settled Here. And our Subjects of *England* will
 "never depart from their dutiful Affection to Us, for not
 "consenting to new Laws, which, by the Law of the Land,
 "they know We may as justly reject, if We approve not of
 "them, as Either House hath power to prepare for, or Both,
 "to propound to Us. Nor are you a little mistaken, if either

"you believe the generality of this Nation, to desire a Change
 "of Church Government, or that most of those, who desire it,
 "desire by it to introduce that which You only esteem a Re-
 "formation; but are as unwilling to submit to what You call
 "the Yoke of Christ, and obedience to the Gospel, as those
 "whom You call prophane, and worldly Men; and so equal-
 "ly averse both to Episcopacy, and Presbytery, that, if they
 "should prevail in this particular, the abolition of the One,
 "would be no inlet to the Other; nor would your hearts be
 "less griev'd, your expectations less frustrated, your hopes
 "less alhamed, or your Reformation more secured. And the
 "Petitioners, upon due consideration, will not find themselves
 "less mistaken in the Government of all the Reform'd
 "Churches, which, they say, is by Assemblies, than they are
 "in the best way of Reformation; which sure is best to be
 "in a Common, and Ordinary way, where the Passion, or
 "Interest of particular Men may not impose upon the pub-
 "lick; but alteration be then only made, when, upon calm
 "debates, and evident, and clear reason, and convenience, the
 "same shall be generally consented to for the Peace, and Se-
 "curity of the People; and those, who are trusted by the
 "Law, with such debates, are not devested of that trust, upon
 "a General charge of Corruptions, pretended to have enter'd
 "by that way; and of being the Persons to be Reform'd, and
 "so unfit to be Reformers. And certainly, the like Logick, with
 "the like Charges, and Pretences, might be used to make the
 "Parliament it self an incapable Judge of any Reformation,
 "either in Church, or State.

"FOR the general expressions in the Petition against Pa-
 "pists, in which the Petitioners may be understood to charge
 "us with Compliance and even Favour to their opinions; We
 "have taken all occasions to publish to the world our practice
 "and resolution in the true Protestant Reform'd Religion:
 "and We are verily perswaded, there is no One Subject, in
 "either of our Dominions, who at all knows us, and hath
 "observ'd our life, but is, in his Soul, satisfied of our con-
 "stant Zeal and unmoveable Affection to that Religion, and of
 "our true dislike of, and hearty Opposition to Popery. And
 "as We willingly consented, at our being in *Scotland*, to all
 "Acts proposed to Us, for the discountenancing, and the re-
 "forming the Papists in that our Kingdom; so, by our Pro-
 "clamations for the putting of all Laws severely in execution
 "against Recusants; and by not refusing any one Bill, pre-
 "sented to Us to that purpose, in this Kingdom; and by our
 "perpetual and publick professions of readiness, with the ad-
 "vice of our two Houses of Parliament, prepared for Us in
 "a deliberate and orderly way, to find some expedient to per-
 "fect

“fect so good a work ; We conceiv’d, We had not left it
 “possible, for any Man to believe Us guilty of tolerating any
 “part of the Romish Tyranny or Superstition ; or to suspect,
 “that the Conversion of our dearest Consort was not so much
 “our desire, that the Accession of as many Crowns as God
 “hath already bestow’d on Us, would not be more welcome
 “to Us than that day : A blessing, which it is our daily Prayer
 “to the Almighty to bestow upon Us.

“BUT We might well have expected from the Petition-
 “ners, who have in their Solemn, National Covenant, litte-
 “rally sworn so much care of the safety of our Person, and
 “cannot but know in how much danger That hath been, and
 “still is, by the power and threats of Rebellious Armies, that
 “they would as well have remember’d the 23^d of *October*, as
 “the 5th of *November* ; and as well have taken notice of the
 “Army rais’d, and led against us by the Earl of *Essex*, which
 “hath actually assaulted, and endeavour’d to murder Us ;
 “which We know to abound in *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and
 “other Sectaries ; and in which We have reason (by Pri-
 “soners We have taken, and the evidence they have given)
 “to believe there are many more Papists (and many of those
 “Forreigners) than in all our Army ; as have advis’d Us,
 “to disband out of the Army of the Earl of *New-Castle*,
 “which is rais’d for our defence, the Papists in that Army ;
 “who are known to be no such Number, as to endanger their
 “obtaining any power of building Their Babel, and setting
 “up Their Idolatry ; and whose Loyalty he hath reason to
 “commend (though he was never suspected for favouring
 “their Religion) not before that of Protestants, but of such
 “as Rebel under that Title ; and whose Assistance is as due
 “to Us, by the Law of God and Man, to rescue Us from
 “Domestick Rebellion, as to defend Us from Forreign Inva-
 “sion ; which We think no Man denies to be lawful for
 “them to do. But We do solemnly declare, and protest, that
 “God shall no sooner free Us from the desperate, and Rebel-
 “lious Armes taken up against Us, but We shall endea-
 “vour to free Our selves and Kingdom from any fear of dan-
 “ger from the other, by disarming them, according to the Laws
 “of this Land ; as We shall not fail to send Our Commissio-
 “ner to the Assembly, at the time appointed for it by the
 “Laws of *Scotland*.

“To conclude, We desire, and require the Petitioners (as
 “becomes good, and pious Preachers of the Gospel) to use
 “their utmost endeavours, to compose any distraction in opi-
 “nions, or misunderstandings, which may, by the Faction
 “of some turbulent Persons, be rais’d in the minds of our
 “good Subjects of that our Kingdom ; and to infuse into them

"a true sense of Charity, Obedience, and Humility, the great principles of the Christian Religion; that they may not suffer themselves to be transported with things that they do not understand, or think themselves concern'd in the Government of another Kingdom, because it is not according to the Customs of that in which They live; but that they dispose themselves, with modesty, and devotion, to the service of Almighty God; with Duty, and Affection, to the obedience of Us, and our Laws (remembering the singular grace, favour, and benignity, We have always express'd to that our Native Kingdom) and with Brotherly, and Christian Charity one towards another: And We doubt not but God, in his mercy to Us and Them, will make us instruments of his Blessings upon each other, and Both of us, in a great measure, of happiness, and prosperity, to the whole Nation.

*The Trans-
actions of the
Earl of
Lowden
and other
Scottish
Commission-
ers at Ox-
ford: that
they might
be Media-
tors, and for
a Parlia-
ment in
Scotland.*

THE Lord Lowden, and the other lay-Commissioners, who were Persons entirely guided by him, and of inferior Quality, gave the precedence to this Petition, which they call'd matter of Religion; and press'd not their own Commission, till the King had declared, and publish'd his Answer to the other; and though they pretended not to have any Authority, to say anything in that engagement of the Commissioners of the Assembly; yet the Lord Lowden used all importunity, and arguments, to persuade the King in private, to consent to the alteration of the Government of the Church; assuring him, that it would be a means, not only to hinder his Subjects of Scotland from adhering to the Parliament; but that it would oblige them, to assist his Majesty to the utmost, in the vindication of all his Rights. But he quickly found the King too strongly fixed to be sway'd in a case of Conscience, by a consideration of Convenience; and his Lordship undertook to give no other Arguments.

HE betook himself then with his Companions, to their own proper, and avow'd Errand; which consisted of two parts: The One, to offer "the mediation of the Conservators of the Peace of that Kingdom, for the composition of the differences between the King and the two Houses; the Other, "to desire his Majesty, that he would send out his precepts to Summon a Parliament in Scotland. These desires, and any Arguments to enforce them, they always deliver'd to the King himself in writing; declining any Address to his Ministers, or any debates with his Council, lest it might seem to lessen the Grandeur and Absoluteness of the Kingdom of Scotland. But the King always brought those papers, which he receiv'd from them, to his Council; and receiv'd Their advice, what

Answers

Answers to return. For the first, of Mediation, they pretend-
ed a Title, and obligation to it; by a Clause in the Act of Pa-
cification made at the beginning of this Parliament; which
Clause was: "That the Peace to be then establish'd, might
"be inviolably observ'd, in all time to come, it was agreed,
"that some should be appointed by his Majesty, and the Par-
"liaments of both Kingdoms, who, in the interim betwixt
"the sitting of the Parliaments, might be careful, that the
"Peace then happily concluded might be continued; and who
"should endeavour by all means to prevent all troubles, and
"divisions; and if any debate and difference should happen
"to arise, to the disturbance of the Common Peace, they
"should labour to remove, or compose them, according to
"their power; it being supposed, that for all their proceed-
"ings of this Kind, they should be answerable to the King's
"Majesty and the Parliament; and if any thing should fall
"out that should be above their power, and could not be re-
"medied by them, they should inform themselves in the par-
"ticulars, and represent the same to the King's Majesty, and
"the ensuing Parliament; that, by their Wisdoms and Au-
"thority, all occasion and causes of troubles might be remov-
"ed, and the Peace of the Kingdom might be perpetual to all
"posterity. And it was declared, that the power of the Com-
"mission should be restrain'd to the Articles of Peace in that
"Treaty.

THIS Clause, and the whole Statute, being carefully per-
used, and examined before his Majesty in his Council, the
King return'd an Answer to them in writing.

"THAT He could not find any colour, or pretence of *The King's*
"Authority, to be granted by that Act of Parliament, by *Answer to*
"which the Commissioners for *Scotland* could conceive them- *them in bot*
"selves interested in a faculty of Mediation; *that the Clause *particulars.*
"mention'd by them (besides that there was no such Com-
"mission granted as was mention'd in that Clause, nor any
"Commissioners named for those purposes) related only to
"the differences that might grow between the two Nations;
"and only upon the Articles of that Treaty, which, his Ma-
"jesty said, had been, and should be inviolably observ'd by
"Him. That the differences between his Majesty and his two
"Houses of Parliament, had not the least Relation to the
"Peace between the two Kingdoms, but to his unquestion-
"able, and long enjoyed Rights, which, his Rebellious Sub-
"jects endeavour'd, by Force, to wrest from him; and con-
"cern'd the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom; which, as
"they could not be supposed to be known to the Conserva-
"tors of the Peace of *Scotland*, so They could not have any
"possible Cognisance of them. That it might give great
"Umbrage

“Umbrage to his Subjects of *England*, if he should consent
 “to what they now propos’d; and, instead of confirming,
 “and continuing the Peace, breed jealousies between the Na-
 “tions; and therefore he could not admit of any such Me-
 “diation as They propos’d; but that he hoped the Treaty,
 “which he now expected, would beget so good an understand-
 “ing between Him and his two Houses, that a Peace might
 “enue; towards which he would expect nothing from his
 “Subjects of *Scotland*, but their Prayers.

This gave them no satisfaction, but they insisted still on their
 right by that Clause; which, without any Reason or Argu-
 ment to perswade others to be of their mind, they said, “they
 “conceiv’d, laid that obligation upon them of interposition;
 to which the King still gave the same Answer.

FOR their Other demand of a Parliament in *Scotland*, the
 case stood thus: The King, at his last being in *Scotland*, had,
 according to the Precedent he had made Here, granted an
 Act for Triennial Parliaments in that Kingdom; and, at the
 close of that present Parliament, had ratified another Act, by
 which, a certain day was appointed, for the Commencement
 of the next; which day was to be on the first *Tuesday* of *June*,
 in the year 1644, except the King should call one sooner;
 which he had power to do. So that the question was only,
 whether the calling a Parliament sooner in that Kingdom, was
 like to advance His service, and to contribute to the Peace of
 This? In the disquisition whereof, there needed no Argu-
 ments, that such a Convention could not then produce bene-
 fit to the King; the entire Government of that People being
 in those Persons, who had contrived those dismal alterations.
 On the other hand, all Men thought it very happy for the
 King, that, without His consent, there could be no Parlia-
 ment in *Scotland*, till *June* 1644; which was more than four-
 teen Months from this time: till when, how disinclin’d soever
 the whole Nation should be, there was as much Assurance, as
 could possibly be, from that People, that the Parliament would
 not be able to procure any avow’d supply from that Kingdom:
 It being the express words in the late Act of Pacification,
 “that the Kingdom of *England* should not denounce, or make
 “War against the Kingdom of *Scotland*, without consent of
 “the Parliament of *England*; as on the other part, it was
 enacted, “that the Kingdom of *Scotland* should not denounce,
 “or make War against the Kingdom of *England*, without the
 “consent of the Parliament of *Scotland*. And in case any of
 “the Subjects of either of the Kingdoms should arise in Armes,
 “or make War against the other Kingdom, or Subjects there-
 “of, without consent of the Parliament of that Kingdom,
 “whereof they are Subjects, or upon which they do depend,
 “that

"that they should be held, reputed, and demanded, as Tray-
 "tors to the Estates, whereof they are Subjects. And, that
 "both the Kingdoms, in that case, should be bound to con-
 "cur in the repressing of those that should happen to arise in
 "Armes, or make War, without consent of their own Par-
 "liament.

So that whoever believ'd, that those People could be con-
 tain'd by any obligations, Divine, or Humane, thought it
 impossible, by these clear Texts, that any Forces could be
 rais'd there to invade *England*, and disturb his Majesty, till
 June 1644; before which time, there was hope the King might
 so far prevail, that the spirit of the Rebellion might be broken,
 and Men return again to their Understanding, and Allegiance.
 Therefore to that demand, the King return'd Answer, "that
 "against the time by which they could legally demand a Par-
 "liament (naming the day) "he would issue out his Writs,
 "and there being no emergent Cause to do it sooner, he
 "would forbear to put his Subjects there to that trouble,
 "which those meetings, how necessary soever, would na-
 "turally carry with them.

WHEN they perceiv'd that they should not receive satis-
 faction in either of their Proposals, and (which it may be
 troubled them more) that the King was so wary in his An-
 swers, and so clearly express'd the Reasons, and Justice of
 them, that they should have no Arguments to apply to the
 passion, or interest, of their Country-men; which they ex-
 pected at least (For in that, in which he was most steadfastly
 resolv'd, the preservation of the Government of the Church,
 he express'd no more to them, than, "That being a matter of
 "so great importance, and having so near Relation to the Ci-
 "vil Government, and Laws of *England*, They could not be
 "competent considerers of it; but that He would do what
 "should be most safe, and necessary for the peace and welfare
 "of his Subjects, who were most concern'd in it) At last ra-
 ther cursorily, and as matter of Ceremony at parting, than of
 moment, they desired "the King's leave, and Pass to go to
 "*London*, having, as they said, "some business there before
 "their return into their own Country.

THIS was, by many, thought a thing of so small moment,
 that the King should readily grant it; since it was evident,
 that it was in their own power to go thither without his leave;
 for they were necessarily to return through the Enemies Quar-
 ters; and being once there, they might choose whether they
 would go directly home, or visit *London*. And therefore that
 request was thought but an Instance of their modesty, that
 they might not return without one thing granted to them, at
 their request. But the King look'd upon it as no indifferent
 "thing;

thing; and their asking a business that they needed not ask, was enough to demonstrate, that there was more in it than appear'd. And he well knew, there was a great difference between their going to *London* with His Pass, and Licence, and without it, which they might easily do. They had now publickly declared their Errand, and claim'd a Title, and Legal Capacity to undertake the business of Mediation; which would be so far from being rejected there, that they would be thankfully receiv'd, and admitted to a power of Umpirage. If upon, or after this claim, the King should grant them His Pass, it would, by their Logick, more reasonably conclude his Assent, than many of those inferences which they drew from more distant Propositions; and having that ground once, his Majesty's not consenting to what those grave Mediators would propose, and afterwards, as Arbitrators, award, should be quarrel sufficient for the whole Nation to Engage. And therefore the King expressly denied his Pass, and Safe Conduct; and told them plainly the reason why he did so; and required them, "since he had denied to consent to that, which could be the only ground of their going to *London*, that they should first return to those that sent them, before they attempted that Journey: if they did otherwise, they must run the hazard of Persons, whom his Majesty would not countenance with His Protection. And the truth is, though they might very well have gone to *London*, they could not have return'd thence to *Scotland* (except they would have submitted to the inconvenience and hazard of a Voyage by Sea) without so much danger from the King's Quarters in the North (*York*, and *New-Castle* being at His devotion) that they could not reasonably promise themselves to escape.

The Parliament's Commissioners to Treat came to Oxford.

WHILST this was in agitation, the Committee from the Parliament for the Treaty, to wit, the Earl of *Northumberland*, Mr *Peirrepoint*, Sr *W. Armyne*, Sr *John Holland*, and Mr *Whitlock*, came to *Oxford*; who shortly took notice of the Scottish Commissioners desires, and also desired on Their behalf, "that they might have his Majesty's leave to go to *London*: but being quickly answer'd, "that That request would not fall within either of the Propositions agreed to be treated of, they modestly gave over the Intercession: and in the end, the Lord *Lowden*, and his Country-men, return'd directly to *Scotland*, staying only so long in the Garrisons of the Enemy, through which they were reasonably to pass, as to receive such Animadversions, and to entertain such Communication, as they thought most necessary.

ASSOON

As soon as the Committee arriv'd at Oxford, they were very graciously receiv'd by the King; his Majesty always giving them Audience in Council, and They withdrawing into a private Chamber prepared for them, whilst their Propositions, which they still deliver'd in writing, were consider'd, and debated before the King. They declared, "that they were first to Treat of the Cessation, and till that was concluded, that they were not to enter upon any of the other Propositions; with which his Majesty was well pleased, presuming that they had brought, or had power to give, consent to the Articles propos'd by him; which he rather believ'd, when they read the preamble to the Articles; in which it was declared, "that the Lords and Commons being still carried on with a vehement desire of Peace, that so the Kingdom might be freed from the desolation, and destruction, wherewith it was like to be overwhelm'd, had consider'd of the Articles of Cessation with those alterations, and additions, offer'd by his Majesty; unto which they were ready to agree in such manner as was express'd in the ensuing Articles. After which, were inserted the very Articles had been first sent to the King, without the least condescension to any one Alteration, or Addition, made by him; neither had the Committee power to recede or consent to any Alteration, but only to publish it, if the King consented in Terms, and Then, and not till Then, to proceed to Treat upon the other Propositions.

The Treaty begins upon the Propositions of Cessation, but that takes no effect.

THIS the King look'd upon as an ill Omen; other Men as a plain Contempt, and Stratagem, to make the People believe by their sending their Committee, that they did desire a Treaty and a Cessation, yet, by limiting them so strictly, to frustrate Both, and to cast the Envy of it upon the King. Hereupon, the next day, the King sent a Message to them, which he publish'd, to undeceive the People; farther pressing "the weight and consequence of his former exceptions, and alterations; and the inconvenience that proceeded from not granting their Committee power to alter so much as verbal Expressions: so that, if the King should consent to the Articles, as they were propos'd, he should not only submit to great disadvantages; but some such, as Themselves would not think reasonable to oblige him to. As by that Article wherein they reserv'd a power to send out a Fleet, or what Ships They thought good, to Sea; they were not at all restrain'd, from sending what Land Forces they pleas'd, to any part of the Kingdom; so that, when the Cessation ended, they might have new, and greater Armies throughout the Kingdom, than they had when it begun; which, he presumed, they did not intend; being a thing so unequal, and contrary to the Nature of a Cessation.

"THEN

"THEN in the Articles they last sent, they styl'd their
 "Forces, the Army rais'd by the Parliament, the which if his
 "Majesty should consent to, he must acknowledge, either
 "that He consented to the raising that Army, or that He was
 "no part of the Parliament: neither of which, he conceiv'd,
 "they would oblige him to do. And therefore, He desired,
 "that their Committee might have liberty to Treat, Debate,
 "and Agree upon the Articles; upon which They, and all
 "the World should find, that He was less solicitous for his
 "own Dignity, and Greatness, than for his Subjects Ease, and
 "Liberty. But if that so reasonable, equal, and just desire of
 "His, should not be yielded unto, but the same Articles still
 "insisted upon, though his Majesty, next to Peace, desired a
 "Cessation, yet, that the not agreeing upon the One, might
 "not destroy the hopes of, nor so much as delay the Other;
 "He was willing to Treat, even without a Cessation, upon
 "the Propositions themselves, in that order that was agreed;
 "and desired their Committee might be enabled to that effect.
 "In which Treaty he would give, He said, "all his Subjects
 "that satisfaction, that if any security to enjoy all the Rights,
 "Privileges, and Liberties, due to them by the Law, or that
 "happinefs in Church and State, which the best times had
 "seen, with such farther Acts of Grace, as might agree with
 "his Honour, Justice, and Duty to his Crown, and which
 "might not render him less able to protect his Subjects, ac-
 "cording to his Oath, would satisfy them; his Majesty was
 "confident, in the Mercy of God, that no more precious
 "blood of this Nation would be thus miserably spent.

THIS Message produced Liberty to the Committee to en-
 ter upon the Treaty it self, upon the Propositions, though
 the Cessation should not be agreed to: and shortly after they
 sent reasons to the King, why they consented not to the Ces-
 sation in such manner, and with those limitations, as He
 had propos'd. 1. They alledg'd, "that, if they should grant
 "such a free Trade, as the King desired, to *Oxford*, and other
 "places, where his Forces lay, it would be very difficult, if
 "not impossible, to keep Armes, Ammunition, Money, and
 "Bullion, from passing to his Army: However, it would
 "be exceeding advantageous to his Majesty, in supplying his
 "Army with many necessaries, and making their Quarters a
 "Staple for such Commodities, as might be vented in the
 "adjacent Counties; and so draw Money thither; whereby
 "the Inhabitants would be better enabled by Loans, and
 "Contributions, to support his Army. As this advantage to
 "Him was very Demonstrable, so it was very Improbable,
 "that it would produce any supply to Them; and, in a Treaty
 "for Cessation, those Demands could not be thought reason-
 "able

"able that were not indifferent, that is, equally advantageous
 "to both Parties. 2. That to Demand the approving the
 "Commanders of the Ships, was, to desire to add the strength
 "of the one Party to the other, before the differences were
 "ended; against all Rules of Treaty. And to make a Cef-
 "sation at Sea, was to leave the Kingdom naked to Forreign
 "Forces, and the Ports open for His supplies of Armes, and
 "Ammunition. But for conveying any Forces, by those
 "means, from one part to the other, they would observe the
 "Articles, by which that was restrain'd. 3. For the expres-
 "sion of the Army raised by the Parliament, they were con-
 "tented it should be alter'd, and the name of the two Houses
 "used. 4. For the Committing none, but according to the
 "known Laws of the Land, that is, by the ordinary Procefs
 "of Law, it would follow, that no Man must be committed
 "by Them for supplying the King with Armes, Money, or
 "Ammunition; for, by the Law of the Land, the Subject
 "might carry such goods from *London* to *Oxford*: The Sol-
 "diers must not be committed who do run from their Co-
 "lours, and refuse any duty in the Army; no Man should be
 "committed, for not submitting to necessary supplies of Mo-
 "ney: so that if it should be yielded to, in his Majesty's sense,
 "they should be disabled to restrain supplies from their Ene-
 "mies, and to govern, and maintain their own Soldiers; and
 "so, under a disguise of a Cessation, should admit that which
 "would necessarily produce the dissolving of their Army, and
 "destruction of their Cause. And, they said, "it was not
 "probable, that his Majesty would suffer the same inconve-
 "niences by that Clause; for that they believ'd he would in-
 "terpret, that what his General did by Vertue of His Com-
 "mission, was and would be done according to the known
 "Laws of the Land; whereas he had deny'd, that those
 "known Laws gave any power to the two Houses of Par-
 "liament, to raise Armies; and so, consequently, their General
 "could not exercise any Martial Laws. So that under the
 "specious shew of Liberty, and Law, They should be alto-
 "gether disabled to defend their Liberties and Laws; and his
 "Majesty would enjoy an absolute Victory, and Submission,
 "under pretence of a Cessation, and Treaty. They said,
 "being, by a necessity inevitable, enforced to a Defensive
 "War, and therein warranted both by the Laws of God and
 "Man, it must needs follow, that, by the same Law, they
 "were enabled to raise means to support that War; and
 "therefore they could not relinquish that power of laying
 "Taxes upon those who ought to joyn with them in that
 "Defence, and the necessary way of Levying those Taxes
 "upon them, in case of refusal; for otherwise their Army
 "must needs be dissolv'd.

THOUGH

THOUGH these Reasons were capable, in a sad, and composed Debate, of full Answers, and many things would naturally have flow'd from them, to disprove the Practice and Assertions of the framers of them; yet it was very evident, that they carried such a kind of reason with them, as would prevail over the understandings of the People; and that the King, by not consenting to the Cessation, as it was proposed by them, would be generally thought to have rejected Any; which could not but have an ill influence upon his Affairs: and therefore his Majesty sent them, as soon as he had weigh'd this late Message, which he well discern'd was not form'd to satisfy Him, but to satisfy the People against Him, an Answer; in which he explain'd the ill consequence of many of their Assumptions, and enforced the importance of his former demands on the behalf of the People; however, he offer'd "to admit the Cessation upon the matter of their own Articles; "so that he might not be understood to consent to any of "those unjust, and illegal powers, which they exercised upon "the Subjects. But from henceforward, the Houses declin'd any farther Argument, and Debate concerning the Cessation; and directed their Committee, "to expedite the Treaty upon the Propositions: the Particulars whereof being transacted in the beginning of the year 1643. I shall refer the Narrative to the next Book; intending in This, only to comprehend the Transactions to the end of 1642.

I AM perswaded if the King had, upon the receipt of the Articles for the Cessation, when they were first sent to him, frankly consented to it, it would have prov'd very much to his advantage; and that His Army would very much have encreased by it, and the Other been impaired; and that it would have been very difficult for the Parliament to have dissolv'd it, if once begun, or to have determin'd the Treaty. But besides the reasons before mention'd, the consideration of the Northern Forces, and the restraining them within their old Quarters, who seem'd to be in a condition of marching even to *London* it self, prevail'd very far with the King; or rather (which indeed was the main reason, and render'd every other Suggestion of Weight) the jealousy that they did not intend to consent to, or admit any Peace, but such a one as his Majesty might Not admit, made all the preliminary Debates the more insisted on.

I CANNOT but insert one Particular, which may hereafter be thought of some signification. It was now the time of the year when, by the custom of the Kingdom, the King's Judges *Itinerant* used to go the Circuits throughout *England*, and *Wales*, to administer Justice to the People; and to enquire into all Treasons, Felonies, Breaches of the Peace, and other Misdemeanours;

Misdemeanours; which were any where committed contrary to the known Laws; and they were sworn to judge according to those known Laws, the study and knowledge whereof was their Profession.

THE Lords and Commons now sent to the King a special Message, "to advise, and desire him, that, in regard of the present distractions, which might hinder both the Judges, and the People, from resorting to those places where such meetings might be appointed, the Assizes and Goal-delivery might not be holden; but that it might be deferr'd, until it should please God to restore Peace unto his People." *The advice and desires of the two Houses concerning Goal-delivery.*

THE King return'd them Answer; "that the present bloody distractions of the Kingdom, which he had used all possible means to prevent, and would still to remove, did afflict his Majesty under no consideration more, than of the great interruption, and stop it made in the Course and Proceedings of Justice, and the Execution of the Laws; whereby his good Subjects were robb'd of the Peace, and Security they were born to. And therefore, as much as in Him lay, he would advance that only means of their happiness; at least, they should see that their Sufferings that way, proceeded not from his Majesty; and since they might now expect, by the Laws, Statutes, and Customs of the Kingdom, the Assizes and general Goal-delivery in every County, his Majesty thought not fit to Command the contrary; but would take severe, and precise order, that None of his Subjects should receive the least prejudice, as they repaired thither, by any of his Forces, which rule he should be glad to see observ'd by others. And then he hoped, by the execution of the Laws, even those publick Calamities might have some abatement, and the Kingdom recover its former Peace, and Prosperity." *His Majesty's Answer.*

BUT this Answer was not more satisfactory than others they had usually receiv'd from Him; and therefore they betook themselves to their old, tryed Weapon, and made an Ordinance, "that all Judges, and Justices of Assize, and Nisi prius, and Justices of Oyer, and Terminer, and Goal-delivery, should forbear to execute any of their said Commissions, or to hold or keep any Assizes, or Goal-delivery, at any time during that Lent Vacation; as they would Answer the command, and neglect thereof, before the Lords and Commons in Parliament. This was the first avow'd Interruption, and Suspension of the publick Justice, that happen'd, or that was known ever before in that kind; and gave the People occasion to believe, that what the Parliament did (what pretence soever there was of Fundamental Laws) was not so warrantable by that Rule, since they labour'd so much to suppress

press that Inquisition. It was not in the King's power to help this; for besides that the example of Judge *Mallet*, who, the Circuit before, had been forcibly taken from the Bench by a Troop of Horse, as is before remember'd, terrified all the Judges (and there were very few Counties in *England*, in which they could have been secure from the like Violence) the Records, upon which the Legal Proceedings were to be, were at *London*; and so the exercise of the Law ceased throughout the Kingdom, save only in some few Counties, whither the King sent some Judges of Assize, and into others, his Commission of Oyer and Terminer; by virtue whereof, the Earl of *Essex*, and many others, were as legally attainted of High Treason, as the Wisdom of our Ancestors could direct.

An Account, and Character of the Privy Counsellors then attending the King, and those who stayed with the two Houses. Mr Hyde made Chancellor of the Exchequer.

THE Treaty, as is said, being managed at the Council Table, the Pride of the Parliament having refused to Treat with any but the King himself, and his Majesty resolving to transact all by the Advice and Opinion of his Privy Council, it will be seasonable in this place to set down the Names of all those Privy Counsellors, who attended the King: there being at this time a new one added to the number; for in the time between the return of the Commissioners to *London*, and their coming back to the Treaty, *St John Colepepper* being prefer'd to be Master of the Rolls, Mr *Hyde* was made Chancellor of the Exchequer; who, till that time, though he was known to be trusted in matters of the greatest importance, was not under any Character in the Court: And when We have named those, who according to their duty did wait upon the King, We shall likewise name those, who, being under the same obligation, stayed and acted with the Parliament against him.

Of the Lord Littleton.

THE Lord *Littleton* was Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, of whom so much hath been said before, that there is no need of Enlargement upon him in this place. His parts, which in the profession of the Law were very great, were not very applicable to the business now in hand; and though, from the time of the King's coming to *Oxford*, the King had confidence enough in him, to leave the Seal in his Custody, and he would have been glad to have done any service; yet, by ill fortune, he had drawn so great a disesteem upon him from most Men, that he gave little Reputation to the Council, and had little Authority in it.

Of the Duke of Richmond.

THE Duke of *Richmond*, as he was of the noblest extraction, being nearest allied to the King's Person of any Man who was not descended from King *James*; so he was very worthy of all the grace and favour the King had shew'd him; who had taken great care of his Education, and sent him into

France.

France, Italy, and Spain, where he was created a Grandee of that Kingdom; and as soon as he return'd, though he was scarce one and twenty years of Age, made him a Privy Counsellor; and shortly after, out of his abundant kindness to both Families, married him to the sole Daughter of his dead Favourite, the Duke of *Buckingham*; with whom he receiv'd twenty thousand pounds in Portion; and his Majesty's bounty was likewise very great to him; so that, as he was very eminent in his Title, he was at great ease in his Fortune. He was a Man of very good parts, and an excellent understanding; yet, which is no common infirmity, so diffident of himself, that he was sometimes led by Men who judg'd much worse. He was of a great, and haughty Spirit, and so punctual in point of Honour, that he never swerv'd a tittle. He had so entire a Resignation of himself to the King, that he abhorr'd all Artifices to shelter himself from the prejudice of those, who, how Powerful soever, fail'd in their duty to his Majesty; and therefore he was pursued with all imaginable malice by them, as One that would have no Quarter, upon so infamous Terms, as but looking on whilst his Master was ill used. As he had receiv'd great Bounties from the King, so he Sacrificed all he had to his Service, as soon as his occasions stood in need of it; and lent his Majesty, at one time, twenty thousand pounds together; and, as soon as the War begun, engaged his three Brothers, all Gallant Gentlemen, in the Service; in which they all lost their Lives. Himself liv'd, with unspotted Fidelity, some years after the Murther of his Master, and was suffer'd to put him into his Grave; and Dyed, without the comfort of seeing the Resurrection of the Crown.

THE Marquis of *Hertford* was a Man of great Honour, of the Marquis of Hertford, and Fortune, and Interest in the Affection of the People; and had always undergone hard measure from the Court, where he long receiv'd no Countenance, and had no design of making advantage from it. For, though he was a Man of very good parts, and conversant in Books, both in the Latin and Greek Languages, and of a clear Courage, of which he had given frequent Evidence; yet he was so wholly given up to a Country life, where he liv'd in Splendour, that he had an aversion, and even an unaptness, for Business: Besides his particular Friendship with the Earl of *Essex*, whose Sister he had Married, his greatest Acquaintance and Conversation had been with those who had the Reputation of being best affected to the Liberty of the Kingdom, and least in love with the humour of the Court; many of whom were the chief of those who engaged themselves most factiously, and furiously against the King. But as soon as he discern'd their

violent purposes against the Government establish'd, before he suspected their blacker designs, he severed himself from them; and, from the beginning of the Parliament, never concurr'd with them in any one Vote dishonourable to the King, or in the prosecution of the Earl of *Strafford*. He did accept the Government of the Prince of *Wales*, as is mention'd before, purely out of obedience to the King; and, no doubt, it was a great service; though for the performance of the Office of a Governour, he never thought himself fit, nor meddled with it. He left *Tork*, as is remember'd, to form an Army for the King in the West, where his Interest was; but he found those parts so corrupted, and an Army from the Parliament was poured down so soon upon him, that there was nothing for the present to be done worthy of his presence; so that he sent the small party, that was with him, farther West to *Cornwal*; where, by degrees, they grew able to raise an Army, with which they joyn'd with him afterwards again; and himself return'd to the King at *Oxford*, about the time when the Treaty begun.

Of the Earl
of South-
ampton.

THE Earl of *Southampton* was indeed a great Man in all respects, and brought very much Reputation to the King's Cause. He was of a nature much inclined to Melancholy, and being born a Younger Brother, and his Father, and his Elder Brother dying upon the point together, whilst he was but a Boy, he was at first much troubled to be call'd *my Lord*; and with the noise of Attendance; so much he Then delighted to be alone. He had a great Spirit; he had never had any conversation in the Court, nor obligation to it. On the contrary, he had undergone some hardship from it; which made it believ'd, that he would have been ready to have taken all occasions of being severe towards it. And therefore, in the beginning of the Parliament, no Man was more courted by the Managers of those Designs. He had great dislike of the High Courts, which had been taken in the Government, and a particular prejudice to the Earl of *Strafford*, for some exorbitant proceedings. But, as soon as he saw the ways of reverence and duty towards the King declined, and the prosecution of the Earl of *Strafford* to exceed the limits of Justice, he opposed them vigorously in all their proceedings. He was a Man of great sharpness of Judgement, a very quick Apprehension, and that readiness of Expression upon any sudden Debate, that no Man deliver'd himself more advantageously, and weightily, and more efficaciously with the hearers; so that no Man gave them more trouble in his opposition, or drew so many to a concurrence with him in opinion. He had no relation to, or dependence upon the Court, or purpose to have any; but wholly pursued the publick Interest. It was long

long before he could be prevail'd with to be a Counsellor, and longer before he would be admitted to be of the Bed-Chamber; and receiv'd both Honours the rather, because, after he had refused to take a Protestation, which both Houses had order'd to be taken by all their Members, They had likewise Voted, "that no Man should be capable of any Preferment in Church or State, who refused to take the same; and he would shew how much he contemn'd those Votes. He went with the King to *York*; was most solicitous, as hath been said, for the offer of Peace at *Nottingham*; and was with him at *Edge-hill*; and came and stayed with him at *Oxford* to the end of the War, taking all opportunities to advance all motions towards Peace; and, as no Man was more punctual in performing his own duty, so no Man had more Melancholy apprehensions of the issue of the War; which is all shall be said of him in this place, there being frequent occasions to mention him, in the continuance of this discourse.

THE Earl of *Leicester* was a Man of great parts, very conversant in Books, and much addicted to the Mathematicks; and though he had been a Soldier, and Commanded a Regiment, in the Service of the States of the United Provinces, and was afterwards employed in several Embassies, as in *Denmark*, and in *France*, was in truth rather a Speculative, than a Practical Man; and expected a greater Certitude in the consultation of business, than the business of this world is capable of: which temper prov'd very inconvenient to him through the course of his Life. He was, after the death of the Earl of *Strafford*, by the concurrent kindness and esteem both of King and Queen, call'd from his Embassy in *France*, to be Lieutenant of the Kingdom of *Ireland*; and, in a very short time after, unhappily lost that kindness and esteem; And being, about the time of the King's coming to *Oxford*, ready to Embark at *Chester*, for the execution of his Charge, he was required to attend his Majesty, for farther Instructions, at *Oxford*; where he remain'd; and though he was of the Council, and sometimes present, he desired not to have any part in the business; and lay under many reproaches and jealousies, which he deserv'd not: For he was a Man of Honour, and Fidelity to the King, and his greatest misfortunes proceeded from the staggering, and irresolution in his Nature.

The Earl of *Bristol* was a Man of a grave aspect, of a presence that drew respect, and of long experience in Affairs of great Importance. He had been, by the extraordinary favour of King *James* to his Person (for he was a very handsome Man) and his parts, which were naturally great, and had been improv'd by good Education at home and abroad, sent Embassadour into *Spain*, before he was thirty years of Age;

and afterwards in several other Embassies; and at last, again into *Spain*; where he Treated, and Concluded the Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and that Infanta; which was afterwards dissolv'd. He was by King *James* made of the Privy Council, Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, an Earl, and a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince, and was then crush'd by the power of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the prejudice the Prince himself had contracted against him, during his Highness's being in *Spain*; upon which he was imprison'd upon his return; and after the Duke's death, the King retain'd so strict a Memory of all that Duke's Friendships and Displeasures, that the Earl of *Bristol* could never recover any admission to Court; but liv'd in the Country, in ease, and plenty in his Fortune, and in great Reputation with all who had not an implicit Reverence for the Court; and before, and in the beginning of the Parliament, appear'd in the head of all the discontented Party; but quickly left them, when they enter'd upon their unwarrantable Violences, and grew so much into their disfavour, that after the King was gone to *York*, upon some expressions he used in the House of Peers in Debate, they Committed him to the Tower; from whence being released, in two or three days, he made hast to *York* to the King; who had before restored him to his place in the Council, and the Bed-Chamber. He was with him at *Edge-hill*, and came with him from thence to *Oxford*; and, at the end of the War, went into *France*; where he dyed; that Party having so great an Animosity against him, that they would not suffer him to live in *England*, nor to compound for his Estate, as they suffer'd others to do, who had done them more hurt. Though he was a Man of great parts, and a Wise Man, yet he had been for the most part single, and by himself, in business; which he managed with good sufficiency; and had liv'd little in consort, so that in Council he was passionate, and supercilious, and did not bear contradiction without much passion, and was too voluminous in discourse; so that he was not consider'd there with much respect; to the lessening whereof no Man contributed more than his Son, the Lord *Digby*; who shortly after came to sit there as Secretary of State, and had not that reverence for his Father's Wisdom, which his great experience deserv'd, though he failed not in his Piety towards him.

Of the Earl
of New-
Castle.

THE Earl of *New-Castle* was a Person well bred, and of a full and plentiful Fortune; and had been chosen by the King to be Governour to the Prince of *Wales*, and made of the Council, and resign'd that Office of Governour to the Marquis of *Hertford*, for the reasons which have been mention'd. He was not at *Oxford*, but remained at *New-Castle*, with the King's

King's Commission to be General of those Parts; being a Man of great Courage, and signal Fidelity to the Crown, of whom there will be more occasion hereafter to enlarge.

THE Earl of *Berk-shire* was of the Council, but not yet at *Oxford*; having been, about, or before the setting up of the Standard, taken Prisoner in *Oxford-shire*, and committed to the Tower, upon an imagination that he had some purpose to have executed the Commission of Array in that County; but they afterwards set him at Liberty, as a Man that could do them no harm any where; and then he came to *Oxford*, with the Title, and pretences of a Man, who had been imprison'd for the King, and thereby merited more, than his Majesty had to give. His Affection for the Crown was good, but his Interest little.

Of the Earl of Berk-shire and others.

THE Lord *Dunsmore* had been made a Privy Counsellor, after so many, who had deserv'd worse, had been call'd thither; and was ready to do whatever he was directed; he was a Man of a rough, and tempestuous Nature, violent in pursuing what he will'd, without judgement, or temper to know the way of bringing it to pass; however, he had some kind of power with froward and discontented Men; at least he had credit to make them more indisposed. But his greatest Reputation was, that the Earl of *Southampton* Married his Daughter, a beautiful, and a worthy Lady.

THE Lord *Seymour*, being Brother to the Marquis of *Hertford*, was a Man of Interest, and Reputation; he had been always very popular in the Country; where he had liv'd out of the grace of the Court; and his parts, and judgement, were best in those things which concern'd the good husbandry, and the Common Administration of Justice to the People. In the beginning of the Parliament, he serv'd as Knight of the Shire for *Wilt-shire*, where he resided; and behaving himself with less violence in the House of Commons, than many of his old Friends did, and having a great friendship for the Earl of *Strafford*, he was, by His interposition, call'd to the House of Peers; where he carried himself very well in all things relating to the Crown; and when the King went to *York*, he left the Parliament, and follow'd his Majesty, and remain'd firm in his fidelity.

THE Lord *Savil* was likewise of the Council, being first Controller, and then Treasurer of the Household, in recompence of his discovery of all the Treasons, and Conspiracies, after they had taken effect, and could not be punish'd. He was a Man of an Ambitious and Restless Nature; of Parts and Wit enough; but, in his disposition, and inclination, so False, that he could never be believ'd, or depended upon. His particular Malice to the Earl of *Strafford*, which he had suck'd

in with his Milk (there having always been an immortal Feud between the Families; and the Earl had shrewdly overborne his Father) had engaged him with all Persons who were willing, and like to be able, to do Him mischief. And so, having opportunity when the King was at the *Berks*, and made the first unhappy Pacification, to enter into conversation, and acquaintance, with those who were then employed as Commissioners from the *Scots*, there was a secret Intelligence enter'd into between them from that time; and he was a principal Instrument to engage that Nation, to march into *England* with an Army; which they did the next year after. To which purpose, he sent them a Letter, sign'd with the Names of several of the *English* Nobility, inviting them to enter the Kingdom, and making great promises of Assistance; which Names were forged by himself, without the privity of those who were named. And when all this mischief was brought to pass, and he found his credit in the Parliament not so great as other Mens, he insinuated himself into credit with some body, who brought him to the King or Queen, to whom he confess'd all he had done to bring in the *Scots*, and Who had conspired with him, and all the secrets he knew, with a thousand Protestations "to repair all by future Loyalty, and Service; for which he was promised a White Staff, which the King had then resolv'd to take from *Sr Henry Vane*, who held it with the Secretaries Office; which he had accordingly; though all his discovery was of no other use, than that the King knew many had been False, whom he could not punish; and some, whom he could not suspect. When the King came to *York*, where this Lord's Fortune, and Interest lay, his Reputation was so low, that the Gentlemen of Interest, who wish'd well to the King's Service, would not communicate with him; and, after the King's remove from thence, the Earl of *New-Castle* found cause to have such a jealousy of him, that he thought it necessary to imprison him; and afterwards sent him to *Oxford*, where he so well purged himself, that he was again restored to his Office. But in the end he behaved himself so ill, that the King put him again out of his place, and committed him to Prison, and never after admitted him to his presence; nor would any Man of Quality ever after keep any correspondence with him.

OF the Lord *Falkland*, and *Sr John Colepepper*, there hath been so much said before, that there is no occasion to add to it in this place. There will be reason too soon to lament the unhappy death of the former; and the latter, who never fail'd in his Fidelity, will be very often mention'd throughout the ensuing discourse.

SECRETARY *Nicholas* was a very honest, and industrious Man,

Man, and always versed in business; which few of the other were, or had been. After some time spent in the University of Oxford, and then in the Middle Temple, he liv'd some years in France; and was afterwards Secretary to the Lord Zouch, who was a Privy Counsellor, and Warden of the Cinque Ports; and thereby he understood all that Jurisdiction, which is very great, and exclusive to the Admiral. And when that Lord, many years after, surrender'd that Office to the King, to the end that it might be conferr'd upon the Duke of Buckingham, his Secretary was likewise preferr'd with the Office; and so, in a short time, became Secretary of the Admiralty, as well as of the Cinque Ports; and was entirely trusted, and esteem'd by that great Favourite. After his death, he continued in the same place, whilst the Office was in Commission, and was then made Clerk of the Council, from whence the King call'd him to be Secretary of State, after Secretary Windibank fled the Kingdom; upon his Majesty's own observation of his Virtue, and Fidelity, and without any other recommendation: and he was in truth, throughout his whole Life, a Person of very good Reputation, and of singular Integrity.

THERE remain only two of the Council then at Oxford, who are not yet named, Sr John Banks, who had been Attorney General, and was then Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, a Grave, and a Learned Man in the Profession of the Law; and Sr Peter Wych, who had been Embassadour at Constantinople; from whence he return'd very little before the Troubles, and gratified Sr Thomas Jermyn very liberally for his White Staff, when the Court was very Low, and so was made a Privy Counsellor, and Controller of the Household. He was a very honest, plain Man; and dyed very shortly after the Treaty, and was succeeded by Sr Christopher Hatton, a Person of great Reputation at that time, which in few years he found a way to diminish.

OF those who were of the King's Council, and who stayed and acted with the Parliament, the Earl of Northumberland may well be reckon'd the Chief, in respect of the Antiquity and Splendour of his Family, his great Fortune, and Estate, and the general Reputation he had among the greatest Men, and his great Interest, by being High Admiral of England. Though he was of a Family, that had lain under frequent blemishes of want of Fidelity to the Crown, and his Father had been long a Prisoner in the Tower, under some suspicion of having some knowledge of the Gun-Powder Treason; and after he was set at Liberty, by the mediation and credit of the Earl of Carlisle, who had, without, and against his consent, Married his Daughter, he continued, to his death, under

Of those of the Privy Counsellors who stayed with the Parliament. Of the Earl of Northumberland.

der such a restraint, that he had not liberty to live and reside upon his Northern Estate: Yet this Lord's Father was no sooner dead, than the King pour'd out his Favours upon him, in a wonderful measure: he begun with conferring the Order of the Garter upon him, and shortly after made him of his Privy Council; when a great Fleet of Ships was prepared, by which the King meant that his Neighbour Princes should discern, that he intended to maintain, and preserve his Sovereignty at Sea, he sent the Earl of *Northumberland* Admiral of that Fleet, a much greater than the Crown had put to Sea, since the death of *Queen Elizabeth*, that he might breed him for that Service, before he gave him a more absolute Command. And after he had, in that Capacity, exercised himself a year or two, the King made him Lord High Admiral of *England*; which was such a quick succession of Bounties and Favours, as had rarely befallen any Man, who had not been attended with the Envy of a Favourite. He was, in all his deportment, a very great Man, and that which look'd like Formality, was a Punctuality in preserving his dignity, from the invasion and intrusion of bold Men, which no Man of that Age so well preserv'd himself from. Though his Notions were not large or deep, yet his temper, and reservedness in discourse, and his reservedness in speaking, got him the Reputation of an Able, and a Wise Man; which he made evident in the excellent Government of his Family, where no Man was more absolutely obeyed; and no Man had ever fewer idle words to Answer for; and in debates of importance, he always express'd himself very pertinently. If he had thought the King as much above Him, as he thought Himself above other considerable Men, he would have been a good Subject; but the extreme undervaluing those, and not enough valuing the King, made him liable to the impressions, which they who approach'd him by those Addresses of Reverence, and Esteem, that usually insinuate into such Natures, made in him. So that after he was first prevail'd upon, not to do that which in honour and gratitude he was obliged to (which is a very pestilent corruption) he was, with the more Facility, led to concur in what, in Duty and Fidelity, he ought not to have done, and which at first he never intended to have done. And so he concurr'd in all the Counsels which produced the Rebellion, and stay'd with them to support it; which is as much, as is necessary to say of him in this place, since there will be often occasion hereafter to mention him, with some enlargement.

of the Earl
of *Pembroke*.

THE Earl of *Pembroke* hath been enough mention'd in a better conjuncture of time, when his Virtues were thought greater than they were, and his Vices very little discern'd. Yet, by what was then said, his Nature, and his Parts might be well

well enough understood, and as neither the One, nor the Other were improveable, so they were lyable to be corrupted by any Assaults; his Understanding being easy to be imposed upon, and his Nature being made up of very strong Passions. Whilst there was Tranquillity in the Kingdom, he enjoyed his full share in Pomp and Greatness; the largeness and plentifulness of his Fortune being attended with reverence, and dependence from the People where his Estate, and Interest lay, and where indeed he was a great Man; getting an affection and esteem from Persons who had no dependence upon him, by his magnificent Living, and discoursing highly of Justice, and of the Protestant Religion; inveighing bitterly against Popery, and telling what he used to say to the King; and speaking frankly of the oversights of the Court, that he might not be thought a Slave to it. He had been bred, from his Cradle, in the Court; and had that perfection of a Courtier, that as he was not wary enough in offending Men, so he was forward in acknowledging it, even to his Inferiors, and to impute it to his Passion, and ask pardon for it; which made him be thought a well natur'd Man. Besides, he had an Office which, at that time, entitled him to the exercise of some Rudeness, and the good Order of the Court had some dependence upon his Incivilities.

THERE were very few great Persons in Authority, who were not frequently offended by him, by sharp and scandalous discourses, and invectives against them, behind their backs; for which they found it best to receive satisfaction by submissions, and professions, and protestations, which was a Coin he was plentifully supplied with for the payment of all those Debts; whilst the King retain'd only some kindness for him, without any great esteem of him. But, from the beginning of the Parliament, when he saw, and heard a People stout enough to inveigh against the King's Authority, and to fall upon those Persons, whom he had always more fear'd than lov'd; and found that there were two Armies in the Kingdom, and that the King had not the entire Command of either of them; when the Decrees of the Star-Chamber, and the Orders and Acts of the Council, in all which he had concurr'd, were call'd in question, and like to be made penal to those, who would not redeem their past Errors by future Service; his Fear, which was the Passion always predominant in him, above all his Choler and Rage, prevail'd so far over him, that he gave himself up into the hands of the Lord *Say*, to dispose of him as He thought fit, till the King took the White Staff from him, and gave it to the Earl of *Essex*, as hath been related at large before.

FROM this time, he took himself to be absolv'd from all obligations,

obligations, and dependence upon the Court, which he had liv'd too long in, to be willing to quit; and therefore the more closely adhered to Them by whose power he thought he might get thither again; and, for some time, entertain'd the hope of obtaining the other Superior White Staff; which remain'd then in the King's hand by the departure of the Earl of *Arundel* into the parts beyond the Seas. But when he saw that Staff given to the Duke of *Richmond*, who was then made Lord Steward of the Household, he gave over those weak imaginations, and concurr'd roundly in all the Lord *Say* propos'd; and was so weak still, as to believe They never meant to Rebel against the King; or that the King could long subsist, without putting himself into Their hands. When They had any thing to do in the West, as the exercise of the Militia, or executing any other Ordinance, they sent him into the Country, and shew'd him to the People, under the Conduct of two or three Members of the House, in whom they could Confide; and he talk'd "of the King's evil Counsellors, who carried him from his Parliament; and of the Malcontents; and against Scandalous Ministers; whilst none of his old Friends came near him. And when they were resolv'd no longer to trust the Isle of *Wight* in the hands of the Earl of *Portland*, who had been long the King's Governour there, and had an absolute power over the Affections of that People, They preferr'd the poor Earl of *Pembroke* to it, by an Ordinance of Parliament; who kindly accepted it, as a Testimony of their Favour; and so got into actual Rebellion, which he never intended to do. It is pity to say more of him, and less could not be said to make him known.

Of the Earl
of Essex.

THE Earl of *Essex* hath been enough mention'd before; his Nature, and his Understanding have been describ'd; his former disobligations from the Court, and then his Introduction into it, and afterwards his being displaced from the Office he held in it, have been set forth; and there will be occasion, hereafter, to renew the discourse of him; and therefore it shall suffice in this place, to say, that a weak Judgement, and some Vanity, and much Pride, will hurry a Man into as unwarrantable, and as violent Attempts, as the greatest, and most unlimited, and insatiable Ambition will do. He had no Ambition of Title, or Office, or Preferment, but only to be kindly look'd upon; and kindly spoken to, and quietly to enjoy his own Fortune: and, without doubt, no Man in his Nature more abhorr'd Rebellion than He did, nor could He have been led into it by any open, or transparent Temptation, but by a thousand disguises and couzenages. His Pride suppli'd his want of Ambition, and he was angry to see any other Man more respected than himself, because he thought He

He deserv'd it more, and did better requite it. For he was, in his Friendships, just, and constant; and would not have practiced foully against those he took to be Enemies. No Man had credit enough with him, to corrupt him in point of Loyalty to the King, whilst he thought himself Wise enough to know, what Treason was. But the new Doctrine, and distinction of Allegiance, and of the King's power in and out of Parliament, and the new Notions of Ordinances, were too hard for him, and did really intoxicate his Understanding, and made him quit his own, to follow Theirs, who, he thought, wish'd as well, and judg'd better than himself. His Vanity dispos'd him to be his Excellency; and his Weakness, to believe that he should be the General in the Houses, as well as in the Field; and be able to govern their Counsels, and restrain their Passions, as well as to Fight their Battles; and that, by this means, he should become the Preserver, and not the Destroyer of the King and Kingdom. With this ill grounded Confidence, he Launch'd out into that Sea, where he met with nothing but Rocks and Shelves, and from whence, he could never discover any safe Port to Harbour in.

THE Earl of *Salisbury* had been born and bred in Court, ^{of the Earl} and had the advantage of a descent from a Father, and a ^{of Salisbury} Grand-father, who had been very Wise Men, and great Ministers of State in the Eyes of *Christendom*; whose Wisdom and Virtues died with them, and their Children only inherited their Titles. He had been admitted of the Council to King *James*; from which time he continued so obsequious to the Court, that he never fail'd in overacting all that he was required to do. No Act of power was ever propos'd, which He did not advance, and execute His part with the utmost Rigour. No Man so great a Tyrant in his Country, or was less swayed by any motives of Justice or Honour. He was a Man of no words, except in Hunting, and Hawking. In matters of State, and Council, He always concurr'd in what was propos'd for the King, and cancell'd and repaired all those Transgressions, by concurring in all that was propos'd against Him, as soon as any such Propositions were made. Yet when the King went to *York*, He likewise attended upon his Majesty; and, at that distance, seem'd to have recover'd some Courage, and concurr'd in all Counsels which were taken to undeceive the People, and to make the proceedings of the Parliament odious to all the world. But, on a suddain, he caus'd his Horses to attend him out of the Town, and having plac'd fresh ones at a distance, he fled back to *London*, with the expedition such Men use, when they are most affraid; and never after denied to do any thing that was required

quired of him; and when the War was ended, and *Cromwell* had put down the House of Peers, he got himself to be chosen a Member of the House of Commons; and sat with them, as of their own Body; and was esteem'd accordingly.

*Of the Earl
of War-
wick.*

THE Earl of *Warwick* was of the King's Council too, but was not wonder'd at for leaving the King, whom he had never well serv'd; nor did he look upon himself as obliged by that Honour, which, he knew, was conferr'd upon him in the croud of those whom his Majesty had no esteem of, or ever propos'd to Trust; so His business was to joyn with those to whom he ow'd his Promotion. He was a Man of a pleasant, and Companionable Wit, and Conversation; of an universal Jollity; and such a licence in his Words, and in his Actions, that a Man of less Virtue could not be found out: so that one might reasonably have believ'd, that a Man so qualified, would not have been able to have contributed much to the overthrow of a Nation, and Kingdom. But with all these faults, he had great Authority and Credit with that People, who, in the beginning of the Troubles, did all the mischief; and by opening his doors, and making his House the Rendezvous of all the Silenced Ministers, in the time when there was Authority to Silence them, and spending a good part of his Estate, of which he was very prodigal, upon them, and by being present with them at their Devotions, and making himself merry With them, and At them, which they dispensed with, He became the head of That Party; and got the Style of a Godly Man. When the King revoked the Earl of *Northumberland's* Commission of Admiral, He presently accepted the Office from the Parliament; and never quitted their Service; and when *Cromwell* disbanded that Parliament, he betook himself to the protection of the Protector; Married his Heir to his Daughter; and liv'd in so entire a Confidence, and Friendship with him, that when the Protector dy'd, he exceedingly lamented him. He left his Estate, which before was Subject to a vast debt, more improv'd and repair'd, than any Man who Traffick'd in that desperate Commodity of Rebellion.

*Of the Earl
of Holland.*

THE Earl of *Holland* had grown up under the shadow of the Court, and had been too long a Counsellor before, and contributed too much to the Counsels which had most prejudiced the Crown, to have declined waiting upon it, when it needed Attendance. But he chose to stay with the Parliament; and there hath been enough said of him before, and more must be said hereafter. And therefore it shall suffice Now, to say, that there was a very froward Fate attended all, or most of the Posterity of that Bed, from whence He and his Brother of *Warwick* had their original; though He, and some others among them, had many very good Parts, and excellent Endowments.

THE

THE Earl of *Manchester*, of the whole Cabal, was, in a ^{Of the Earl} thousand respects, most unfit for the Company he kept. He ^{of Man-} was of a gentle, and a generous Nature; civilly bred; had ^{chester.} Reverence and Affection for the Person of the King, upon whom he had attended in *Spain*; lov'd his Country with too unskilful a tenderness; and was of so excellent a Temper, and Disposition, that the barbarous times, and the rough parts he was forced to act in them, did not wipe out, or much deface those Marks: inasmuch as he was never guilty of any rudeness towards those he was obliged to oppress, but perform'd always as good Offices towards his old Friends, and all other Persons, as the iniquity of the time, and the nature of the Employment he was in, would permit him to do; which kind of humanity could be imputed to very few.

HE was at last dismiss'd, and remov'd from any Trust, for no other reason, but because he was not Wicked enough. He Married first into the Family of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and, by His Favour, and Interest, was call'd to the House of Peers in the life of his Father; and made Baron of *Kimbolton*, though he was commonly treated and known by the Name of the Lord *Mandevil*; and was as much addicted to the service of the Court as he ought to be. But the death of his Lady, and the Murder of that great Favourite, his second Marriage with the Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick*, and the very narrow, and restrain'd maintenance, which he receiv'd from his Father, and which would in no degree defray the expences of the Court, forced him too soon to retire to a Country Life; and totally to abandon both the Court, and *London*; whither he came very seldom in many years. And in this retirement, the discountenance which his Father underwent at Court, the conversation of that Family into which he was Married, the bewitching Popularity, which flow'd upon him with a wonderful torrent, and the want of those Guards which a good Education should have supplied him with, by the clear Notion of the Foundation of the Ecclesiastical, as well as the Civil Government, made a great impression upon his Understanding (for his Nature was never corrupted, but remain'd still in it's Integrity) and made him believe that the Court was inclin'd to hurt, and even to destroy the Country; and from particular Instances to make general, and dangerous conclusions. They who had been always Enemies to the Church prevail'd with him to lessen his reverence for it, and having not been well instructed to defend it, he yielded too easily to those who confidently assaulted it; and thought it had great errors, which were necessary to be reform'd; and that all means are lawful to compass that which is necessary. Whereas the true Logick is, that the thing desired is not necessary,

if the ways are unlawful which are propos'd to bring it to pass. No Man was courted with more application, by Persons of all conditions, and qualities; and his Person was not less acceptable to those of steady and uncorrupted Principles, than to those of deprav'd inclinations. And in the end, even his Piety administer'd some excuse to him; for his Father's infirmities, and transgressions, had so far expos'd him to the inquisition of Justice, that the Son found it necessary to procure the Assistance, and Protection of those who were strong enough to violate Justice it self; and so he adhered to those who were best able to defend his Father's Honour, and thereby to secure his own Fortune; and concurr'd with them in their most violent designs, and gave reputation to them. And the Court as unskilfully took an occasion too soon to make him desperate, by accusing him of High Treason, when (though he might be guilty enough) he was, without doubt, in his Intentions, at least, as innocent as any of the leading Men.

It is some Evidence, that God Almighty saw his heart was not so malicious as the rest, that he preserv'd Him to the end of the confusion; when he appear'd as glad of the King's Restoration, and had heartily wish'd it long before, and very few, who had a hand in the contrivance of the Rebellion, gave so manifest tokens of Repentance as He did; and having, for many years, undergone the jealousy, and hatred of *Cromwell*, as one who abominated the Murder of the King, and all the Barbarous proceedings against the Lives of Men in cold Blood; the King upon his return receiv'd him into grace and favour, which he never after forfeited by any undutiful behaviour.

Of the Lord
Say.

THE last of those Counsellors which were made after the faction prevail'd in Parliament, who were all made to advance an Accommodation, and who adhered to the Parliament, was the Lord *Say*; a Man, who had the deepest hand in the original Contrivance of all the Calamities which beset this unhappy Kingdom, though he had not the least thought of dissolving the Monarchy, and less of levelling the Ranks, and Distinctions of Men. For no Man valued himself more upon his Title, or had more Ambition to make it greater, and to raise his Fortune, which was but moderate for his Title. He was of a proud, morose, and sullen Nature; conversed much with Books, having been bred a Scholar, and (though nobly born) a Fellow of New College in *Oxford*; to which he claim'd a right, by the Alliance he pretended to have from *William of Wickham*, the Founder; which he made good by a far fetch'd Pedigree, through so many hundred years, half the time whereof extinguishes all relation of kindred. However upon that pretence, that College hath been seldom with-

out one of that Lord's Family. His parts were not quick, but so much above many of his own Rank, that he had always great Credit, and Authority in Parliament; and the more, for taking all opportunities to oppose the Court; and He had, with his Milk, suck'd in an implacable Malice against the Government of the Church. When the Duke of *Buckingham* propos'd to himself, after his return with the Prince from *Spain*, to make himself Popular, by breaking that match, and to be gracious with the Parliament, as for a short time he was, he resolv'd to embrace the Friendship of the Lord *Say*; who was as solicitous to climb by that Ladder. But the Duke quickly found him of too Imperious, and Pedantical a Spirit, and to affect too dangerous mutations; and so cast him off; and from that time he gave over any pursuit in Court, and liv'd narrowly in the Country; having conversation with very few, but such who had great Malignity against the Church and State, and fomented their inclinations, and gave them instructions how to behave themselves with caution, and to do their business with most security; and was in truth the Pilot, that Steer'd all those Vessels which were freighted with Sedition to destroy the Government.

HE found always some way to make professions of duty to the King, and made several undertakings to do great Services, which he could not, or would not, make good; and made hast to possess himself of any Preferment he could compass, whilst his Friends were content to attend a more proper conjuncture. So he got the Mastership of the Wards shortly after the beginning of the Parliament, and was as solicitous to be Treasurer after the death of the Earl of *Bedford*; and, if he could have satisfied his Rancour in any degree against the Church, he would have been ready to have carried the Privilege as high as ever it was. When he thought there was mischief enough done, he would have stopp'd the current, and have diverted farther Fury; but he then found he had only Authority, and Credit to do hurt; none to heal the wounds he had given; and fell into as much Contempt with those whom he had led, as he was with those whom he had undone.

THE last of the Counsellors who stay'd with the Parliament, was *Sr Henry Vane*; who had so much excuse for it, that, being thrown out of Court, he had no whither else to go; and promis'd himself to be much made of by Them, for whose sakes only he had brought that infamy upon himself. He was of very ordinary parts by Nature, and had not cultivated them at all by Art; for he was Illiterate. But being of a stirring and boisterous disposition, very industrious, and very bold, he still wrought himself into some employment. He had been acquainted with the vicissitudes of Court, and had

*Of Sr Henry
Vane the
elder.*

had undergone some severe Mortification, by the disfavour of the Duke of *Buckingham*, in the beginning of the King's Reign. But the Duke was no sooner dead (which made it believ'd that he had made his Peace in his life time, for the King was not, in a long time after, reconciled to any Man who was eminently in the Duke's disfavour) but he was again brought into the Court, and made a Counsellor, and Controller of the Household; which place he became well, and was fit for; and if he had never taken other preferment, he might probably have continued a good Subject. For he had not inclination to change, and in his judgement he had liked the Government both of Church, and State; and only desired to raise his Fortune, which was not great, and which he found many ways to improve. And he was wont to say, "that he never had desired other preferment; and believ'd, that Marquis *Hamilton* (with whom he had never kept fair quarter) when he first propos'd to him to be Secretary of State, did it to affront him; well knowing his want of Ability for the discharge of that Office. But, without doubt, as the fatal preferring him to that place was of unspeakable prejudice to the King, so his receiving it was to his own destruction. His malice to the Earl of *Strafford* (who had unwisely provoked him, wantonly, and out of contempt) transported him to all imaginable thoughts of Revenge; which is a Guest, that naturally disquiets, and tortures those who entertain it, with all the perplexities they contrive for others; and That dispos'd him to sacrifice his Honour and Faith, and his Master's Interest, that he might ruin the Earl, and was buried Himself in the same ruin; for which being justly chastised by the King, and turn'd out of his Service, he was left to his own despair; and, though he concurr'd in all the malicious designs against the King, and against the Church, he grew into the hatred, and contempt, of those who had made most use of him; and dyed in universal reproach, and not condemn'd more by any of his Enemies, than by his own Son; who had been his principal Conductor to Destruction.

WE now pass to the Transactions in the Treaty it self, which was in the beginning of the year 1643.

THE END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

T H E

History of the Rebellion, &c.

B O O K VII.

Mic. III. 11.

The heads thereof judge for reward, and the Priests thereof teach for hire, and the Prophets thereof divine for money: yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord among us? none evil can come upon us.

Mic. VII. 4.

The best of them is as a brier: the most upright is sharper than a thorn-hedge: the day of thy watchmen, and thy visitation cometh; now shall be their perplexity.

WHEN the Treaty was first consented to by the two Houses, they order'd, that it should be upon the first Proposition made by his Majesty, and the first Proposition made by Themselves, and that those should be first concluded on, before they proceeded to Treat upon any of the other Propositions. So that the Committee, in the first place, applied themselves to his Majesty, upon his own first Proposition, which was, "That his own Revenue, Magazines, Towns, Forts, and Ships, which had been taken, or kept from him by Force, should be forthwith restored to him. To which the Committee answer'd, "That the two Houses had made use of his Majesty's own Revenue, but in a very small proportion, which in a good part had been employed in the maintenance of his Children, according to

The Sum of the demands and concessions of both sides upon the first Article of the Treaty.

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P

"the

"the allowance establish'd by himself. And the Houses would
 "satisfy what should remain due to his Majesty of those Sums,
 "which they had receiv'd; and would leave the same to him
 "for the time to come. And they desired likewise, that his
 "Majesty would restore, what had been taken for his use,
 "upon any of the Bills, assign'd to other purposes by several
 "Acts of Parliament, or out of the provision made for the
 "War of *Ireland*: That all the Armes, and Ammunition
 "taken out of his Magazines should be deliver'd into his
 "Stores, and whatsoever should be wanting they would sup-
 "ply in kind, according to the Proportions they had receiv'd:
 "but they propos'd, the Persons, to whose charge those pub-
 "lick Magazines should be committed, being nominated by
 "his Majesty, might be such, as the two Houses of Parlia-
 "ment might Confide in, and that his Majesty would restore
 "all such Armes and Ammunition, as had been taken for his
 "use, from the several Counties, Cities, and Towns.

"THAT the two Houses would remove the Garrisons out
 "of all Towns, and Forts in their hands, wherein there were
 "no Garrisons before these Troubles, and slight all Fortifi-
 "cations made since that time, and those Towns, and Forts,
 "to continue in the same condition they were in before; and
 "that those Garrisons should not be renewed, or the Fortifi-
 "cations repaired without consent of his Majesty, and both
 "Houses of Parliament. That the Towns, and Forts, which
 "were within the jurisdiction of the Cinque Ports, should be
 "deliver'd into the hands of such a Noble Person, as the King
 "should appoint to be Warden of the Cinque Ports, being
 "such a one as they should Confide in. That *Portsmouth*
 "should be reduced to the number of the Garrison, as was at
 "that time when the Lords and Commons undertook the cu-
 "stody of it; and that all other Forts, Castles, and Towns,
 "in which Garrisons had been kept, and had been since the
 "beginning of these Troubles taken into Their care, and cu-
 "stody, should be reduced to the same establishment, they had
 "in the year 1636, and should be so continued; and that all
 "those Towns, Forts, and Castles, should be deliver'd up in-
 "to the hands of such Persons of Quality, and Trust, to be
 "likewise nominated by his Majesty, as the two Houses
 "should Confide in. That the Warden of the Cinque Ports,
 "and all Governours, and Commanders of Towns, Castles,
 "and Forts, should keep the same Towns, Castles, and Forts,
 "respectively, for the Service of his Majesty, and the safety
 "of the Kingdom; and that they should not admit into them
 "any Forreign Forces, or any other Forces rais'd without his
 "Majesty's Authority, and Consent of the two Houses of
 "Parliament; and they should use their utmost endeavour, to
 "suppres

"suppress all Forces whatsoever raised without such Authority, and Consent; and they should seize all Armes, and Ammunition, provided for any such Forces.

"THEY likewise proposed to the King that he would remove the Garrison out of *New-Castle*, and all other Towns; Castles, and Forts, where any Garrisons had been placed by him since these Troubles; and that the Fortifications might be likewise slighted, and the Towns and Forts left in such state as they were in the year 1636; and that all other Towns and Castles in his hands, wherein there had been formerly Garrisons, might be committed to such Persons nominated by him, as the Houses should Confide in; and under such Instructions as were formerly mention'd; and that the new Garrisons should not be renew'd, or the Fortifications repair'd, without the consent of the King and both Houses of Parliament. That the Ships should be deliver'd into the charge of such a Noble Person, as the King should nominate to be Lord High Admiral of *England*, and the two Houses Confide in; who should receive that Office by Letters Patents, *quam diu se bene gesserit*, and should have power to nominate, and appoint all Subordinate Commanders and Officers, and have all other powers appertaining to the Office of High Admiral; which Ships he should employ for the defence of the Kingdom, against all Foreign Forces whatsoever, and for the safeguard of Merchants, securing of Trade, and the guarding of *Ireland*, and the intercepting of all supplies to be carried to the Rebels; and should use his utmost endeavours to suppress all Forces, which should be raised by any Person without his Majesty's Authority, and Consent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and should seize all Armes, and Ammunition, provided for supply of any such Forces.

To this Answer, by which they required at least to go whole Sharers with him in his Sovereignty, the King replied; That he knew not what proportion of his Revenue had been made use of by his two Houses, but he had reason to believe, if much of it had not been used, very much remain'd still in their hands; his whole Revenue being so stopp'd, and seized on, by the orders of one or both Houses, even to the taking of his Money out of his Exchequer, and Mint, and Bonds (forced from his Cofferers Clerk) for the Provisions of his Household; that very little had come to his use for his own support, but he would be well contented to allow whatsoever had been employed in the maintenance of his Children, and to receive the Arrears due to himself, and to be sure of his own for the future. He was likewise willing to restore all Monies taken for his use, by

"any Authority from him, upon any Bills assign'd to other
 "purposes, being assured he had receiv'd very little or nothing
 "that way: and he expected likewise, that satisfaction should
 "be made by them for all those several vast Sums, receiv'd,
 "and diverted to other purposes, by orders of one or both
 "Houses, which ought to have been paid by the Act of Pa-
 "cification to his Subjects of *Scotland*, or employed for the
 "discharge of the debts of the Kingdom; or, by other Acts
 "of Parliament, for the relief of his poor Protestant Subjects
 "in *Ireland*. For what concern'd his Magazines, he was con-
 "tent that all the Armes, and Ammunition, taken out of his
 "Magazines, which did remain in the hands of both Houses,
 "or of Persons employed by them, should be, as soon as the
 "Treaty was concluded, deliver'd into the Tower of *London*;
 "and that whatsoever should be wanting of the Proportions
 "taken by them; should be supplied by them, with all conven-
 "ient speed in kind; which, he said, should be committed
 "to, and continued in, the Custody of the sworn Officers, to
 "whose places the same belong'd: And if any of those Offi-
 "cers had already forfeited, or hereafter should forfeit that
 "Trust, by any misdemeanours, his Majesty would by no
 "means defend them from the Justice of the Law. That he
 "always intended to restore such Armes, and Ammunition,
 "which he had been compell'd to take from any Persons, and
 "Places, when his own had been taken from him; and would
 "make them recompence as soon as his own Stores were re-
 "stored to him.

"To whatsoever they propos'd for the slighting all Forti-
 "fications, and reducing all Garrisons, which had been made
 "since the beginning of the Troubles, and leaving them in
 "the State they were before, the King fully, and absolutely
 "consented; and that the old Castles, and Garrisons, should
 "be reduced to their Ancient proportion, and establishment;
 "but for the Governours, and Commanders of them, he said,
 "that the Cinque Ports were already in the Custody of a No-
 "ble Person, against whom he knew no just exception, and
 "who had such a legal interest therein, that he could not, with
 "Justice, remove him from it, until some sufficient cause
 "were made appear to him: But he was very willing, if he
 "should at any time be found guilty of any thing that might
 "make him unworthy of that Trust, that he might be pro-
 "ceeded against according to the Rules of Justice. That the
 "Government of the Town of *Portsmouth*, and all other Forts,
 "Castles, and Towns, as were formerly kept by Garrisons,
 "should be put into the hands of such Persons, against whom
 "no just exceptions could be made; all of them being, be-
 "fore these Troubles, by Letters Patents granted to several
 "Persons,

"Persons, against any of whom he knew not any exceptions, who should be removed if just cause should be given for the same. The Warden of the Cinque Ports, and all other Governors, and Commanders of the Towns, and Castles, should keep their Charges, as by the Law they ought to do, and for the King's service, and safety of the Kingdom; and they should not admit into any of them Foreign Forces, or other Forces raised, or brought into them contrary to the Law; but should use their utmost endeavours to suppress such Forces, and should seize all Armes, and Ammunition, which by the Laws, and Statutes of the Kingdom, they ought to seize.

To that part which concern'd the Ships, the King told them, "that he expected his own Ships should be deliver'd to him, as by the Law they ought to be; and that when he should think fit to nominate a Lord high Admiral of *England*, it should be such a Person against whom no just exception could be made; and if any should be, he would always leave him to his due Tryal, and Examination; and he would grant his Office to him by such Letters Patents, as had been used. In the mean time he would govern the Admiralty by Commission, as had been in all times accustomed; and whatsoever Ships should be set out by Him, or his Authority, should be employed for the defence of the Kingdom against all Foreign Forces whatsoever, for the Safeguard of Merchants, Securing of Trade, Guarding of *Ireland*, and the Intercepting of all Supplies to be carried to the Rebels; and they should use their utmost endeavours to suppress all Forces, which should be raised, by any Person whatsoever, against the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, and to seize all Armes and Ammunition provided for the supply of any such Forces.

It is evident to all Men where the difference now lay between them, being whether the King would reserve the disposal of those Offices and Places of Trust to Himself, which all Kings had enjoyed, and was indeed a part of his Regality, or whether he would be content with such a Nomination, as, being to pass, and depend upon Their approbation, no Man should ever be admitted to them, who was nominated by Him. The Committee, upon his Majesty's Answer, desired to know, "whether he did intend, that both Houses should express Their confidence of the Persons, to whose trust those places were to be committed; for that they were directed by their Instructions, that, if his Majesty was pleased to assent thereunto, and to nominate Persons of Quality to receive the charge of them, that they should certify it to both Houses of Parliament, that thereupon they might express their con-

“fidence in those Persons, or humbly desire his Majesty to
 “name others, none of which Persons to be removed during
 “three years next ensuing, without just cause to be approv’d
 “by both Houses; and if any should be so remov’d, or die
 “within that space, the Persons, to be put in their places, to
 “be such, as the two Houses should Confide in. The King
 answer’d, “that He did not intend, that the Houses should
 “express Their confidence of the Persons, to whose trusts
 “those places should be committed, but only that they should
 “have liberty, upon any just exception, to proceed against
 “any such Persons according to Law; his Majesty being re-
 “solv’d not to Protect them against the publick Justice.
 “When any of the places should be void, he well knew the
 “Nomination, and free Election of those, who should suc-
 “ceed, to be a right belonging to, and inherent in his Ma-
 “jesty; and having been enjoyed by all his Royal Progeni-
 “tors, he could not believe his well affected Subjects desired
 “to limit him in that Right; and desired they would be sa-
 “tisfied with this Answer, or give him any reasons to alter
 “his Resolution, and he would comply with them.

THEY told him, “there could be no good and firm Peace
 “hoped for, if there were not a cure found out for the Fears
 “and Jealousies; and they knew none sure, but This which
 “they had propos’d. The King reply’d, “that he rather
 “expected reasons grounded upon Law, to have shew’d him,
 “by the Law, that he had not that Right he pretended, or
 “that they had a Right Superior to His, in what was now
 “in question; or that they would have shew’d him some le-
 “gal reason, why the Persons trusted by him were incapable
 “of such a trust; than that they would only have insist’d up-
 “on Fears, and Jealousies, of which as he knew no ground,
 “so he must be ignorant of the Cure. That the Argument
 “they used might extend to the depriving him of, or at least
 “sharing with him in, all his just Regal Power; since Power,
 “as well as Forces, might be the object of Fears and Jeal-
 “ousies, and there would be always a Power left to hurt,
 “whilst there was any left to protect and defend. He told
 them, “if he had as much inclination, as he had more right,
 “to Fears and Jealousies, he might with more reason have
 “insist’d upon an addition of Power, as a Security to enable
 “him to keep his Forts, when he had them; since it ap-
 “pear’d it was not so great, but that they had been able to
 “take them from him, than they to make any difficulty to
 “restore them to him in the same case they were before.
 “But, he said, as he was himself content with, so, he took
 “God to Witness, his greatest desire was, to observe always
 “and maintain the Law of the Land; and expected the same
 “from

“from his Subjects; and believ’d the mutual observance of
 “that Rule, and neither of them to fear what the Law fear’d
 “not, to be, on both parts, a better Cure for that dangerous
 “disease of Fears and Jealousies, and a better means to esta-
 “blish a happy and perpetual Peace, than for him to divest
 “himself of those trusts; which the Law of the Land had set-
 “tled in the Crown alone, to preserve the Power, and Dignity
 “of the Prince, for the better Protection of the Subject, and
 “of the Law, and to avoid those dangerous distractions, which
 “the Interest of any Sharers with him would have infallibly
 “produced.

THE Committee neither offer’d to Answer his Majesty’s
 reasons, nor to oppose other reasons to weigh against them;
 but only said, “That they were commanded by their Instru-
 “ctions, to insist upon the desires of both Houses formerly
 “express’d. To which the King made no other Answer,
 “than that he conceiv’d it all the Justice in the world for him
 “to insist, that what was by Law his own, and had been
 “contrary to Law taken from him, should be fully restored
 “to him, without conditioning to impose any new limita-
 “tions upon Him, or his Ministers, which were not formerly
 “required from them by the Law; and he thought it most
 “unreasonable, to be press’d to diminish his own just Rights
 “Himself, because Others had violated and usurped them.
 This was the Sum of what pass’d in the Treaty upon that
 Proposition.

To the first Proposition of the two Houses, “That his
 “Majesty would be pleased to disband his Armies, as They
 “likewise would be ready to disband all their Forces, which
 “they had rais’d, and that he would be pleased to return to
 “his Parliament: The King Answer’d, “that he was as ready
 “and willing that all Armies should be disbanded, as any
 “Person whatsoever; and conceiv’d the best way to it, would
 “be a happy and speedy conclusion of the present Treaty;
 “which, if both Houses would contribute as much as He
 “would do to it, would be suddenly effected. And as he
 “desired nothing more than to be with his two Houses, so he
 “would repair thither as soon as he could possibly do it with
 “his Honour, and Safety.

THE Committee asked him, “if by a happy and speedy
 “conclusion of the present Treaty, he intended a conclusion
 “upon the two first Propositions, or a conclusion of the Treaty
 “in all the Propositions of both parts. The King, who well
 knew it would be very ungracious to deny the disbanding of
 the Armies, till all the Propositions were agreed, some where-
 of would require much time, answer’d, “that he intended
 “such a conclusion of, or in the Treaty, as there might be a

"clear evidence to Himself, and his Subjects, of a future
 "Peace, and no ground left for the continuance, or growth
 "of those bloody Diffensions; which, he doubted not, might
 "be obtain'd, if both Houses would consent that the Treaty
 "should proceed without farther interruption, or limitation
 "of days. They asked him, "What he intended should be
 "a clear evidence to him, and his good Subjects, of a future
 "Peace, and no ground left for the continuance, and growth
 "of those bloody Diffensions? His Majesty told them,
 "if the conclusion of the present Treaty upon his first Pro-
 "position, and the first Proposition of both Houses, should
 "be so full, and perfectly made, that the Law of the Land
 "might have a full, free, and uninterrupted course, for the
 "defence, and preservation of the Rights of his Majesty, and
 "of Themselves, and the rest of his Subjects, there would
 "be thence a clear evidence to Him, and all Men, of a fu-
 "ture Peace; and it would be such a conclusion as he in-
 "tended, never meaning that both Armies should remain
 "undisbanded until the Propositions on both sides were fully
 "concluded. To the other clause of their own Proposition
 "concerning the King's return to the Parliament, they said,
 "they had no Instructions to treat upon it; which the King
 "much wonder'd at; and finding that they had no other Au-
 "thority, to Treat, or Debate what was necessary to be done
 "in order to disbanding, but only to press him to appoint a
 "day for the actual disbanding; and that the Forces in the
 "North, where He had a great Army, and They had none,
 "might be first disbanded, he endeavour'd to draw them to
 "some Propositions upon his return to the Parliament; from
 "whence expedients would naturally result, if they pursued
 "that heartily, which would conclude a general Peace. And
 "it seem'd very strange, that, after so many discourses of the
 "King's absence from the Houses, from whence they had
 "taught the People to believe, that most of the present Evils
 "flow'd, and proceeded, when a Treaty was now enter'd up-
 "on, and that was a part of their own first Proposition, that
 "their Committee should have no Instructions or Author-
 "ity to Treat upon it. After this, they receiv'd new Instru-
 "ctions, "to declare to his Majesty the desire of both
 "Houses, for his coming to his Parliament; which, they said,
 "they had often express'd with full offers of security to his
 "Royal Person, agreeable to their Duty and Allegiance, and
 "they knew no cause why he might not repair thither with
 "Honour, and Safety. When the King found he could not
 "engage them in that Argument to make any particular Over-
 "ture, or Invitation to him; and that the Committee, who ex-
 "press'd willingness enough, had not in truth the least power

to promote, or contribute to an accommodation, lest they should make the People believe, that he had a desire to continue the War, because he consented not to their Proposition of disbanding the Armies, he sent this Message, by an express of his own, to the two Houses, after he had first communicated it to their Committee.

Oxford April 12th 1643.

"To shew to the whole world, how earnestly his Majesty
"longs for Peace, and that no success shall make him desire
"the continuance of his Army to any other end, or for any
"longer time, than that, and until, things may be so settled,
"as that the Law may have a full, free, and uninterrupted
"course, for the Defence, and Preservation of the Rights of
"his Majesty, both Houses, and his good Subjects:

*His Majesty's
Message to
the two Hou-
ses of Apr.
12. 1643.*

1. "AS SOON as his Majesty is satisfied in his first Propo-
"sition, concerning his own Revenue, Magazines, Ships, and
"Forts, in which he desires nothing, but that the just, known,
"legal Rights of his Majesty (devolv'd to him from his Pro-
"genitors) and of the Persons trusted by him, which have
"violently been taken from both, be restored unto Him, and
"unto Them; unless any just and legal exception against any
"of the Persons trusted by him (which are yet unknown to
"his Majesty) can be made appear to him:

2. "AS SOON as all the Members of both Houses shall be
"restored to the same capacity of Sitting, and Voting in Par-
"liament, as they had upon the first of *January 1641*; the
"same, of right, belonging unto them by their birth-rights,
"and the free Election of those that sent them; and having
"been Voted from them for adhering to his Majesty in these
"distractions; his Majesty not intending that this should ex-
"tend either to the Bishops, whose Votes have been taken
"away by Bill, or to such, in whose places, upon new Writs,
"new Elections have been made:

3. "AS SOON as his Majesty, and both Houses, may be
"secured from such tumultuous Assemblies, as to the great
"breach of the Privileges, and the high dishonour of Parlia-
"ments, have formerly Assembled about both Houses, and
"aw'd the Members of the same; and occasion'd two several
"Complaints from the Lords House, and two several desires
"of that House to the House of Commons, to joyn in a De-
"claration against them; the complying with which desire
"might have prevented all these miserable distractions, which
"have ensued; which security, his Majesty conceives, can be
"only settled by adjourning the Parliament to some other
"place, at the least twenty Miles from *London*, the choice of
"which his Majesty leaves to both Houses:

"His

"His Majesty will most chearfully and readily consent,
 "that both Armies be immediately disbanded, and give a pre-
 "sent meeting to both his Houses of Parliament at the time,
 "and place, at, and to which, the Parliament shall be agreed
 "to be Adjourn'd: His Majesty being most confident, that
 "the Law will then recover due credit and estimation; and
 "that upon a free Debate, in a full and peaceable Convention
 "of Parliament, such provisions will be made against seditious
 "Preaching, and Printing against his Majesty, and the esta-
 "blish'd Laws, which have been one of the Chief causes of
 "the present distractions, and such care will be taken concern-
 "ing the Legal, and known Rights of his Majesty, and the
 "Property, and Liberty of his Subjects, that whatsoever hath
 "been publish'd, or done, in or by colour of any illegal Decla-
 "ration, Ordinance, or Order of one or both Houses, or
 "any Committee of either of them, and particularly the power
 "to raise Armes without his Majesty's consent, will be in such
 "manner recalled, disclaimed, and provided against, that no
 "seed will remain for the like to spring out of for the future,
 "to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and to endanger the
 "very being of it. And in such a Convention his Majesty
 "is resolv'd, by his readiness to consent to whatsoever shall
 "be propos'd to him, by Bill, for the real good of his Sub-
 "jects (and particularly for the better discovery, and speedier
 "conviction of Recusants; for the Education of the Children
 "of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion; for
 "the prevention of practices of Papists against the State; and
 "the due Execution of the Laws, and true levying of the Pe-
 "nalties against them) to make known to all the world, how
 "causeless those Fears, and Jealousies have been, which have
 "been rais'd against him; and by that so distract'd this mi-
 "serable Kingdom. And if this Offer of his Majesty be not
 "consented to (in which he Asks nothing for which there is
 "not apparent Justice on his side, and in which he defers
 "many things highly concerning both Himself, and People,
 "till a full, and peaceable Convention of Parliament, which
 "in Justice he might now require) his Majesty is confident,
 "that it will Then appear to all the world, not only Who is
 "most desirous of Peace, and Whose fault it is that both Ar-
 "mies are not now disbanded; but Who have been the true
 "and first cause, that this Peace was ever interrupted, or
 "those Armies rais'd, and the beginning, or continuance of
 "the War; and the destruction, and desolation of this poor
 "Kingdom (which is too likely to ensue) will not, by the
 "most interestted, passionate, or prejudicate Person, be im-
 "puted to his Majesty.

To this Message the two Houses return'd no Answer to the King, but required the Committee to return to *Westminster* (having been in *Oxford* with his Majesty just twenty days) with such positive circumstances, that the House of Commons enjoyn'd Their Members to begin their Journey the same day; which they obeyed; though it was so late, that they were forced to very inconvenient Accommodations; and at their return, some of them were look'd upon with great Jealousy, as Persons engaged by the King, and disinclined to the Parliament; and this Jealousy prevail'd so far, that Mr *Martin* open'd a Letter from the Earl of *Northumberland* to his own Lady, presuming he should therein have discover'd some combination; and this insolence was not disliked.

MANY were of opinion, that the King was too severe in this Treaty, and insisted too much upon what is his own by Right, and Law; and that if he would have distributed Offices and Places, liberally to particular Men, which had been a condescension in Policy to be submitted to, he might have been repossest'd of his own Power. And I have heard this alledg'd by many, who at that time were extremely violent against all such Artifices. The Committee themselves (who at that time perfectly abhor'd the proceedings of the Parliament, or rather the power, and superiority of the Earl of *Effex*) seem'd exceedingly desirous of such an accommodation, as all good Men desired; and to believe, that if the King would have condescended so far, as to nominate the Earl of *Northumberland* to be Lord High Admiral, that it would have made so great a division in the Houses, that the Treaty would have been continued, and his Majesty been satisfied in all the other Propositions. And the Earl of *Northumberland*, to private Friends, did make as full Professions of future Service to his Majesty, and as ample Recognitions of pass'd Errors, and Mistakes, as could reasonably be expected from a wary Nature, before he could be sure what reception such Professions, and Vows would find. But the King thought the Power and Interest of that Committee would be able to do little, if it could not prevail for the enlarging the time of the Treaty, in which they seem'd heartily to engage themselves. And he was resolv'd at least to have a probable Assurance of the conclusion, before he would offer such concessions, as taking no effect might prove prejudicial to him: As particularly, the nominating the Earl of *Northumberland* to be Admiral (though he would willingly have done it, as the price and pledge of an Honourable Peace) would have discontented all who had, how unreasonably soever, promised themselves that preferment; and many would have imputed it to an unseasonable casiness (from which imputation it concern'd the King, at that

that time, as much to purge himself, as of unmercifulness and revenge) upon promises, and hopes, to have readmitted a Man to a charge, and trust, he had so fatally betrayed, and broken, against as solemn promises, and obligations, at the least, as he could now enter into; and therefore it concern'd the King to be sure of some advantage, in lieu of this visible hazard.

I AM one of those, who do believe, that this obligation, at this time, lay'd upon the Earl of *Northumberland*, with such other circumstances of kindness, as would have been fit to accompany it, would have met real gratitude, and faithfulness in him (for as, originally, he had, I am perswaded, no evil purposes against the King; so he had now sufficient disdain and indignation against those who got him to tread their Ways, when he had not their Ends) and that it would have made some rent and division in the two Houses (which could not but have produced some benefit to the King) and that it might probably have procured some few days addition for the continuance of the Treaty; the avow'd ground of denying it, being, because the King, had not, in the least degree, consented to any one thing propos'd by them: but, I confess, I cannot entertain any imagination, that it would have produced a Peace, or given the King any advantage, or benefit in the War: what inconvenience it might have produced hath been touch'd before. For, besides that the stirring and Active Party, who carried on the War, were neither gracious to the Earl of *Northumberland*, nor He to them, their Favourite at Sea being then the Earl of *Warwick*, who had the possession of the Fleet, and whom alone they believ'd fit to be trusted with the Navy; whoever calls to mind, what was done in the Houses, during the time of the Treaty, and by Their directions; that by their own Authority they directed all the Lands of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, to be sequester'd, and inhibited their Tenants to pay any Rent to them; that under pretence of searching for Armes, and taking away superstitious Pictures, they caused the Queen's Chappel at *Somerset House* (where she was to exercise her devotion, if they ever meant she should return again to *London*) to be most licenciously rifled; in which Licence with impunity, her Lodgings were plunder'd, and all her furniture, and goods of value, taken away and imbezell'd; that there was an Order made in the House of Commons, when They sent Their Messengers every day to *Oxford* without any Formality, or Controul, "that whatsoever Person should come from *Oxford*, or "any part of the King's Army to *London*, or the parts adjacent, "without the Warrant of both Houses of Parliament, or of "the Lord General the Earl of *Essex*, he should be apprehended

"hended as a Spy and Intelligencer, and he proceeded against "according to the rules and grounds of War; by Virtue of which Order of the House of Commons only, and without any communication that notice might be taken of it, a Servant of the King's, for discharging the duty of his place, was executed; which shall be anon remember'd; all which, except the execution of that Man, was transacted during the time of the Treaty at Oxford:

WHOSOEVER remembers, the other Proposition upon which the Treaty was founded, and the Bills then presented to the King for his Royal Assent; that there was no unreasonable thing demanded in the nineteen Propositions, which was not comprehended in these fourteen, and many additions made that were not in the former; that they demanded the total abolition and extirpation of Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and the whole frame of the Government of the Church; and another Bill for the calling an Assembly of Divines, nominated by themselves (which was a presumption, as contrary to the Policy and Government of the Kingdom, as the most extravagant Act they had done) consisting of Persons the most deeply engaged in the most unwarrantable Acts that had been done; and yet his Majesty was required to promise to pass such other Bills for settling of Church Government, as, upon consultation with that Assembly of Divines, should be resolv'd on by both Houses of Parliament: That all the other Bills then presented to the King for his Royal Assent, and insisted on by their fourth Proposition, though they had specious and popular Titles, contain'd many Clauses in them contrary to common Equity, and the Right of the Subject, and introduced proceedings very different from the known Justice of the Kingdom; and therefore, besides the time, and circumstances of the passing those Acts (when the Nation was in blood) not like to meet with his Majesty's Approbation; I say, whosoever remembers, and considers all this (to say nothing of the limitations by which their Committee were bound, without any power of debating, or other capacity than to deliver the Resolutions of the two Houses, and to receive the King's Answer, which might as effectually have been done, by any one single ordinary Messenger) cannot, I conceive, believe, that the King's consenting to make any one Person among them High Admiral of *England*, would have been a means to have restored the Kingdom to a present Peace, and the King to his just Rights and Authority. And if all these considerations be not sufficient to render that supposition improbable, that, which follows next in order of Story, will abundantly confute it.

ON *Saturday* the 15th of *April*, which was the very day
on

The Earl of
Essex
marches to
Besiege
Reading
Apr. 15.
being the
last day of
the Treaty.

on which the Treaty expired at *Oxford*, being the last of the twenty days which were first assign'd, and to which no opportunity of the King's could procure an Addition, the Earl of *Essex* march'd with his whole Army from *Windsor*, and sat down before *Reading*; which preparation would not have been so exactly made, and the resolution so punctually taken, if they had meant any reasonable concessions from the King should have frustrated that vast charge, and determin'd all farther Contentions. The Earl had never before been in the head of so gallant an Army, which consisted of about sixteen thousand Foot, and above three thousand Horse, in as good an Equipage, and supplied with all things necessary for a Siege, as could be expected from an Enemy which knew no wants, and had the Command of the Tower of *London*, and all other Stores of the Kingdom. In the Town were above three thousand Foot, and a Regiment of Horse consisting of near three hundred; the Fortifications were very mean to endure a form'd Siege, being made only to secure a Winter Quarter, and never intended for a standing Garrison. And it is very true, that it was resolv'd at a Council of War at *Oxford*, "that before the end of *April* (before which time it was conceiv'd the Enemy would not adventure to take the Field) "*Sir Arthur Aston* should slight those Works, and draw off his Garrison to the King; and that which made it less able to bear a Siege, than the weakness of their Works, was their want of Ammunition; for they had not forty Barrels of Powder; which could have held a brisk and a daring Enemy but a short time. And as this defect proceeded not from want of foresight, so it was not capable of being supplied, at least in that proportion as was worthy the name of a Supply. For the King had no Port to Friend, by which he could bring Ammunition to *Oxford*; neither had he been yet able to set up any Manufacture for any considerable supply. So that what he brought up with him after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, which was the remainder of the four hundred Barrels brought by the Ship call'd the *Providence*, before the setting up of his Standard, had serv'd for all his expeditions, being distributed into the several Garrisons; and was still to furnish all his growing occasions; and that Magazine now at *Reading* (which was no greater than is before mention'd) was yet double to what was in any other place, *Oxford* only excepted; wherein, at this time, there was not above one hundred Barrels of Powder, and in no one place Match proportionable to that little Powder: And this defect is wholly to be imputed to the lowness, and streightness of the King's condition; for there was no want of industry, but all imaginable care and pains taken to prevent, and supply it.

NOT-

NOTWITHSTANDING all these difficulties, the Town look'd upon the Enemy with Courage and Contempt enough; and to say the truth, both Officers and Soldiers were as good, as in the infancy of a War could be expected; and they had no apprehension of want of Victual, with which they were abundantly stored. The Soldiers without, were, for the most part, newly levied, and few of their Officers acquainted with the way and order of Assaulting Towns; and this was the first Siege that happen'd in *England*. Upon the first sitting down before it, after they had taken a full View of the ground, their General advis'd with his Council of War, in what manner he should proceed, whether by Assault, or Approach; in which there was great diversity of opinions. "The Works were weak; the Number of the Assaultants sufficient; all materials in readines; they believ'd the Soldiers in the Town full of Apprehensions, and a very considerable Party of the Inhabitants disaffected to the Garrison, who in the time of a Storm would be able to beget a great distraction. They might be able to Storm it in so many places at once, that the number of the Soldiers within would not be able to defend all; and if they prevail'd in any One, their whole Body of Horse might enter, and be immediately Masters of the Town. If they prevail'd this way, their Army would have that Reputation, and carry that terror with it, that no power of the Kings would hereafter be able to abide it; but they might march over the Kingdom, and subdue every part of it; whereas if they delayed their work, and proceeded by way of Approach, those in the Town would recover heart, and after they had digested the present Fears and Apprehensions, contemn their danger; and their own Soldiers, who were yet fresh and vigorous, would every day abate in Courage, and their Numbers in a few weeks lessen as much by sickness and duty, as they should probably do by an Assault. On the other hand it was objected, "that the Army consisted most of new Levies (and in truth there were not, of all that gallant Army that was at *Edge-hill*, among the Foot, three thousand Men) "who would be hardly brought to begin upon so desperate Service; that it was the only Army the Parliament had, upon which all their hopes, and welfare depended; and if, in the Spring, it should receive an Eminent foil, they would not recover their Courage again all the Summer. That they were not only to look upon the taking of *Reading*, but, pursuing that in a reasonable way, to keep themselves in a posture and condition to end the War by a Battle with all the King's Forces; which would no doubt apply themselves to their relief; and no place under Heaven could be so commodious for them to try their Fortune

"in, as That. Whereas if they should hastily engage themselves upon an Assault, and receive a Repulse, and should be afterwards forced to rise to Fight with the King, they should never make their Men stand; and then their Cause was lost. As for the danger of sickness among the Soldiers, who were not acquainted with hardship, it was urged, "that though it were earlier in the year than the Armies usually march'd into the Field, yet they had much better accommodation and provision than Armies use to have; their Horse (to whom that time of the year is commonly most hazardous, through the want of Forrage) being plentifully provided for with Hay and Oates by the benefit of the River, and all Supplies being sent for the Foot out of *London*.

AND in truth 'tis hardly credible what vast quantities (besides the Provisions made in a very regular way by the Commissioners) of excellent Victual ready dress'd, were every day sent in Wagons and Carts from *London* to the Army, upon the voluntary contributions from private Families, according to their Affections to the good Work in hand: the Common People being perswaded, that the taking of *Reading* would destroy all the King's hopes of an Army; and that it would be taken in very few days. Upon these Arguments and Debates (in which all these reasons were consider'd on both sides) the Major part of the Council inclined, and with that the General complied, to pursue the business by Approach. It was reported, that the Officers of Horse in the Council were all for a Storm, and the Foot Officers for Approaching. The chief Care and Oversight of the Approaches was committed to *Philip Skippon*, a Man often mention'd in the first part of this History, who had been an old Officer, and of good experience in the low Countries, and was now made Serjeant-Major-General of the Army, by the absolute power of the two Houses, and without the chearful concurrence of the Earl of *Essex*; though *Sr John Merrick*, who had executed that place by his Lordship's choice from the beginning, was prefer'd to be General of the Ordinance.

THE Approaches advanced very fast, the ground being in all places as fit for that work as could be, and the Town lying so low, that they had easily rais'd many Batteries, from whence they shot their Cannon into the Town at a near distance, but without any considerable execution; there being fewer lost by that Service, than will be believ'd, and but one Man of note, Lieutenant Colonel *D'Ews* a young Man of notable Courage, and Vivacity, who had his Leg shot off by a Cannon Bullet, of which he speedily and very chearfully dyed. From the Town there were frequent Sallies with good success; and very many Soldiers, and some Officers, of the Enemy

were kill'd ; more, hurt ; who were sent to Hospitals near *London* ; and those that were sent to *London*, as many Cart-loads were, were brought in the night, and disposed with great secrecy, that the Citizens might take no notice of it ; the Stratagems of this kind are too ridiculous to be particularly set down, though pursued then with great industry, in-
 so much as some were punish'd for reporting that there were many Soldiers kill'd, and hurt before *Reading* ; and it was a mark of Malignity to believe those reports : so unfit the People were to be trusted with all truths.

WITHIN a week after the beginning of the Siege, *Sr Arthur Aston* the Governour, being in a Court of Guard near the Line which was nearest to the Enemies Approaches, a Cannon-shot accidentally lighted upon the top of it, which was cover'd with Brick-tyle, a piece whereof, the shot going through, hit the Governour in the head, and made that impression upon him, that his senses shortly fail'd him ; so that he was not only disabled afterwards from executing in his own Person, but incompetent for Counsel or Direction ; so that the chief Command was devolv'd to Colonel *Richard Fielding*, who was the eldest Colonel of the Garrison. This accident was then thought of great misfortune to the King, for there was not in his Army an Officer of greater Reputation, and of whom the Enemy had a greater dread. The next night after this accident, but before it was known at *Oxford*, a Party from thence under the Command of *Mr Wilmot* the Lieutenant General of the Horse, without any signal opposition, put in a supply of powder, and a Regiment of five hundred Foot into the Town, and receiv'd Advertisement from thence of the Governour's hurt, and that they must expect to be reliev'd within a week, beyond which time they should not be able to hold out. How ill the King was provided for such an expedition, will best appear by remembring how his Forces were then scatter'd, and the present posture he was then in at *Oxford*.

THE nimble and the successful marches of *Sr William Waller*, whom We left triumphing in *Wales*, after his strange surprize of the Lord *Herbert's* Forces near *Glocester*, caused the King to send Prince *Maurice* with a strong Party of Horse and Dragoons to attend him, who moved from place to place with as great success as speed, after his success at *Hynam* ; and to make the shame of those Officers the less, with the spirit of Victory doubled upon him, he came before *Hereford*, a Town very well affected, and reasonably well Fortified, having a strong Stone Wall about it, and some Cannon, and there being in it some Soldiers of good Reputation, and many Gentlemen of Honour, and Quality ; and three or four hundred Soldiers, besides the Inhabitants well Armed ; yet, without

*Sr William
Waller
takes Here-
ford:*

the loss of one Man on either side, to the admiration of all, who then heard it, or have ever since heard of it, he perswaded them fairly to give up the Town, and yield themselves Prisoners upon Quarter; which they did, and were presently by him sent for their better security to *Bristol*.

*Comes before
Worcester:
is repulsed.*

FROM thence he march'd to *Worcester*, where his conquests met some stop; for though the Town was not so strong, nor the Garrison so great (I mean of Soldiers; for the Inhabitants were more) as *Hereford*, nor one Officer in it of more experience than he had gotten this unhappy War, the Inhabitants had the Courage to resolve not to admit any Summons or Messenger from him; and when his Drum, against all signs made to him from the Walls not to Approach, did notwithstanding refuse to return without delivering his Message, they shot at him, and kill'd him; and when *Sr William Waller* himself, to revenge that Affront, march'd with his whole Body towards them (there being only an old Gate without Bridge, or Work before it, to hinder his entrance into the Town) they entertain'd him so roughly, that he was forced to retire with the loss of some Officers, and about twenty Common Men; after which, his Men having not been accustomed to such usage, he got over the *Severn* again, and with quick night marches, so avoided Prince *Maurice* (who took no less pains to meet with him) that with some few light Skirmishes, in which he receiv'd small loss, he carried his Party safe, and full of Reputation, through *Glocester* to the Earl of *Essex's* Army before *Reading*; himself being sent for to *London*, upon a design that must be hereafter mention'd.

THE great want at *Oxford* (if any one particular might deserve that Style, where all necessary things were wanted) was Ammunition; and the only hope of supply was from the North; yet the passage from thence so dangerous, that a Party little inferior in strength to an Army was necessary to convey it; for, though the Earl of *New-Castle*, at that time, was Master of the Field in *York-shire*, yet the Enemy was much Superior in all the Counties between that County and *Oxford*; and had planted many Garrisons so near all the Roades, that the most private Messengers travell'd with great hazard, three being intercepted for one that escaped. To clear these obstructions, and not without the design of guarding and waiting on the Queen to *Oxford*, if her Majesty were ready for that Journey, at least to secure a necessary supply of Powder, Prince *Rupert* resolv'd in Person to march towards the North, and about the beginning of *April* (the Treaty being then at *Oxford*, and there being hopes that it would have produced a good effect, at least that the Earl of *Essex* would not have taken the Field till *May*) his Highness, with a Party of twelve hundred

*Prince Ru-
pert marches
towards the
North.*

hundred Horse and Dragoons, and six or seven hundred Foot, march'd towards *Lichfield*; which if he could reduce, and settle there a Garrison for the King, lay most convenient for that Northern Communication; and would with it dissolve other little adjacent holds of the Enemies, which contributed much to their interruption. In his way thither, he was to march through *Bromicham*, a Town in *Warwickshire* before mention'd, and of as great fame for hearty, wilful, affected Disloyalty to the King, as any place in *England*. It is before remember'd, that the King in his march from *Strewsbury*, notwithstanding the eminent malignity of that People, had shew'd as eminent compassion to them; not giving way that they should suffer by the undistinguishing licence of the Soldier, or by the severity of his own Justice; which clemency of his, found so unequal a return, that, the next day after his remove thence, the Inhabitants of that place seized on his Carriages, wherein were his own Plate, and Furniture; and conveyed them to *Warwick Castle*; and had from that time, with unusual industry and vigilance, apprehended all Messengers who were employed, or suspected to be so, in the King's Service; and though it was never made a Garrison by direction of the Parliament, being built in such a form, as was indeed hardly capable of being Fortified, yet they had so great a desire to distinguish themselves from the King's good Subjects, that they cast up little slight works at both ends of the Town, and Baricaded the rest, and voluntarily engaged themselves not to admit any intercourse with the King's Forces.

IN this posture Prince *Rupert* now found them, having in the Town with them at that time a Troop of Horse, belonging to the Garrison of *Lichfield*, which was grown to that strength, that it infested those parts exceedingly; and would in a short time have extended it self to a powerful Jurisdiction. His Highness hardly believing it possible, that when they should discover his Power, they would offer to make Resistance, and being unwilling to receive interruption in his more Important design, sent his Quarter Masters thither to take up his Lodging; and to assure them, "that if they behaved themselves peaceably, they should not suffer for what was past: But they had not Consciences good enough to believe him, and absolutely refused to let him Quarter in the Town; and from their little Works, with Mettle equal to their Malice, they discharged their shot upon him; but they were quickly over-power'd, and some parts of the Town being fired, they were not able to contend with both Enemies; and, distracted between both, suffer'd the Assailant to enter without much loss; who took not that vengeance upon them they deserv'd, but made them expiate their Transgressions with pay-

Take Bromicham,

ing a less Muleſt, than might have been expected from their Wealth, if their Wickedneſs had been leſs.

IN the Entrance of this Town, and in the too eager purſuit of that looſe Troop of Horſe that was in it, the Earl of *Denbigh* (who from the beginning of the War, with unwearyed pains, and exact ſubmiſſion to diſcipline and order, had been a Voluntier in Prince *Rupert's* Troop, and been engaged with ſingular Courage in all enterprizes of danger) was unfortunately wounded with many hurts on the Head and Body with Swords, and Poll-Axes; of which, within two or three days, he dyed. Had it not been for this ill accident (and to remember the diſmal inequality of this contention, in which always ſome Earl, or Perſon of great Honour or Fortune fell, when after the moſt ſignal Victory over the other ſide, there was ſeldom loſt a Man of any known Family, or of other Reputation, than of Paſſion for the Cauſe in which he fell) I ſhould not have mention'd an Action of ſo little moment, as was this of *Bromicham*; which I ſhall yet enlarge with the remembrance of a Clergy Man, who was here kill'd at the entering of the Town, after he had not only reſuſed quarter, but provoked the Soldier by the moſt odious revilings, and reproaches of the Perſon and Honour of the King, that can be imagin'd, and renouncing all Allegiance to him; in whole pockets were found ſeveral Papers of Memorials of his own obſcene, and ſcurrilous behaviour with ſeveral Women, in ſuch looſe expreſſions, as modeſt ears cannot endure. This Man was the principal Governour, and Incendiary of the rude People of that place againſt their Sovereign. So full a qualification was a heightned meaſure of malice and diſloyalty for this Service, that it weighed down the infamy of any other leud and vicious behaviour.

FROM *Bromicham*, the Prince, without longer ſtay than to remove two or three ſlight Garrifons in the way, which made very little reſiſtance, march'd to *Lichfield*, and eaſily poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Town, which lay open to all Comers; but the Cloſe (containing the Cathedral Church, and all the Clergy Men's Houſes) was ſtrongly fortified, and reſolv'd againſt him. The Wall, about which there was a broad and deep Mote, was ſo thick, and ſtrong, that no Battery the Prince could raiſe, would make any impreſſion; the Governour, one Colonel *Rouſſwell*, very reſolute; and the Garrifon of ſuch Men as were moſt transported with Superſtition to the Cauſe in which they engaged, and in Number equal to the ground they were to keep, and their Proviſions ample for a longer time than it was fit the Prince ſhould ſtay before it. So that it was believ'd, when his Highneſs had in vain endeavour'd to procure it by Treaty, he would not have engaged

gaged before it; for his strength consisted, upon the matter, wholly in Horse; his Foot and Dragoons being an inconsiderable Force for such an Attempt. But whether the Difficulties were not thoroughly discern'd, and weigh'd at first, or whether the importance of the place was thought so great, that it was worth an equal hazard, and adventure, he resolv'd not to move till he had tried the uttermost; and to that purpose, drew what addition of Force he could out of the Country, to strengthen his handful of Foot; and perswaded many Officers, and Voluntiers of the Horse to alight, and bear their parts in the Duty; with which they chearfully and gallantly comply'd; and in less than ten days, he had drawn the Mote dry, and prepared two Bridges for the graft. The Besieged omitted nothing that could be perform'd by vigilant, and bold Men; and kill'd, and wounded many of the Besiegers; and disappointed, and spoiled one Mine they had prepared. In the end, early in the Morning, the Prince having prepared all things in readiness for the Assault, he sprung another Mine; which succeeded according to wish, and made a breach of twenty foot in the Wall, in a place least suspected by those within; yet they defended it with all possible Courage and Resolution, and kill'd and hurt very many; some, Officers of prime Quality; whereof the Lord *Digby*, Colonel *Gerrard*, Colonel *Wagstaffe*, and Major *Leg*, were the chief of the wounded; and when they had enter'd the breach, they continued the dispute so fiercely within (the narrowness of the breach, and the ascent not suffering many to enter together, and no Horse being able to get over) that after they had kill'd Colonel *Usher*, and some other good Officers, and taken others Prisoners (for both Colonel *Wagstaffe*, and *William Leg* were in their hands) they compell'd the Prince to consent to very honourable Conditions; which he readily yielded to, as thinking himself a Gainer by the Bargain. And so the Garrison march'd out with fair respect, and the Prince's testimony of their having made a Courageous Defence; his Highness being very glad of his Conquest, though the purchase had shrewdly shaken his Troops, and robb'd him of many Officers and Soldiers he much valued. At this time, either the day before, or the day after this Action, Prince *Rupert* receiv'd a positive Order from the King, "to make all possible hast, with all the strength he had, and all he could draw together from those parts, to the Relief of *Reading*; which was in the danger We but now left it. Upon which his Highness, committing the Government of *Lichfield* to Colonel *Baggot*, a Son of a good and powerful Family in that County, and appointing his Troops to make what hast was possible after him, himself with a few

and Lichfield, and returns to the King.

Servants came to *Oxford* to attend the King, whom he found gone towards *Reading*.

THE importunity from that Garrison for Relief, was so peremptory, and the concernment so great in their Preservation, that the King found it would not bear the necessary delay of Prince *Rupert's* returning with His Forces; and therefore his Majesty in Person, with those Horse and Foot which he could speedily draw together, leaving very few behind him in *Oxford*, or in any other Garrison, advanced towards *Reading*; hoping, and that was the utmost of his hope, that He might with the Assistance of the Garrison, be able to force one Quarter, and so draw out his Men; and by the advantage of those Rivers which divided the Enemy, and by the Passes, be able to retire to *Oxford*; for being joyn'd, he could not have equalled one half of the Enemies Army. When the King drew near the Town, the day being pass'd whereon they had been promised, or had promised themselves Relief, he was encounter'd by a Party of the Enemy, which defended their Post, who being quickly seconded by Supplies of Horse and Foot from all their Quarters, after a very sharp Conflict, in which many fell on both sides, the King's Party, Commanded by the Earl of *Forth* himself [the General] consisting of near one thousand Musqueteers, were forced to retire to their Body; which they did the sooner, because those of the Town made no semblance of endeavouring to joyn with them; which was what they principally relied upon. The reason of that was, the Garrison, not seeing their Relief coming, had sent for a Parley to the Enemy, which was agreed to, with a Truce for so many hours, upon which Hostages were deliver'd; and a Treaty begun, when the King came to Relieve it. Upon the view of the Enemies strength, and intrenchment, all were of opinion that the small Forces of the King would not be able to raise the Siege, or to joyn with those in the Town; and in this Melancholick conclusion his Majesty retired for the present, resolving to make any other reasonable Attempt the next day. In the mean time, some Soldiers found means to escape out of the Town, and Colonel *Fielding* himself in the Night came to the King, and told him the State they were in; and "that they were in Treaty, "and believ'd he might have very good Conditions, and liberty to march away with all their Armes and Baggage; which was so welcome News, that the King bid him, Prince *Rupert* being then present, "that if he could procure such "Conditions, he should accept them: for indeed the Men and the Armes were all that the King desired, the loss of either of which was like to prove fatal to him. The King continued still at *Nettlebeck*, a Village seven or eight Miles distant

distant from *Reading*, to attend the success of the Treaty; resolving, if it succeeded not, to try the utmost again for their Redemption; but all Men praying heartily for liberty to march off upon the Treaty, the next day these Articles were agreed on.

1. "THAT the Governour, Commanders, and Soldiers,
 "both Horse and Foot, might march out with flying Colours,
 "Armes, and four Pieces of Ordnance, Ammunition, Bag
 "and Baggage, light Match, Bullet in Mouth, Drums beating,
 "and Trumpets sounding. *Reading
surrender'd
upon Arti-
cles Apr.
27.*
2. "THAT they might have free passage to his Majesty's
 "City of *Oxford*, without interruption of any of the Forces
 "under the Command of his Excellency the Earl of *Essex*;
 "provided the said Governour, Commanders, and Soldiers,
 "use no Hostility until they come to *Oxford*.
3. "THAT what Persons were accidentally come to the
 "Town, and shut up by the Siege, might have liberty to pass
 "without interruption; such Persons only excepted, as had
 "run away from the Army under the Command of the Earl
 "of *Essex*.
4. "THAT they shall have fifty Carriages for Baggage,
 "sick, and hurt Men.
5. "THAT the Inhabitants of the Town of *Reading* should
 "not be prejudiced in their Estates, or Persons, either by
 "Plundering or Imprisonment; and that they who would
 "leave the Town, might have free leave, and passage, safely
 "to go to what place they would, with their goods, within
 "the space of six Weeks after the Surrender of the Town.
6. "THAT the Garrison should quit the Town by twelve
 "of the Clock the next Morning; and that the Earl of *Essex*
 "should provide a Guard for the Security of the Garrison
 "Soldiers, when they begun to march.

UPON these Articles, sign'd by the Earl of *Essex*, the Town was deliver'd on the 27th day of *April* (being within a fortnight after the Siege begun) and the Garrison march'd to the King, who stay'd for them, and with him to *Oxford*. But at their coming out of the Town, and passing through the Enemies Guards, the Soldiers were not only reviled, and reproachfully used, but many of them disarm'd, and most of the Waggon's plunder'd, in the presence of the Earl of *Essex* himself, and the Chief Officers; who seem'd to be offended at it, and not to be able to prevent it; the unruliness of the Common Men being so great. As this breach of the Articles was very notorious, and inexcusable, so it was made the rise, foundation, and excuse for barbarous injustice of the same kind

throughout the greatest part of the War; insomuch as the King's Soldiers afterward, when it was Their part to be precise in the observation of Agreements, mutinously remember'd the violation at *Reading*; and thereupon exercised the same Licence; from thence, either side having somewhat to object to the other, the requisite honesty and justice of observing conditions was mutually, as it were by agreement, for a long time after Violated.

THERE had been, in the Secret Committee for the carrying on the War, forming those designs, and administering to the expences thereof, a long debate with great difference of opinion, whether they should not march directly with their Army to Besiege *Oxford*, where the King and the Court was, rather than *Reading*; and if they had taken that resolution, as Mr *Hambden*, and all they who desired still to strike at the Root, very earnestly insisted upon, without doubt they had put the King's Affairs into great confusion. For, besides that *Oxford* was not tolerably Fortified, nor the Garrison well provided for, the Court, and Multitude of Nobility, and Ladies, and Gentry, with which it was inhabited, bore any kind of Alarm very ill. But others, who did not yet think their Army well enough compos'd to resist all temptations, nor enough subdued in their inclinations to Loyalty, and Reverence towards the Person of the King, had no mind it should Besiege the very place where the King himself was; and the Earl of *Essex* himself, who was yet the Soul of the Army, had no mind to that Enterprize: and so the Army march'd, as hath been said, directly to *Reading*, with the success that is mention'd.

THOUGH, at the instant, the Parliament was highly pleas'd with the getting the Town, and the King as well contented, when he saw his entire Garrison safely joyn'd to the rest of his Army (for it cannot be denied the joy was universal through the King's Quarters, upon the Assurance that they had recover'd near four thousand good Men, whom they had given for lost) yet, according to the Vicissitudes in War, when the Accounts are cast up, either party grew quickly dissatisfied with it's success. The King was no sooner return'd to *Oxford*, but upon conference between the Officers and Soldiers, there grew a Whisper, "that there had not been fair carriage, and that *Reading* had been betrayed, and from thence made a noise through *Oxford*; and the very next day, and at the same time, Colonel *Fielding*, upon whom the discourses reflected, came to the King to desire, "that an Account might "be taken of the whole business at a Council of War for his "Vindication; and the Common Soldiers, in a disorderly manner, "to require Justice against Him for betraying, and "and delivering up the Town to the Rebels; which they

avow'd

avow'd with so much confidence, with the mention of some particulars, "as the having frequent intercourse with the Earl of *Essex*, and hindering and forbidding the Soldiers to issue out of the Town to joyn with the King, when he came to relieve them, although their Officers had drawn them up to that purpose, and were ready to lead them; and the like; with some rash, and passionate words disrespectful to his Majesty; so that he gave present order for his commitment, and trial at a Court of War; the King himself being marvellously incensed against him, for that Clause in the third Article, which gave liberty to all who were accidentally come to the Town, and shut up by the Siege, to pass without interruption, wherein there was an exception of such Persons who had run away from the Earl of *Essex*'s Army, and by virtue of that exception some Soldiers were taken after the rendering of the Town, and were executed. And though the Colonel excused himself, "as being no more concern'd to Answer for the Articles, than every Member of the Council of War, by which they were agreed; yet it was alledged, "that the Council of War had been induced to consent to those Articles, upon the Colonel's averment, that the King had seen them, and approv'd of them. Whereas his Majesty had never seen any Articles in writing, but only consented, that they should march away with their Armes and Baggage, if the Enemy agreed to those conditions. I have not known the King more afflicted, than he was with that Clause, which he call'd no less "than giving up those poor Men, who out of conscience of their Rebellion, had betaken themselves to his Protection, to be Massacred and Murder'd by the Rebels; whom they had deserted; and for the vindication of himself therein, he immediately publish'd a Proclamation, in which he took notice of that Clause; and declared to all the world:

Colonel
Fielding
order'd to be
tried for the
Surrender.

"THAT he was not privy to, or, in the least degree, consenting to that exception, but held the same most prejudicial to his Service, and derogatory to his Honour; and "that he would always choose to run any hazard or danger, "the Violence or Treason of his Enemies could threaten, or "bring upon him, rather than he would withdraw, or deny "his Protection to any, who, being convinced in their conscience of their disloyalty, should return to their Duty, and "betake themselves to his Service. And as he had referr'd "to a Court of War, the full examination of all the particular "proceedings, in the delivery of that Town, that Justice "might be done accordingly; so he did declare, that he would "always proceed with all severity against such, as should, by "the like dishonourable conditions, expose his Subjects, and "bereave Them of his Protection that had return'd to their "Obedience to him.

AT

AT the Trial, it was objected against the Colonel, "that
 "the Town might have been longer defended, there being
 "want of no necessary Provision, and as much Powder, at the
 "giving it up, as there was when the Enemy came first before
 "it; for besides the first supply, sixteen Barrels were put in
 "during the Skirmish, when the King came to relieve it:
 "That several Colonels press'd very earnestly to sally, when
 "the King's Forces were engaged, and that they were express-
 "ly hinder'd, and forbidden by Him: That he frequently
 "gave his Pass to a Woman to go out of the Town, who
 "went into the Earl of *Essex's* Army, and return'd again:
 "That he perswaded the Council of War to consent to the
 "Articles, by protesting that the King had well approv'd them,
 "and reproach'd those Officers who were of another opinion;
 "with some other particulars of Licence and Passion, which re-
 "flected more upon his Discretion, than his Honesty, or Con-
 "duct.

HE justified himself "to have done nothing towards the
 "delivery of the place, but upon full consideration, advice,
 "and approbation of the Council of War: That he was in
 "his own conscience, and judgement satisfied, that the Sub-
 "stance of the Articles were advantageous for his Majesty's
 "Service; and though it was true, by that last supply of Am-
 "munition, their Store was near as much as when the Siege
 "began; yet it was in all but thirty two Barrels, which
 "would have lasted but few hours, if the Enemy, who had
 "approach'd within little more than Pistol-shot of some parts
 "of their works, should attack them in that manner as they
 "had reason to expect; and if they had held out longer, when
 "it had appear'd that the King was not strong enough to re-
 "lieve them, they should not have been admitted to such
 "conditions: and therefore, that he believ'd a hazard of so
 "great a concernment, was not to be run, when he well knew
 "his Majesty's former resolution of slighting the Garrison;
 "and that it would not be now done above a fortnight sooner
 "than was intended: That he had no knowledge of his Ma-
 "jesty's approach, till the Forces were engaged, when a
 "Truce was concluded, and their Hostages in the Enemies
 "hands; and therefore, that he conceiv'd it against the Law
 "of Armes to make any attempt from the Town; and before
 "they could sufficiently deliberate it in Council, his Majesty's
 "Forces retired: That the Woman to whom he gave a Pass,
 "was one, he often employed as a Spy, with very good effect;
 "and he did believe, the advantage he receiv'd by it, was
 "greater than she could carry to the Enemy by any informa-
 "tion she could give: That he did perswade the Council of
 "War to consent to the conditions, because he believ'd them
 "very

“very profitable to his Majesty, and he had averr’d only his Majesty’s Approbation of the general Substance of the Articles, never applied it to the Clause of the third Article, which he much desired to have alter’d, but could not obtain the consent of the Enemy. If he had been intemperate, or passionate to any, who were of another opinion, or had used any passionate expressions in the Debate, it proceeded only from his Zeal to the Service, and his apprehension of the loss of so many good Men, upon whom he well knew the King much depended: That he might have committed many Indiscretions, for which he desired pardon, but had not fail’d in point of Fidelity: That by the unfortunate hurt of the Governour, the Command was devolv’d upon him by his right of Seniority, not any ambitious design of his own: That he had, from time to time, acquainted *Sr Arthur Aston* with the State, and Condition they were in, and though his indisposition of health was such, that he would not give positive Orders, he seem’d to approve of all that was done; and though, for the former reason, he refus’d to sign the Articles, yet they were read to him, and he express’d no dislike of them. The truth of it is, *Sr Arthur Aston* was believ’d by many, not to be in so incompetent a condition to Command as he pretended; and that albeit his head was so much swoln, that he might not in Person venture upon any execution, yet his understanding, or senses, were not much distemper’d, or discomposed; and that he only positively wav’d meddling, out of dislike of the condition they were in. And it is true, that, when he came to *Oxford*, he could speak as reasonably of any matter, as ever I knew him before, or after.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the defence the Colonel could make for himself, and that there was not indeed any colour of proof, that he had acted any thing treacherously, he was, upon an Article “for not obeying Orders (for in this agitation he had receiv’d some such, which he had not precisely observ’d) sentenced to lose his head; which judgement, after long and great intercession, was, in the end, remitted by the King; but his Regiment dispos’d to another; and He never restored to that Command. And though he had been always before of an unblemish’d Reputation for Honesty, and Courage; and had heartily been engaged from the beginning of the Troubles, and been hurt in the Service, and he appear’d afterwards as a Voluntier, with the same Courage, in the most perilous Actions, and obtain’d a principal Command in another of the King’s Armies, he never recover’d the misfortune and blemish of this Imputation. And yet I must profess for My part, being no stranger to what was then alledg’d, and

and prov'd on either Party, I do believe him to have been free from any base compliance with the Enemy, or any cowardly declension of what was reasonable to be attempted. So fatal are all misfortunes, and so difficult a thing it is to play an after-Game of Reputation, in that nice and jealous profession.

THE Inconveniences, and Mischiefs, that resulted to the King from this accident, were greater than were at that time taken notice of; for from this, the Factions in Court, Army, and City (which afterwards grew very troublesome to the King) were dated, and took their original; great Animosities grew between the Officers of the Army; some being thought to have been too passionate, and solicitous in the prosecution of the Colonel, and too much to have countenanced the rage and fury of Common Soldiers in demanding Justice on their Officer; for from such a kind of Clamour it begun. Others again were as much condemn'd for a palpable avow'd protection of him, thereby to shew their power, that a Person They favour'd, should not suffer; and of both these, some were more Violent than they should have been; which several Inclinations equally possess'd the Court, some believing that he was really guilty of Treachery, though not so clearly proved; and therefore that, being within the Mercy of the Law, upon another Article, no mercy ought to be shew'd to him; others as really supposing him Innocent, and therefore thinking it great pity, severely to take the forfeiture, upon such a point, as few Officers of the Army did not know Themselves guilty in: these supposing the former too full of rigour, and uncharitableness; and They again accusing the Other of too much lenity, and indulgence; whilst many Gentlemen of Honour, and Quality, whose Fortunes were embark'd with the King, grew extremely jealous, that the Parliament had corrupted some of the King's Officers with rewards; and that others had power to protect them from punishment, and discovery; and the Soldiers again as much incens'd, that their lives must be sacrificed, upon Casual, and Accidental trespasses, to the animosity and jealousy of those who run not the same dangers with them.

BUT these Indispositions, and Distempers, were the effects of the exigents of that time (I wish the humours had been impaired when the times mended) and very many who saw the King's condition very low in an instant, and believ'd the Rebels to be most flourishing, would look no farther for a reason, than the loss of *Reading*; though they had All still, but the Town; which was never intended to be kept. It is most certain, that the King himself was so far from believing the condition he was in to be tolerable, that, upon the news of the Earl of *Essex's* advance towards *Oxford*, within four

or

or five days after the loss of *Reading*, he once resolv'd, and that by the advice of the Chief Officers of his Army, to march away towards the North, to joyn with the Earl of *New-Castle*. And if the Earl of *Essex* had, at that time, but made any shew of moving with his whole Body that way, I do verily perswade my self, *Oxford* it self, and all the other Garrisons of those parts, had been quitted to them; but those fears were quickly compos'd, by an Assurance of the Earl's stay at *Reading*; and that he was not in a posture for a present march, and that his Numbers had been shrewdly lessen'd by the Siege: whereupon the King resolv'd to abide him, and give him Battle about *Oxford*, if he advanced; and, in the meantime, encamped his Foot upon the Down, about a Mile from *Abingdon*; which was the head Quarter for his Horse.

WHEN the Season of the year grew ripe for taking the Field, the Earl of *Essex* found that his too early march had nothing advanced his Affairs; the Soldiers having perform'd so strict duty, and lodging upon the ground, in frost and rain, before *Reading*, had produced great sickness and diseases in his Army, which had wasted abundance of his Men; so that he wanted rather another Winter Quarter to recover, and recruit his Men, than an opportunity to engage them in Action; which he found would be too often administer'd. He sent daily importunities to the Parliament for supplies of all kinds, which they were not enough furnished with to satisfy him; new Divisions, and Animosities arose There, to perplex their Counsels. Their Triumph upon the taking of *Reading*, which they had celebrated with loud festivity, and made the City believe, that all those benefits would attend it, which they knew would be most grateful to them, appear'd now without any fruit; the King had all his Forces and Army entire, and had only lost a Town that he never meant to keep, and which They knew not what to do with; and was now ready to come into the Field, when Theirs was destitute of health, and all those accommodations, which must enable them to march: and their General, every day reiterated his complaints, and reproach'd them with the unskilful Orders they had sent him, by which, against all the Advice and Arguments he had given them, he was reduced to that extremity.

THE disrespectful, and absurd breaking off the Treaty with the King, was urged by their Commissioners; who thought themselves disobliged by it, and publish'd the King's gracious disposition, and the temper of the Council in *Oxford*, to be different from what the Parliament desired it should be believ'd. They complain'd of Jealousies which had been entertain'd of their Integrity; and the Earl of *Northumberland* having discover'd, as is said before, that *Harry Martin* had open'd

open'd a Letter, which he had writ from *Oxford* to his Lady, took him aside, after a conference in the Painted Chamber between the two Houses, and question'd him upon it; and the other giving him some rude Answers in justification of what he had done, the Earl Cudgell'd him in that presence; upon which many Swords were drawn, to the great reproach and scandal of the Parliament.

THESE, and the like Instances of distraction, and confusion, brought the Reputation of that Party low; and made it look'd upon, as like to destroy it self without an Enemy; whilst the King's Party, at that distance, seem'd to be more united, and to have recover'd their Spirits, of which they receiv'd frequent evidence by the News of some of their Quarters being beat up, and many of their Men lost by the unexpected Incurfions of the King's Horse; whereof some Parties, by Night marches, and unusual Lanes, went often near *London*, and took many Prisoners, who thought themselves secure, in their Houses, and in Journeys they made; who were put to ransom themselves with good Sums of Money; so that, after all those Mountains of promises, and undertakings, the wants were greater, and the City more importuned for Money, and the Parliament visibly more necessitated for want of it, than they had been before; and instead of dispersing the King's Army, and bringing the King back to his Parliament, a suddain direction was given, and a vigorous execution of that direction was begun, to draw a Line about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and to Fortify it; lest the King's Forces might break in upon them; which made the People suspect the State of their Affairs to be worse than in truth it was; yet so far were they from any thoughts of Peace, and Accommodation, that the House of Commons rag'd more furiously than ever; and every day engaged themselves in conclusions more monstrous, than they had yet enter'd upon. For the supply of the Charge of the War, they propos'd settling and imposing an Excise upon such Commodities as might best bear it; which was a burthen the People of *England* had hitherto reproach'd other Nations with, as a Mark of Slavery, and never fear'd by themselves; and for the exercise of the Sovereign Power, they Resolv'd it fit to make a new Great Seal, to be always resident with the Houses. But the Lords were not yet arriv'd at that presumption, but plainly refused to concur with them in either.

WHILST both Armies lay quiet, the One about *Reading*, the Other about *Abingdon*, or *Oxford*, without attempting one upon the other, or any Action, save some small Enterprizes by Parties (in which the King got advantage; as particularly the Young Earl of *Northampton* fortunately encounter'd a Party

of

of Horſe and Foot from *Northampton*, which thought themſelves ſtrong enough to attempt upon *Banbury* : But he having Routed their Horſe, kill'd above two hundred of their Foot, and took as many more Priſoners, moſt whereof were ſhrewdly hurt, the Young Earl that day ſacrificing to the Memory of his Father) the King receiv'd, from the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, by a ſtrong Party of Horſe, a good and ample ſupply of Ammunition ; the want whereof all Men look'd upon with great Horrour. Aſſoon as this was arriv'd, and the King had heard, that his Armies, both in the North, and Weſt, begun to flouriſh, and thought himſelf well provided to encounter the Earl of *Effex*, if he deſired it ; his Maſteſty reſolv'd once more to try, whether the two Houſes would incline to a reaſonable Peace ; and to that purpoſe ſent a Meſſage to them by an expreſs Servant of his own, in theſe words :

“ SINCE his Maſteſty's Meſſage of the 12th of *April* (in *The King ſends a Meſſage to the two Houſes* May 20.
 “ which he conceiv'd he had made ſuch an Overture for the
 “ immediate diſbanding of all Armies, and compoſure of
 “ thoſe miſerable, and preſent Diſtractions, by a full and free
 “ Convention of Parliament, that a perfect and ſettled Peace
 “ would have enſued) hath in all this time, above a full
 “ Month, procur'd no Answer from both Houſes, his Maſteſty
 “ might well believe himſelf abſolv'd, both beſore God and
 “ Man, from the leaſt poſſible Charge of not having uſed his
 “ utmoſt endeavours for Peace ; yet, when he conſiders, that
 “ the Scene of all this Calamity is in the Bowels of his own
 “ Kingdom ; that all the blood, which is ſpilt, is of his own
 “ Subjects ; and that what Victory ſoever, it ſhall pleaſe
 “ God to give him, muſt be over thoſe who ought not to
 “ have liſted up their hands againſt Him ; when he conſiders,
 “ that theſe deſperate Civil Diſſenſions may encourage and
 “ invite a Foreign Enemy, to make a Prey of the whole Na-
 “ tion ; that *Ireland* is in preſent danger to be totally loſt ;
 “ that the heavy Judgements of God, Plague, Peſtilence, and
 “ Famine, will be the inevitable attendants of this unnatural
 “ Contention : And that in a ſhort time, there will be ſo ge-
 “ neral a habit of Uncharitableneſs, and Cruelty, contracted
 “ through the whole Kingdom, that even Peace it ſelf will
 “ not reſtore his People to their old Temper, and Security ;
 “ his Maſteſty cannot but again call for an Answer to that his
 “ gracious Meſſage, which gives ſo fair a riſe to end theſe
 “ unnatural diſtractions. And his Maſteſty doth this with the
 “ more earneſtneſs, becauſe he doubts not the condition of
 “ his Armies in ſeveral parts ; the ſtrength of Horſe, Foot,
 “ Artillery, his plenty of Ammunition (when ſome Men
 “ lately

“lately might conceive he wanted) is so well known, and
 “understood, that it must be confess’d, nothing but the ten-
 “derness, and love to his People, and those Christian im-
 “pressions, which always live, and he hopes always shall
 “dwell in his heart, could move him once more to hazard
 “a refusal. And he requires them, as they will Answer to
 “God, to Himself, and all the World, that they will no
 “longer suffer their fellow Subjects to welter in each others
 “blood; that they would remember by whose Authority,
 “and to what end they met in that Council, and send such
 “an Answer to his Majesty, as may open a door to let in a
 “firm Peace, and Security to the whole Kingdom. If his
 “Majesty shall again be disappointed of his Intentions there-
 “in, the blood, rapine, and destruction, which may follow
 “in *England*, and *Ireland*, will be cast upon the Account
 “of those who are deaf to the motive of Peace and Ac-
 “commodation.

*The House
 of Commons
 commit the
 Messenger.*

THIS Message was receiv’d by the House of Peers (to
 whom it was directed) with all demonstration of respect, and
 duty, and the Messenger very civilly intreated by them;
 but when they communicated it to the House of Commons,
 and desired their concurrence in preparing an Address to the
 King suitable to his gracious Invitation, that House was
 so far from concurring with them, that they gave immediate
 Order (which was executed accordingly) for the Apprehen-
 sion, and Commitment of the Gentleman who brought the
 Message; and declared, “that they would proceed against
 “him at a Council of War, upon the Order formerly men-
 tion’d, made by them when the Treaty was at *Oxford*, “that
 “any Person coming from *Oxford* without their Generals
 “Pass, or one from the Houses, should be punished as a Spy;
 to which Order as the Peers never consented, so the King
 had never, till this Commitment, notice of it; and Them-
 selves, after the making it, had sent several Messengers to
 the King, without any formality of Pass or Trumpet.

THE Lords did what they could, publicly and privately,
 to dissuade this course; but they could not prevail: the
 House of Commons finding that the very imagination that a
 Peace might be concluded, infinitely retarded their carrying
 on the War, and made not only those who were yet free,
 not easy to be drawn in; but many who were engaged, re-
 miss, and willing to retire; therefore they resolv’d to proceed
 with that Vigour, and Resolution, that no reasonable Man
 should believe it possible for the King to gain a Peace but by
 Subduing Them, which seem’d at least equally impossible.
 To this purpose, instead of returning an Answer to the King’s

Message,

Message, within three days after the receiving it, they impeached the Queen of High Treason, "for Assisting the King ^{The Commons impeach the Queen of High Treason} her Husband with Armes, and Ammunition, in the prosecution of the War against Them; an Attempt as unheard of among all the Acts of their Predecessors, and as surprising as any thing they had yet ventured upon: Their Clergy sounded their Trumpets louder to War than ever, if it was possible; and they resolv'd, that Assembly of Divines to which they had at the Treaty urg'd the King's consent, should now meet by an Ordinance of their own, with an Addition of some Members of either House to that Number.

THERE had been, some Months before, a design of Prince Rupert upon the City of *Bristol*, by correspondence with some of the chief Inhabitants of the City, who were weary of the Tyranny of the Parliament; but it had been so unskillfully, or unhappily carried, that, when the Prince was near the Town, with such a Party of Horse and Foot, as he made choice of, it was discover'd, and many Principal Citizens apprehended by *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Son to the Lord *Say*, and then Governor of that City for the Parliament; at this time, special direction and order was sent thither, "that he should, with all severity, and expedition, proceed against those Conspirators (as they called them) and thereupon, by a Sentence and Judgement of a Council of War, Alderman *Teomans*, who had been High Sheriff of the City, and of great Reputation in it, and *George Bouchier* another Citizen of principal Account, were (against all Interposition his Majesty could make) both hanged; and all other imaginable Acts done, to let all the world see that there was no way to Peace but by the Sword.

THERE fell out now an accident at *London*, which gave great advantage to them in the fierce prosecution of the War, ^{A design discover'd at London, wherein Mr Waller, Mr Tomkins, and Others, were concern'd.} a discovery of a Plot, which produced a publick thanksgiving to God for their deliverance, a wonderful Animosity against the King, and a Covenant, and Union among Themselves, and throughout the City a prejudice to all Moderate Men, who promoted an Accommodation, and a Brand upon all Overtures of Peace as Stratagems upon the City, and the Parliament. Of this Plot, there being never such a form'd relation made by those who made great use of it, that Men can collect what the design was, or that it was laid with any probable circumstances, by which a success might be expected, I shall briefly, and faithfully set down all that I know, have heard, or can reasonably conjecture to be in it; and it was thought by many, and averr'd by others who I believe did Not think so, "that I knew as much of it as most Men.

THERE was of the House of Commons, one Mr *Waller*, a Gentleman of a very good Fortune and Estate, and of admirable

ble parts, and faculties of Wit and Eloquence, and of an intimate Conversation, and familiarity with those who had that Reputation. He had, from the beginning of the Parliament, been look'd upon by all Men, as a Person of very entire Affections to the King's Service, and to the establish'd Government of Church and State; and by having no manner of relation to the Court, had the more credit and interest to promote the rights of it. When the ruptures grew so great between the King and the two Houses, that very many of the Members withdrew from those Councils, He, among the rest, with equal dislike absented himself; but at the time the Standard was set up, having intimacy and friendship with some Persons now of nearness about the King, with the King's Approbation, he return'd again to *London*; where he spoke, upon all occasions, with great sharpness, and freedom; which (now there were so few there that used it, and there was no danger of being over Voted) was not restrain'd; and therefore used as an Argument against those, who were gone upon pretence "that they were not suffer'd to declare their opinion freely in the House; which could not be believ'd, when all Men knew, "what Liberty Mr *Waller* took, and spoke every day with impunity, against the Sense, and Proceedings of the House. This wone him a great Reputation with all People who wish'd well to the King; and he was look'd upon as the boldest Champion the Crown had in both Houses; so that such Lords, and Commons, as really desired to prevent the ruin of the Kingdom, willingly complied in a great familiarity with him, as a Man resolute in their ends, and best able to promote them. And it may be they believ'd his Reputation at Court so good, that he would be no ill Evidence There, of other Mens Zeal, and Affection; and so all Men spoke their minds freely to him, both of the general distemper, and of the passions, and ambition of particular Persons: All Men knowing him to be of too good a Fortune, and too wary a Nature, to engage himself in designs of danger or hazard.

Mr *WALLER* had a Brother in Law, one Mr *Tomkins*, who had married his Sister, and was Clerk of the Queen's Council, of very good fame for Honesty, and Ability. This Gentleman had good Interest, and Reputation in the City, and conversed much with those who disliked the proceedings of the Parliament, and wish'd to live under the same Government they were born; and from those Citizens receiv'd information of the temper of the People, upon Accidents, in the publick Affairs. And Mr *Waller*, and He, with that confidence that uses to be between Brethren of the same good Affections, frequently imparted their observations, and opinions to each other; the one relating, how many in both Houses inclined

inclined to Peace ; and the other making the same judgement upon the correspondence he had, and intelligence he receiv'd from the most substantial Men of *London* ; and both of them again communicated what one receiv'd from the other, to the Company they used to converse with ; Mr *Waller* imparting the wishes, and power of the well affected Party in the City, to the Lords and Gentlemen whom he knew to be of the same mind ; and Mr *Tomkins* acquainting those he durst trust of the City, that such and such Lords and Gentlemen, who were of special Note, were weary of the distractions, and would heartily, and confidently contribute to such an honourable, and honest Peace, as all Men knew would be most acceptable to the King. And from hence they came reasonably to a conclusion, that if some means were found out to raise a confidence in those who wish'd well, that they should not be oppress'd by the extravagant power of the desperate Party ; but that if they would so far assist one another, as to declare their opinions to be the same, they should be able to prevent, or suppress those Tumults, which seem'd to countenance the distractions ; and the Houses would be induced to Terms of Moderation.

IN this time the Lord *Conway*, being return'd from *Ireland*, incens'd against the *Scots*, and discontented with the Parliament here, finding Mr *Waller* in good esteem with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and of great Friendship with the Earl of *Portland*, he enter'd into the same familiarity ; and, being more of a Soldier, in the discourses administer'd questions, and considerations, necessary to be understood by Men that either meant to Use force, or to Resist it ; and wish'd "that they who had Interest, and Acquaintance in the City, "would endeavour by a mutual correspondence to inform "themselves of the distinct Affections of their Neighbours, "that, upon any exigent, Men might foresee whom they might "trust ; and these discourses being again derived by Mr *Waller* to Mr *Tomkins*, He, upon occasion, and conference with his Companions, insisted on the same Arguments ; and They again conversing with Their Friends, and Acquaintance (for of all this business, there were not above three who ever spoke together) agreed, "that some well affected Persons, in every "Parish, and Ward, about *London*, should make a list of all "the Inhabitants ; and thereupon to make a reasonable guess "of their several Affections (which at that time was no hard thing for observing Men to do) and thence a computation of the Strength, and Power of that Party, which was notoriously Violent against any Accommodation.

I AM perswaded the utmost project in this design was (I speak not what particular Men might intend, or wish upon

R 2

their

their own fancies) to beget such a Combination among the Party well affected, that they would refuse to conform to those Ordinances of the twentieth part, and other Taxes for the support of the War; and thereby, or by joyn't Petitioning for Peace, and discountenancing the other who Petition'd against it, to prevail with the Parliament to incline to a determination of the War. And it may be, some Men might think of making advantage of any Casual Commotion, or preventing any mischief by it; and thereupon that enquiry where the Magazines lay, and discourse of wearing some distinguishing tokens, had been rather casually mention'd, than seriously propos'd. For it is certain, very many who were conscious to themselves of Loyal Purposes to the King, and of hearty dislike of the Parliament's proceedings, and observ'd the violent, revengeful, ruining prosecution of all Men, by those of the engaged Party, were not without sad apprehensions that, upon some Jealousy, and Quarrel pick'd, even a general Massacre might be attempted of all the King's Friends; and thereupon, in several discourses, might touch upon such expedients, as might in those Seasons be most beneficial to their safety. But that there was ever any form'd design, either of letting in the King's Army into *London*, which was impossible to be contriv'd; or of raising an Army there, and surprising the Parliament, or any one Person of it, or of using any violence in, or upon the City, I could never yet see cause to believe; and if there had, they would have publish'd such a relation of it, after Mr *Waller* had confess'd to them, all he knew, had heard, or fancied to himself, as might have constituted some reasonable understanding of it; and not have contented themselves with making conclusions from Questions that had been asked, and Answers made, by Persons unknown, and forcing expressions used by one, to relate to Actions of another, between whom there had been never the least acquaintance, or correspondence; and joyning what was Said at *London* to somewhat Done at *Oxford*, at another time, and to another purpose: for before I finish this discourse, it will be necessary to speak of another Action, which, how distinct soever from this that is related, was woven together to make one Plot.

FROM the King's coming to *Oxford*, many Citizens of good Quality, who were prosecuted, or jealously look'd upon in *London*, had resorted to the King, and hoping, if the Winter produced not a Peace, that the Summer would carry the King before that City with an Army, they had entertain'd some discourse "of raising, upon their own Stocks of Money "and Credit, some Regiments of Foot, and Horse, and joyn-
"ing with some Gentlemen of *Kent*, who were likewise in-
"clined

"clined to such an undertaking: Among these was *Sr Nicholas Crisp*, a Citizen of good Wealth, great Trade, and an active spirited Man, who had been lately prosecuted with great severity by the House of Commons, and had thereupon fled from *London*, for appearing too great a Stickler in a Petition for Peace in the City. This Gentleman industriously preserv'd a correspondence still there, by which he gave the King often very useful Intelligence, and assured him "of a "very considerable Party, which would appear there for him, "when ever his own power should be so near, as to give "them any countenance. In the end, whether invited by his Correspondents there, or trusting his own sprightly inclinations and resolutions too much, and concluding that all who were equally Honest, would be equally Bold, he desired his Majesty, "to grant a Commission to such Persons, whom He "would nominate, of the City of *London*, under the Great "Seal of *England*, in the nature of a Commission of Array, "by virtue whereof, when the Season should come, his Party "there would appear in discipline, and order; and that this "was desired by those, who best knew what Countenance and "Authority was requisite; and being trusted to them would "not be executed at all, or else at such a time as his Majesty "should receive ample fruit by it; provided it were done with "secrecy, equal to the hazard They should run who were "employed in it.

THE King had this exception to it, "the improbability "that it could do good, and that the failing might do hurt to "the Undertakers. But the Promoter was a very Popular Man in the City, where he had been a Commander of the Train'd-bands, till the Ordinance of the Militia removed him; which rather improv'd, than lessen'd, his Credit; and he was very confident, it would produce a notable advantage to the King: however, They desired it who were there, and would not appear without it; and therefore the King consented to it; referring the nomination of all Persons in the Commission to him; who, he verily believ'd, had proceeded by the Instruction, and Advice of those that were nearest the concernment; and for the secrecy of it, the King referr'd the preparing, and dispatch of the Commission, to *Sr Nicholas Crisp* himself, who should acquaint no more with it, than he found requisite; so without the privy, or advice of any Counsellor, or Minister of State then most trusted by his Majesty, he procured such a Commission as he desired (being no other than the Commission of Array in *English*) to be sign'd by the King, and seal'd with the Great Seal.

THIS being done, and remaining still in his Custody, the Lady *Aubigney*, by a Pass, and with the consent of the Houses,

came to *Oxford* to transact the Affairs of her own Fortune with the King upon the death of her Husband, who was kill'd at *Edge-hill*; and She having in few days dispatch'd her business there, and being ready to return, *St Nicholas Crisp* came to the King, and besought him, "to desire that Lady (who had a Pass, and so could promise her self safety in her Journey) "to carry a small Box (in which that Commission should be) "with her, and to keep it in her own Custody, until a "Gentleman should call to her Ladyship for it, by such a "token; that token, he said, "he could send to one of the "Persons trusted, who should keep it by him, till the opportunity came in which it might be executed. The King accordingly wish'd the Lady *Aubigney*, to carry it with great care and secrecy; telling her, "it much concern'd his own "Service; and to deliver it in such manner, and upon such Assurance, as is before mention'd: which she did, and, within few days after her return to *London*, deliver'd it to a Person who was appointed to call for it. How this Commission was discover'd, I could never learn: for though *Mr Waller* had the Honour to be admitted often to that Lady, and was believ'd by Her to be a Gentleman of most entire Affections to the King's Service, and consequently might be fitly trusted with what she knew, yet her Ladyship her self, not knowing what it was she carried, could not inform any Body else.

BUT about this time, a Servant of *Mr Tomkins*, who had often cursorily over heard his Master and *Mr Waller* discourse of the Argument, We are now upon, placed himself behind a hanging, at a time they were together; and there, whilst either of them discoursed the language, and opinion of the Company they kept, over heard enough to make him believe his Information, and Discovery, would make him welcome to those whom he thought concern'd; and so went to *Mr Pym*, and acquainted him with all he had heard, or probably imagin'd. The time when *Mr Pym* was made acquainted with it, is not known; but the circumstances of the publishing it were such, as fill'd all Men with Apprehensions. It was on *Wednesday* the 31st of *May*, their solemn fast day, when, being all at their Sermon, in *St Margaret's Church* in *Westminster*, according to their custom, a Letter or Message is brought privately to *Mr Pym*; who thereupon, with some of the most active Members, rise from their Seats; and, after a little whispering together, remove out of the Church: This could not but exceedingly affect those who stayed behind; immediately they send Guards to all the Prisons, as *Lambeth-House*, *Ely-House*, and such places, where their Malignants were in Custody, with directions "to search the Prisoners; and some other places which they thought fit should be suspected. After the

the Sermons were ended, the Houses met; and were only then told, "that Letters were intercepted going to the King "and the Court at *Oxford*, that express'd some notable Con- "spiracy in hand, to deliver up the Parliament, and the City "into the hands of the Cavaliers; and that the time for the "execution of it, drew very near. Hereupon a Committee was appointed "to examine all Persons They thought fit; "and to apprehend some nominated at that time. And the same Night, this Committee apprehended Mr *Waller*, and Mr *Tomkins*; and, the next day, such others as they suspected.

Mr *WALLER* was so confounded with Fear, and Apprehension, that he confess'd whatever he had said, heard, thought, or seen; all that he knew of himself, and all that he suspected of others; without concealing any Person of what Degree, or Quality soever, or any discourse that he had ever, upon any occasion, entertain'd with them: What such and such Ladies of great Honour, to whom, upon the Credit of his great Wit, and very good Reputation, he had been admitted, had spoke to him in their Chambers of the proceedings in the Houses; and how they had encouraged him to oppose them, what correspondence, and intercourse they had, with some Ministers of State at *Oxford*; and how they deriv'd all Intelligence thither. He inform'd them, "that the Earl of *Portland*, and the Lord *Conway*, had been particular in all the "agitations which had been with the Citizens; and had given "frequent Advice, and Directions, how they should demean "themselves; and that the Earl of *Northumberland*, had express'd very good wishes to any attempt, that might give a "stop to the Violent Actions, and Proceedings of the Houses, "and produce a good Understanding with the King.

WHEN the Committee were thus furnish'd, they took the examinations of Mr *Tomkins*, and such other as they thought necessary, and having at the same time, by some other means, discover'd (or conceal'd it till this time) that Commission which is before discours'd of, and gotten the very Original into their hands, they kneaded both into one Plot, and Conspiracy; and, acquainting the Houses with so much as they thought yet seasonable to publish, they declared (without naming any Lords, or other Persons, to be interess'd in the design, save those only who were imprison'd; among whom the Lady *Aubigny* was one: and without communicating any of the examinations, which, they pretended, were not to be common till the Conspirators were brought to Trial) "that "the Original of this Conspiracy was from the late *London* "Petition for Peace, which was spoken of about *Christmas* last in the Book precedent; "and that, under pretence of "Peace and Moderation, a Party was to be form'd, which

“should be able to suppress all opponents, and to awe the Parliament: That, to this purpose, some of those who were the principal Movers, and Fomenters of that Petition, did continue, in the Nature of a Committee, still to carry on the design: that they held Intelligence in both Armies, Court, and Parliament; took a general Survey of the Numbers, and Affections of the several Inhabitants throughout the Wards, and Parishes of the City, and places adjacent; and distinguish’d all under the titles of Men affected, or averse to the King; or indifferent, and Neutral Persons, carried only by the success, and power of the Prevailers: That they were well instructed in the Number, and inclinations of the Train’d-bands of *London*; the places where the Magazines were kept; where the Commanders for the Parliament dwelt; had thought of places for Rendezvous, and Retreat, upon any occasion, and of Colours, and Marks of distinction between the different Parties.

“THAT Mr *Waller* and Mr *Tamkins* were the principal Persons, employed, and trusted to give advertisement to, and correspond with, the King’s Ministers at *Oxford*; and receive advertisements and Commands from thence, for the completing the work; that they Two held constant Intelligence, and Intercourse with the Lord *Falkland* then principal Secretary to the King; and that, from Him, they receiv’d the signification of the King’s pleasure; and that those Directions, Counsels, and Encouragements, had been principally sent by those Messengers which had been employed by his Majesty to the Parliament, under the pretence of Peace; and, especially, by Mr *Alexander Hamden*; who came with the last Message, and was a Cousin-german to Mr *Waller*. That the Lady *Aubigny*, who had been lately at *Oxford*, had brought thence a Commission to them from the King, by force of Armes to destroy, kill, and slay the Forces, raised by the Parliament and their Adherents, as Traytors and Rebels; and that they had lately sent a Message to *Oxford* by one *Hassel*, a Servant of the King’s to acquaint the Lord *Falkland*, that the design was come to a good perfection; unto which, Answer was return’d, that they should hasten it with all speed:

“THAT the particulars of the Design appear’d to be: 1. To seize into their Custody the King’s Children: 2. To seize several Members of both Houses, the Lord Mayor, and Committee of the Militia, under pretence of bringing them to a legal Tryal. 3. To seize upon the Out-works, Forts, Tower of *London*, Magazines, Gates, and other places of importance in the City. 4. To let in the King’s Forces to surprize the City, and to destroy all those who
“should

"should oppose them by Authority of the Parliament. 5. By
"force of Armes to resist all payments imposed by Authority
"of Parliament, raised for the support of the Armies em-
"ployed for their just defence &c. to suspend, if not alter the
"whole Government of the City, and, with Assistance of
"the King's Force, to awe, and master the Parliament.

WHEN both Houses were awaken'd, and startled with this
report, the first thing agreed on, was, "a day of thanksgiving
"to God for this wonderful delivery; which shut out any
future doubts, and disquisitions, whether there had been any
such delivery; and, consequently, whether their Plot was in
truth, or had been so framed. Then it was said, "that as
"the design was the most desperate, so the carriage was the
"most subtle, and among Persons of Reputation, and not sus-
"pected; and that there was reason to suspect, many Mem-
"bers of both Houses were privy to it; and therefore there
"ought to be all possible care taken to make the discovery
"perfect, and to unite themselves for the publick defence:
"that if any part were left undiscover'd, it might prove fatal
"to the Common-wealth. This finding a full consent, it
was propounded, "that a Protestation might be drawn up, by
"which every Member of the two Houses might purge him-
"self from any guilt of, or privy in, that conspiracy; and
"likewise oblige himself to resist, and oppose any such Com-
"bination. They who were under the Character of Mo-
derate Men, and usually advanced all motions of Peace, and
Accommodation, durst not oppose the Expedient, lest they
should be concluded guilty; most of them having had fami-
liarity with Mr Waller, and, no doubt, upon sundry occasions,
spoken with that freedom to him, as might very well incur a
severe Interpretation, if, upon this occasion, what they had
said should be scann'd. And so, before the rising, there was
framed by the House of Commons, a Vow and Covenant to
be taken by the Members of both Houses, and afterwards by
the City, and their Army; for their Jealousy was now spread
over all their own Quarters; which Covenant, for the rare-
ness of it both in Title and Style, I think necessary here to
insert in the very terms; which were these:

*A Vow and
Covenant a-
greed to be
taken by the
Members of
both Houses
upon disco-
very of that
design.*

*A Sacred Vow, and Covenant, taken by the Lords and Com-
mons assembled in Parliament, upon the discovery of the
late horrid and treacherous design, for the destruction of
this Parliament and the Kingdom: the 6th of June 1643.*

"WHEREAS there hath been, and now is, in this King-
"dom, a Popish, and Trayterous Plot for the Subversion of
"the true Protestant Reform'd Religion, and the Liberty of
"the

"the Subject; and, in pursuance thereof, a Popish Army hath
 "been raised, and is now on foot in divers parts of this
 "Kingdom; and whereas there hath been a treacherous and
 "horrid design, lately discover'd by the great blessing and espe-
 "cial providence of God, of divers Persons, to joyn them-
 "selves with the Armies raised by the King, and to destroy
 "the Forces raised by the Lords and Commons in Parlia-
 "ment, to surprize the Cities of *London* and *Westminster* with
 "the Suburbs; by Armes to force the Parliament; and find-
 "ing by constant experience, that many ways of force, and
 "treachery, are continually attempted, to bring to utter ruin
 "and destruction the Parliament, and Kingdom; and that
 "which is dearest, the true Protestant Religion: And that,
 "for the preventing and withstanding the same, it is fit, that
 "all, who are true hearted, and lovers of their Country,
 "should bind themselves each to other in a sacred Vow and
 "Covenant:

"I *A. B.* in humility, and reverence of the Divine Maje-
 "sty, declare my hearty sorrow for my own Sins, and the Sins
 "of this Nation, which have deserv'd the Calamities, and
 "Judgements, that now lie upon it; and my true Intention is,
 "by God's grace, to endeavour the amendment of my own
 "ways; and I do farther, in the presence of Almighty God,
 "Declare, Vow, and Covenant, that, in order to the security
 "and preservation of the true Reform'd Protestant Religion,
 "and Liberty of the Subject, I will not consent to the laying
 "down of Armes, so long as the Papiſts, now in open War
 "against the Parliament, shall by force of Armes be protected
 "from the Justice thereof. And that I do abhor and detest
 "the said wicked, and treacherous design, lately discover'd:
 "And that I never gave, nor will give my Assent to the exe-
 "cution thereof, but will, according to my Power, and Voca-
 "tion, oppose and resist the same, and all other of the like Na-
 "ture. And in case any other like design shall hereafter come
 "to my knowledge, I will make such timely discovery, as I
 "shall conceive may best conduce to the preventing thereof.
 "And whereas I do in my conscience believe, that the Forces,
 "raised by the two Houses of Parliament, are raised, and con-
 "tinued for their just Defence, and for the Defence of the
 "true Protestant Religion, and Liberty of the Subject, against
 "the Forces raised by the King; that I will, according to my
 "Power, and Vocation, assist the Forces raised and continued,
 "by both Houses of Parliament, against the Forces raised by
 "the King without Their consent: And will likewise assist
 "all other Persons that shall take this Oath, in what they shall
 "do in pursuance thereof; and will not directly, or indirect-
 "ly,

ly, adhere unto, nor shall willingly assist the Forces raised by the King, without the Consent of both Houses of Parliament. And this Vow, and Covenant, I make in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all hearts, with a true Intention to perform the same, as I shall Answer at the great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed.

THOUGH many were much startled at this Covenant, and took time to consider of it, there being in the Preamble, and positive part, much which very few believ'd, and in the promissory part a more direct denouncing War against the King, than had been in plain terms before avow'd by them, and an absolute Protestation against Peace, till the King were at their Mercy; yet the fear of being concluded guilty of the Plot, made them swallow all the rest; and the example of one prevailing with many, there was not a Member of either House that took it not; and being thus fetter'd, and intangled themselves, they sent their Committee into the City, to acquaint them with their "happy discovery, and how miraculously God had preserv'd them, and to engage them in the same sacred Vow, and Covenant; which was readily submitted to; and, by the Industry of their Clergy, sooner than can be imagined, taken throughout that People. Then it was, with equal diligence, and solemnity, transmitted to their Army, that their Fears of Inconvenience from thence might be likewise purged; and thence it grew the mark of distinction, to know their Friends and Enemies by; and whosoever refused to take that Covenant, needed no other Charge to be concluded, and prosecuted, as the highest Malignant.

The same Vow and Covenant taken throughout the City, and Army.

BEING this way secure from any future Clamours for Peace, they proceeded to try Mr *Tomkins*; Mr *Chaloner*, a Citizen of good Wealth and Credit, and most intimate with Mr *Tomkins*; Mr *Hambden*, who brought the last Message from the King; one *Hassel* a Messenger of the King's, who pass'd often between *London* and *Oxford*, and sometimes carried Letters and Messages to the Lord *Falkland*; and some Citizens, whose names were in the Commission sent from *Oxford*; by a Council of War; by whom Mr *Tomkins*, and Mr *Chaloner* were Condemn'd to be hanged; and were both, with all circumstances of severity, and cruelty, executed: the One, on a Gibbet, by his own House in *Holborn*; where he had long liv'd with singular estimation; and the Other, by his House in *Cornhill*, near the old *Exchange*. *Hassel* the Messenger saved them farther trouble, and died in Prison the night before his Trial: And there being no evidence against Mr *Hambden*, but what Mr *Waller* himself gave, they gave no judgement against Him, but kept him long after in Prison, till he died; neither proceeded

The Trial, and Execution of Mr Tomkins, and Mr Chaloner.

proceeded they Capitally against those Citizens whose names were in the Commission, it not appearing that their names were used with their consent, and privity; though the brand of being Malignants serv'd the turn for their undoing; for all their Estates were seised, as theirs were who had been executed.

THERE is nothing clearer than that the Commission sent from *Oxford* by the Lady *Aubigny*, had not any relation to the discourses pass'd between *Mr Waller*, *Tomkins*, and those Citizens, or that they, who knew of one, had not any privity with the other: which if they had had, and intended such an Insurrection, as was alledged, *Mr Waller*, and *Mr Tomkins*, or some one of those Lords who were supposed to combine with them, would have been in the Commission. Or if the King's Ministers had been engaged in the consultation, and hoped to have raised a Party which should suddainly seise upon the City, and the Parliament, they would never have thought a Commission granted to some Gentlemen at *Oxford* (for the Major part of the Commissioners were there) and a few private Citizens, would have serv'd for that work. I am very confident, and I have very much reason for that confidence, that there was no more known, or thought of at *Oxford*, concerning the matter of the Commission, than I have before set forth, nor of the other, than that *Mr Tomkins* sometimes writ to the Lord *Falkland* (for *Mr Waller*, out of the cautiousness of his own Nature, never writ word) and by Messengers signified to him, "that the Number of those who desired Peace, and abhor'd the proceedings of the Houses, was very considerable; and that they resolv'd, by refusing to contribute to the War, and to submit to their Ordinances, to declare and manifest themselves in that manner, that the Violent Party in the City should not have credit enough to hinder any Accommodation. And the Lord *Falkland* always return'd Answer, "that they should expedite those Expedients, as soon as might be, for that delays made the War more difficult to be restrain'd. And if I could find Evidence, or Reason, to induce me to believe, that there was any farther design in the thing it self, or that the King gave farther countenance to it, I should not at all conceal it. No Man can imagine, that if the King could have entertain'd any probable hope of reducing *London*, which was the Fomenter, Supporter, and indeed the Life of the War, or could have found any expedient, from whence he could reasonably propose to dissolve, scatter, and disperse those who, under the name of a Parliament, had kindled a War against him, but he would have given his utmost assistance, and countenance thereunto, either by publick Force, or private Contrivance.

THERE

THERE were very great endeavours used, to have proceeded with equal severity against the Earl of *Portland*, and the Lord *Conway* (for the accusation of the Earl of *Northumberland*, it was proceeded tenderly in ; for though the Violent Party was heartily incensed against him, as a Man weary of them, yet his Reputation was still very great) who were both close Prisoners; and, to that purpose, their Lordships and Mr *Waller* were confronted before the Committee, where They as peremptorily denying, as He charging them, and there being no other Witnesses but He against them, the prosecution was rather let alone than declined, till after a long restraint they procured enlargement upon Bail. Mr *Waller* himself (though confessedly the most guilty ; and by his unhappy demeanour, in this time of his Affliction, he had raised as many Enemies as he had formerly Friends, and almost the same) after he had, with incredible dissimulation, acted such a remorse of Conscience, that his Tryal was put off out of Christian compassion, till he might recover his understanding (and that was not, till the heat, and fury of the Prosecutors, was reasonably abated with the Sacrifices they had made) and, by drawing Visitants to himself, of the most powerful Ministers of all Factions, had, by his liberality, and penitence, his receiving vulgar and vile sayings from them with humility, and reverence, as clearer Convictions and Informations than in his Life he had ever had ; and distributing great Sums to them for their Prayers, and Ghostly Counsel ; so satisfied Them, that They satisfied others ; was brought, at his suite, to the House of Commons Bar ; where (being a Man in truth very powerful in Language ; and who, by What he spoke, and in the Manner of speaking it, exceedingly captivated the good Will and Benevolence of his hearers ; which is the highest part of an Oratour) with such flattery, as was most exactly calculated to that Meridian, with such a Submission, as Their Pride took delight in, and such dejection of mind, and spirit, as was like to couzen the Major part, and be thought serious ; he laid before them “ their own danger, and concernment ; if they should suffer one of their own Body, how unworthy and monstrous soever, to be tryed by the Soldiers, who might thereby grow to that power hereafter, that they would both try those, They would not be willing should be tryed, and for things, which they would account No Crimes ; the inconvenience, and insupportable mischief whereof, all wise Common-wealths had foreseen, and prevented, by exempting their own Members from all judgments but their own : He prevailed, Not to be tryed by a Council of War ; and thereby preserv'd his dear bought Life ; so that, in truth, he does as much owe the Keeping his head

to

to that Oration, as *Cataline* did the Loss of His to those of *Tully*: and by having done Ill very well, he, by degrees, drew that respect to his parts, which always carries some compassion to the Person, that he got leave to compound for his transgression, and them to accept of ten thousand pounds (which their Affairs wanted) for his liberty; whereupon he had leave to recollect himself in another Country (for his Liberty was to be in Banishment) how miserable he had made himself, in obtaining that leave to live out of his own. And there cannot be a greater Evidence of the inestimable Value of his Parts, than that he liv'd, after this, in the good Affection, and Esteem of many, the pity of most, and the reproach, and scorn of few, or none.

THESE high proceedings, at *London*, and in the Houses, were not seconded with any notable success abroad; but it appear'd plainly, by the slow coming in of Monies, and more slow coming in of Men, that the hearts of the People were generally more devoted to Peace, than to the continuance of those distractions; and the Earl of *Essex*, by the great decay, and sickness of his Army, was not, in near six weeks, able to remove from *Reading*; by which many Men concluded, which could not be reasonably foreseen, that if *Reading* had held out many days longer, he would have been compell'd to raise his Siege; and that was the reason the Earl gave for granting so good conditions: for if he could have stayed longer before it, he well knew, they must have yielded on worse terms; neither feared he the King would be able to relieve it. In the end, there being no other way to quiet the City of *London*, he march'd towards *Oxford*; but, in truth, rather to secure *Buckingham-shire*, which was now infested by the King's Horse, than to disquiet that place. And to that purpose, he fixed his head Quarter at *Thame*, ten Miles from *Oxford*, and upon the very edge of the other County.

The Earl of
Essex
marches to
Thame.

IN the beginning of the War, the Army in *Scotland* having been lately disbanded, many Officers of that Nation, who had serv'd in *Germany* and in *France*, betook themselves to the Service of the Parliament; whereof divers were Men of good Conduct, and Courage; though there were more as bad as the Cause in which they engaged. Of the former sort Colonel *Urry* was a Man of Name, and Reputation, and an excellent Officer of Horse, and had Commanded those Horse at *Edge-hill* under *Balfour*, which had preserv'd their Army there; and finding himself afterwards not so well regarded, as, he thought, he had deserv'd, as it was no easy thing to value that People at the rate they did set upon themselves; and being without any other Affection for their Service, than their Pay inclin'd him to, he resolv'd to quit them, and to go

to

to the King; in order to which, he had kept some correspondence with the Earl of *Brainford* the King's General; under whose Command he had formerly serv'd in *Germany*. Whilst the Earl of *Essex* remain'd at *Thame*, and his Army Quarter'd thereabout, *Urry* came to *Oxford*, in the Equipage that became a Colonel of Horse who had receiv'd good Pay; and the very next day after he came, having been very graciously receiv'd by the King, to give proof that he brought his whole heart with him, he went to Prince *Rupert*, acquainted him where the Parliament Horse lay, and how loose they were in their Quarters; and to give a testimony of his fidelity to the King, he desired to march a Voluntier with a good Party, to make an attempt upon the Enemy; and the Prince assigning a strong Party for the Service, he accompanied, and conducted them out of the Common Road, till they came to a Town, where a Regiment of the Parliament's Horse was Quarter'd; which they beat up; and kill'd, or took most of the Officers and Soldiers; and then fell upon those other Quarters, by which they had pass'd before, with the like success; so return'd to *Oxford* with many Prisoners, and with notable damage to the Enemy.

AS SOON as he return'd, he made another Proposition to the Prince for the Attacking the Quarters near *Thame*; through which he had pass'd, when he came to *Oxford*, and so was well acquainted with the posture in which they were, and assured the Prince, "that, if he went about it time enough, before there should be any alteration in their Quarters, which he believ'd the General would quickly make, the Enterprize would be worthy of it. The Prince was so well satisfied with what he had already done, that he resolv'd to conduct the next adventure himself, which he did very fortunately. They went out of the Ports of *Oxford* in the Evening upon a *Saturday*, and march'd beyond all the Quarters as far as *Wickham*, and fell in there at the farther end of the Town towards *London*, from whence no Enemy was expected, and so no Guards were kept There. A Regiment of Horse, and of Foot, were Lodged there; which were cut off, or taken Prisoners; and all the Horses and a good Booty brought away. From thence they march'd backward to another Quarter, within less than two Miles of the General's own Quarters; where his Men Lodged with the same security, they had done at *Wickham*, not expecting any Enemy that way; and so met with the same fate the others had done; and were all kill'd, or made Prisoners. Thus having perform'd, at least as much as they had propos'd to do, and being laden with Prisoners, and Booty, and the Sun being now Rising, the Prince thought it time to retire to *Oxford*, and

Prince Rupert
beats
up some of
his Quarters
with good
success.

and gave Orders to march accordingly with all convenient speed, till they should come to a Bridge which was yet two Miles from them, where he had appointed a Guard to attend, to favour their Retreat.

BUT the Alarm had been brought to the Earl of *Essex* from all the Quarters, who quickly gathered those Troops together, which were nearest; and directed those to follow the Prince, and to entertain him in Skirmishes, till Himself should come up with the Foot, and some other Troops; which he made all possible hast to do. So that when the Prince had almost pass'd a fair Plain, or Field, call'd *Chalgrave* Field, from whence he was to enter a Lane, which continued to the Bridge; the Enemies Horse were discover'd marching after them with speed; and as they might easily overtake them in the Lane, so they must as easily have put them into great disorder. Therefore the Prince resolv'd to expect, and stand them upon the open Field, though his Horse were all tired, and the Sun was grown very hot, it being about eight of the Clock in the Morning in *June*. He then directed, "that the Guard of the Prisoners should make what hast they could to the Bridge, but that all the rest should return; for some were enter'd the Lane: and so he placed himself and his Troops, as he thought fit, in that Field to receive the Enemy; which made more hast, and with less order than they should have done; and being more in Number than the Prince, and consisting of many of the Principal Officers, who having been present with the Earl of *Essex*, when the Alarm came, stay'd not for their own Troops, but joyn'd with those who were ready in the pursuit, as They thought, of a Flying Enemy, or such as would easily be arrested in their hasty retreat; and, having now overtaken them, meant to take revenge themselves for the damage they had receiv'd that Night, and Morning, before the General could come up to have a share in the Victory, though his Troops were even in View. But the Prince entertain'd them so roughly, that though they Charged very bravely and obstinately, being many of their best Officers, of which the chiefest falling, the rest shew'd less Vigour, in a short time they broke, and fled, and were pursued till they came near the Earl of *Essex's* Body; which being at near a miles distance, and making a stand to receive their Flying Troops, and to be inform'd of their disaster, the Prince with his Troops hasten'd his retreat, and pass'd the Lane, and came safe to the Bridge before any of the Earl's Forces came up; who found it then to no purpose to go farther, there being a good Guard of Foot, which had likewise lined both sides of the Hedges a good way in the Lane. Thus the Prince, about Noon, or shortly after,

enter'd *Oxford*, with near two hundred Prisoners, seven Cornets of Horse, and four Ensigns of Foot, with most of the Men he carried from thence; few only having been kill'd in the Action, whereof some were of Name.

THE Prince presented Colonel *Urry* to the King with a great Testimony of the Courage he had shew'd in the Action, as well as of his Counsel, and Conduct in the whole; which was indeed very dexterous, and could have been perform'd by no Man, who had not been very conversant in the Quarters of those he destroyed. Upon which, the King honour'd him with Knighthood, and a Commission to raise a Regiment of Horse; and every body magnified, and extolled him, as they usually do a Man who hath good luck, and the more, because he was a *Scotch*-man, and profess'd a Repentance for having been in Rebellion against the King. He deserves this Testimony, and Vindication to be given him, against the calumnies which were raised against him, "as if he had broken his Trust, and deserted the Service of the Parliament, and betrayed them to the King, which is not true. He had own'd, and publish'd his discontents long before, and demanded redress, and justice, in some particulars from the Parliament, in which the Earl of *Essex* thought he had reason; and wish'd he might receive satisfaction. But the Man was in his nature proud, and imperious; had raised many Enemies; was a Man of Licence, and committed many disorders of that kind. He was however a good Officer in the Field; regular and vigilant in Marching, and in his Quarters; which the Parliament thought other Men would attain to, who had fewer Vices; and therefore granted nothing that he had desired; upon which he declared, "he would serve them no longer; and deliver'd up his Commission to the Earl of *Essex*; and being then press'd to promise, that he would not serve the King; he positively refused to give any such Engagement; and after he had stayed in *London* about a Month, and had receiv'd encouragement from some Friends in *Oxford*, he came thither in the manner set down before.

THE Prince's success in this last march was very seasonable, and raised the Spirits at *Oxford* very much, and for some time allayed the Jealousies, and Animosities, which too often broke out in several Factions to the disquiet of the King. It was visibly great in the number of the Prisoners; whereof many were of condition, and the names of many Officers were known, who were left dead upon the Field, as Colonel *Gunter*, who was look'd upon as the best Officer of Horse they had, and a Man of known malice to the Government of the Church; which had drawn some severe censure upon him before the Troubles, and for which he had still meditated Re-

venge. One of the Prisoners taken in the Action, said, "that he was confident Mr *Hambden* was hurt, for he saw him ride off the Field before the Action was done, which he never used to do, with his head hanging down, and resting his hands upon the neck of his Horse; by which he concluded he was hurt. The news the next day made the Victory much more important, than it was thought to have been. There was full information brought of the great loss the Enemy had sustain'd in their Quarters, by which three or four Regiments were utterly broken and lost: the names of many Officers, of the best account, were known, who were either kill'd upon the place, or so hurt as there remain'd little hope of their recovery.

AMONG the Prisoners, there were taken Colonel *Sheffield*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Mulgrave*, and one Colonel *Beckly* a Scotch-man; who, being both visibly wounded, acted their hurts so well, and pretended to be so ready to expire, that upon their Paroles neither to endeavour nor endure a Rescue, they were suffer'd to rest at a private House in the way, within a mile of the Field, till their Wounds should be dress'd, and they recover so much strength as to be able to render themselves Prisoners at *Oxford*. But the King's Forces were no sooner gone, than they found means to send to their Comrades, and were the next day strong enough, to suffer themselves to be removed to *Thame*, by a strong Party sent from the Earl of *Essex*; and, between denying that they had promised, and saying, that they would perform it, they never submitted themselves to be Prisoners, as much against the Law of Armes, as their taking Armes was against their Allegiance. But that which would have been look'd upon as a considerable recompence for a Defeat, could not but be thought a great addition to the Victory, which was the death of Mr *Hambden*; who, being shot into the shoulder with a brace of Bullets, which brake the Bone, within three Weeks after died with extraordinary pain; to as great a consternation of all that Party, as if their whole Army had been defeated, or cut off.

Mr Hambden wounded in Chalgrave Field, of which he died.

MANY Men observ'd (as upon signal turns of great Affairs, as this was, such observations are frequently made) that the Field in which the late Skirmish was, and upon which Mr *Hambden* receiv'd his death's wound, *Chalgrave Field*, was the same place in which he had first executed the Ordinance of the Militia, and engaged that County, in which his Reputation was very great, in this Rebellion: and it was confest'd by the Prisoners that were taken that day, and acknowledged by all, that upon the Alarm that morning, after their Quarters were beaten up, he was exceeding solicitous to draw Forces together to pursue the Enemy; and, being a Colonel

of

of Foot, put himself among those Horse as a Voluntier, who were first ready; and that when the Prince made a stand, all the Officers were of opinion to stay till their Body came up, and He alone (being second to None but the General himself in the observance, and application of all men) perswaded, and prevailed with them to advance; so violently did his fate carry him, to pay the Mulct in the place where he had committed the Transgression, about a year before.

He was a Gentleman of a good Family in *Buckinghamshire*, and born to a fair Fortune, and of a most civil and affable deportment. In his entrance into the world, he indulged to himself all the Licence in Sports and Exercises, and Company, which were used by Men of the most Jolly Conversation. Afterwards, he retired to a more reserv'd, and Melancholy Society, yet preserving his own natural Chearfulness, and Vivacity, and above all, a flowing courtesy to all Men; though they who conversed nearly with him, found him growing into a dislike of the Ecclesiastical Government of the Church, yet most believ'd it rather a dislike of some Church-men, and of some introducements of theirs, which he apprehended might disquiet the publick Peace. He was rather of Reputation in his own Country, than of publick discourse, or fame in the Kingdom, before the business of Ship-money: but Then he grew the Argument of all Tongues, every Man enquiring who, and what He was, that durst, at his own charge, support the Liberty, and Property of the Kingdom, and rescue his Country, as he thought, from being made a Prey to the Court. His carriage, throughout this Agitation, was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watch'd him narrowly to find some advantage against his Person, to make him less resolute in his Cause, were compell'd to give him a just Testimony. And the Judgement that was given against him, infinitely more advanced Him, than the Service for which it was given. When this Parliament begun (being return'd Knight of the Shire for the County where he liv'd) the Eyes of all Men were fix'd upon him, as their *Patriæ Pater*, and the Pilot that must steer the Vessel, through the Tempests, and Rocks which threaten'd it. And I am perswaded, his Power and Interest, at that time, was greater to do Good or Hurt, than any Man's in the Kingdom, or than any Man of His Rank hath had in any time: for his Reputation of Honesty was Universal, and his Affections seem'd so publickly guided, that no corrupt, or private ends could byass them.

He was of that rare affability, and temper in Debate, and of that seeming humility and submission of judgement, as if he brought no opinion of his own with him, but a desire of Information, and Instruction; yet he had so subtle a way of

Interrogating, and, under the notion of Doubts, insinuating his Objections, that he infused his own opinions into those from whom he pretended to learn, and receive them. And even with them who were able to preserve themselves from his infusions, and discern'd those opinions to be fixed in him, with which they could not comply, he always left the Character of an Ingenious, and Conscientious Person. He was indeed a very Wise Man, and of great parts, and possess'd with the most absolute spirit of Popularity, and the most absolute faculties to govern the People, of any Man I ever knew. For the first year of the Parliament, he seem'd rather to moderate, and soften the violent and distemper'd humours, than to inflame them. But wise and dispassion'd Men plainly discern'd, that That moderation proceeded from prudence, and observation that the season was not ripe, rather than that he approv'd of the moderation; and that he Begot many opinions, and motions, the Education whereof he committed to other Men; so far disguising his own designs, that he seem'd seldom to wish more than was concluded; and in many gross conclusions, which would hereafter contribute to designs not yet set on foot, when he found them sufficiently backed by majority of Voices, he would withdraw himself before the Question, that he might seem not to consent to so much visible unreasonableness; which produced as great a doubt in some, as it did approbation in others, of his Integrity. What combination soever had been originally with the *Scots* for the Invasion of *England*, and what farther was enter'd into afterwards in favour of them, and to advance any alteration of the Government in Parliament, no Man doubts was at least with the privacy of this Gentleman.

AFTER he was among those Members accused by the King of High Treason, he was much alter'd; his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before. And without question, when he first drew his Sword, he threw away the Scabbard; for he passionately opposed the Overture made by the King for a Treaty from *Nottingham*, and as eminently, all expedients that might have produced any accommodations in this that was at *Oxford*; and was principally relied on, to prevent any infusions which might be made into the Earl of *Essex* towards Peace, or to render them ineffectual, if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that Party, than the General himself. In the first entrance into the Troubles, he undertook the Command of a Regiment of Foot, and perform'd the duty of a Colonel, upon all occasions, most punctually. He was very temperate in diet, and a Supreme Governour over all his Passions, and Affections, and had thereby a great power over other Mens. He was of an Industry
and

and Vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the most Laborious ; and of Parts not to be imposed upon, by the most Subtle, or Sharp ; and of a Personal courage equal to his best Parts ; so that he was an Enemy not to be wish'd wherever he might have been made a Friend ; and as much to be apprehended where he was so, as any Man could deserve to be. And therefore his death was no less pleasing to the One Party, than it was condoled in the Other. In a word, what was said of *Cinna*, might well be applied to Him ; " he had a Head to contrive, and a Tongue to persuade, and a Hand to execute, any mischief. His death therefore seem'd to be a great deliverance to the Nation.

THE Earl of *Essex's* Army was so weaken'd by these defeats, and more by the sickness that had wasted it, that it was not thought safe to remain longer so near his unquiet, and restless Enemies. The Factions, and Animosities at *London*, required his presence There ; and he thought the Army would be sooner recruited there, than at so great a distance ; so that he march'd directly from *Thame* to *London*, where he found Jealousy and Contention enough ; leaving his Army Quarter'd about *St Albans*. Whilst the Affairs of the Parliament were in this distraction, the King's recover'd great Reputation ; and the Season of the year being fit for Action, all Discontents, and Factious Murmurings, were adjourn'd to the next Winter.

The Earl of Essex marches from Thame to London ; quartering his Army about St Albans.

THE end of the Treaty, in which We left the Chief Commanders of the *Cornish* Forces, with Commissioners of the other Western Counties, was like that in other places ; for notwithstanding those extraordinary obligations of Oaths, and receiving the Sacrament, circumstances in no other Treaty, the Parliament no sooner sent their Votes, and Declarations to them (the same which are before mention'd upon the Treaties in *York-shire*, and *Cheeshire*) and some Members of their own to overlook and perplex them, but all peaceable Inclinations were laid aside ; so that (having in the mean time industriously levied Money, throughout *Somerset* and *Devon*, upon Friends and Enemies ; and a good Body of Men) the Night before the expiration of the Treaty and Cessation, *James Chudleigh* the Major General of the Rebels, brought a strong Party of Horse and Foot within two miles of *Launceston*, the head Quarter of the *Cornish*, and the very next Morning, the Cessation not being determined till after twelve of the Clock in the Night, march'd upon the Town, where they were not sufficiently provided for them. For though the Commanders of the *Cornish* had employed their time, as usefully as they could, during the Cessation, in preparing the Gentry of that Country, and all the Inhabitants, to submit to a Weekly Tax

The King's Affairs in the West.

for the support of that power, which defended them; over and above which, the Gentlemen, and Persons of Quality, freely brought in all their Plate to be disposed of to the publick, and though they foresaw, after the Committee of Parliament came into the Country, that the Treaty would conclude without fruit, and therefore *Sr Ralph Hopton*, and *Sr Bevil Green-wil* repaired to *Launceston* the day before the expiration of the Treaty, to meet any attempt should be made upon them: Yet, being to Feed, and Pay their small Forces out of one County, they had been compell'd to Quarter their Men at a great distance, that no one part might be more oppress'd than was necessary: so that all that was done the first day, was by the advantage of Passes, and lining of Hedges, to keep the Enemy in Action, till the other Forces came up; which they seasonably did, towards the Evening; and then the Enemy, who receiv'd great loss in that days Action, grew so heartless, that in the Night they retired to *Okington*, fifteen miles from the place of their Skirmish. After which many small Skirmishes ensued, for many days, with various success; sometimes the *Cornish* advancing in *Devon*, and then retiring again; for it appear'd now, that a form'd Army was marching against them, so far superior in Number, that there was no reasonable hope of resistance.

The Earl of
Stamford
marches into
Cornwal
with an
Army.

TOWARDS the middle of *May*, the Earl of *Stamford* march'd into *Cornwal*, by the North part, with a Body of fourteen hundred Horse and Dragoons, and five thousand four hundred Foot by the Poll, with a Train of thirteen Brass Ordnance, and a Morter Piece, and a very plentiful Magazine of Victual, and Ammunition, and every way in as good an Equipage, as could be provided by Men who wanted no Money; whilst the King's small Forces, being not half the Number, and unsupplied with every useful thing, were at *Launceston*; of whom the Enemy had so absolute a contempt, though they knew they were marching to them, within six or seven Miles, that they consider'd only how to take them after they were dispersed, and to prevent their running into *Pendennis* Castle to give them farther trouble. To which purpose having encamped themselves upon the flat top of a very high Hill, to which the Ascents were very steep every way, near *Stratton*, being the only part of *Cornwal* eminently disaffected to the King's Service, they sent a Party of twelve hundred Horse and Dragoons, under the Command of *Sr George Chudleigh*, Father to their Major General, to *Bodmin* to surprize the High Sheriff, and principal Gentlemen of the Country; and thereby, not only to prevent the coming up of any more strength to the King's Party, but, under the awe of such a power of Horse, to make the whole Country rise for them. This design,

sign, which was not in it self unreasonable, proved fortunate to the King. For his Forces which march'd from *Launceston*, with a resolution to Fight with the Enemy, upon any disadvantage of Place or Number (which, how hazardous soever, carried less danger with it, than retiring into the County, or any thing else that was in their power) easily now resolv'd to Assault the Camp in the absence of their Horse; and with this resolution, they march'd on *Monday* the fifteenth of *May*, within a Mile of the Enemy; being so destitute of all Provisions, that the best Officers had but a Bisket a Man a day, for two days, the Enemy looking upon them as their own.

On *Tuesday* the sixteenth of *May*, about five of the Clock in the Morning, they disposed themselves to their work; having stood in their Armes all the Night. The Number of Foot was about two thousand four hundred, which they divided into four Parts, and agreed on their several Provinces. The first was Commanded by the Lord *Mobun*, and *St Ralph Hop-ton*; who undertook to Assault the Camp on the South side. Next them, on the left hand, *St John Berkley*, and *St Bevil Grenvill* were to force their way. *St Nicholas Slanning*, and Colonel *Trevannion* were to Assault the North side; and, on the left hand, Colonel *Thomas Bassett*, who was Major General of their Foot, and Colonel *William Godolphin* were to advance with Their Party; each Party having two pieces of Cannon to dispose as they found necessary: Colonel *John Digby* Commanding the Horse and Dragoons, being about five hundred, stood upon a Sandy Common which had a way to the Camp, to take any advantage he could of the Enemy, if they Charg'd; otherwise, to be firm as a Reserve.

In this manner the Fight begun; the King's Forces pressing, with their utmost vigour, those four ways up the Hill, and the Enemies as obstinately defending their ground. The Fight continued with very doubtful success, till towards three of the Clock in the Afternoon; when word was brought to the Chief Officers of the *Cornish*, that their Ammunition was spent to less than four Barrels of Powder; which (concealing the defect from the Soldiers) they resolv'd could be only supplied with Courage: and therefore, by Messengers to one another, they agreed to advance with their full Bodies, without making any more shot, till they reach'd the top of the Hill, and so might be upon even ground with the Enemy; wherein the Officer's Courage, and Resolution, was so well seconded by the Soldier, that they begun to get ground in all places; and the Enemy, in wonder of the Men, who out-faced their shot with their Swords, to quit their Post. Major General *Chudleigh*, who order'd the Battle, failed in no part of a Soldier; and when he saw his Men recoil from less Num-

bers, and the Enemy in all places gaining the Hill upon him; himself advanced, with a good stand of Pikes, upon that Party which was led by *Sr John Berkley*, and *Sr Bevil Greenvil*; and Charg'd them so smartly, that he put them into disorder; *Sr Bevil Greenvil*, in the shock, being borne to the Ground, but quickly reliev'd by his Companion; they so reinforced the Charge, that having kill'd most of the Assailants, and dispersed the rest, they took the Major General Prisoner, after he had behaved himself with as much Courage, as a Man could do. Then the Enemy gave ground apace, insomuch as the four Parties, growing nearer and nearer as they ascended the Hill, between three and four of the Clock, they all met together upon one ground near the top of the Hill; where they embraced with unspeakable joy, each congratulating the others success, and all acknowledging the wonderful blessing of God; and being there possess'd of some of the Enemies Cannon, they turn'd them upon the Camp, and advanced together to perfect the Victory. But the Enemy no sooner understood the loss of their Major General, but their hearts failed them; and being so resolutely press'd, and their ground lost, upon the security and advantage whereof, they wholly depended, some of them threw down their Armes, and Others fled; dispersing themselves, and every Man shifting for himself: Their General, the Earl of *Stamford*, giving the example, who (having stood at a safe distance all the time of the Battle, environ'd with all the Horse, which in small Parties, though it is true their whole Number was not above six or sevenscore, might have done great mischief to the several Parties of Foot, who with so much difficulty scaled the steep Hill) as soon as he saw the day lost, and some say sooner, made all imaginable hast to *Exeter*, to prepare them for the condition they were shortly to expect.

The Earl is
beaten near
Stratton,
May 16.

THE Conquerours, as soon as they had gain'd the Camp, and dispersed the Enemy, and after publick Prayers upon the place, and a solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God for their Deliverance and Victory, sent a small Party of Horse to pursue the Enemy for a mile or two; not thinking fit to pursue farther, or with their whole Body of Horse, lest *Sr George* should return from *Bodmin* with his strong Body of Horse and Dragoons, and find them in disorder; but contenting themselves with the Victory they had obtain'd upon the place, which, in Substance as well as Circumstance, was as signal a one, as hath happen'd to either Party since the unhappy distraction; for on the King's Party were not lost in all above fourscore Men; whereof few were Officers, and none above the degree of a Captain; and though many more were hurt, not above ten Men died afterwards of their wounds. On the

Parliament

Parliament side, notwithstanding their advantage of ground, and that the other were the Assailants, above three hundred were slain on the place, and seventeen hundred taken Prisoners with their Major General, and above thirty other Officers. They took likewise all their Baggage and Tents, all their Cannon, being, as was said before, thirteen pieces of Brass Ordnance, and a Brass Mortar-piece; all their Ammunition, being seventy Barrels of Powder, and all other sorts of Ammunition proportionable, and a very great Magazine of Bisket, and other excellent Provisions of Victuals; which was as seasonable a Blessing as the Victory, to those who, for three or four days before, had suffer'd great want of food as well as sleep; and were equally tired with duty, and hunger. The Army rested that night, and the next day, at *Stratton*; all care being taken by express Messengers, to disperse the news of their success to all parts of that Country, and to guard the Passes upon the River *Tamar*, whereby to hinder the return of the Enemies Horse and Dragoons. But *Sr George Chudleigh* had no sooner, with great triumph, dispersed the High Sheriff, and Gentlemen, who intended to have call'd the *posse Comitatus*, according to their good custom, for the Assistance of the King's Party, and with little resistance enter'd *Bodmin*, when he receiv'd the fatal News of the loss of their Camp and Army at *Stratton*. Upon which, with as much hast, and disorder, as so great a consternation could produce among a People not acquainted with the Accidents of War, leaving many of his Men and Horses a Prey to the Country People, himself, with as many as he could get, and keep together, got into *Plymouth*; and thence, without interruption or hazard, into *Exeter*.

THE Earl of *Stamford*, to make his own conduct and misfortune the less censur'd, industriously spread abroad in all places, and confidently sent the same information to the Parliament, "that he had been betrayed by *James Chudleigh*; and "that, in the heat of the Battle, when the hope of the day "stood fair, he had Voluntarily, with a Party, run over to "the Enemy, and immediately Charg'd the Parliament Forces; "which begot in all Men a general apprehension of Treachery, "the Soldiers fearing their Officers, and the Officers their "Soldiers revolt; and thereupon the Rout ensued. Whereas the truth is, as he was a young Man of excellent Parts, and Courage, he perform'd the part of a right good Commander, both in his Orders, and his Person; and was taken Prisoner in the Body of his Enemy, whither he had Charg'd with undaunted Courage, when there was no other expedient in reason left. But this scandal so without colour cast on him, and entertain'd with more credit than his services had merited (for
from

from the time of his Engagement to the Parliament, he had serv'd not only with full ability, but with notable success, and was the only Man that had given any interruption to the prosperity of the *Cornish* Army, and in a night-skirmish, at *Braddock-Down* near *Okington*, struck a greater terror into them, and disorder'd them more than they were at any other time) wrought so far upon the young Man, together with the kind usage, and reception he found as a Prisoner among the Chief Officers, who lov'd him as a Gallant Enemy, and one like to do the King good Service if he were recover'd to his Loyalty, that after he had been Prisoner about ten days, he freely declared, "that he was convinced in his conscience, "and judgement, of the errors he had committed; and, upon promise made to him of the King's Pardon, frankly offer'd to joyn with them in his Majesty's Service; and so gave some countenance to the reproach that was first most injuriously cast upon him.

THE truth is, he was of too good an understanding, and too much generosity in his nature, to be affected to the Cause which he serv'd, or to comply with those Arts, which he saw practiced to carry it on; and having a Command in *Ireland* when the War first broke out, he came thence into *England*, with a purpose to serve the King; and to that end, shortly after his Majesty's coming to *Oxford*, he came thither to tender his Service; but he found the Eyes of most Men fixed upon him with prejudice and jealousy there, both for his Family's sake, which was notoriously disaffected to the King, and for some errors of his own, in that Plot, that was so much spoken of, to bring up the Northern Army to awe the Parliament; in which business, being then a very young Man, and of a stirring spirit, and desirous of a Name, he had express'd much Zeal to the King's Service, and been busy in inclining the Army to engage in such Petitions, and Undertakings, as were not gracious to the Parliament. But when that discovery was made by *Mr Goring*, as is before remember'd, and a Committee appointed to examine the combination, this Gentleman, wrought upon by hopes, or fears, in his examination, said much that was disadvantageous to the Court, and therefore, bringing no other Testimony with him to *Oxford*, but of his own Conscience, he receiv'd nothing like Countenance there; whereupon he return'd to *London*, sufficiently incensed that he was neglected; and was quickly entertain'd for their Western employment, where his nearest Friends were thoroughly engaged. But after this defeat, his former passion being allayed, and his observation and experience convincing him, that the designs of the Parliament were not such as were pretended, he resign'd himself to those who

who first conquer'd him with Force, and then with Reason and Civility; and, no doubt, was much wrought upon by the discipline, and integrity of the Forces, by whom he had been subdued; and with the piety, temper, and sobriety of the Chief Commanders, which indeed was most exemplary, and worthy the Cause for which they were engaged; the Reputation, and Conscience whereof, had alone carried them through the difficulties, and streights, with which they were to contend.

THIS Army, willing to relieve their Friends of *Cornwal*, from the burthen which they sustain'd so patiently, hasten'd their march into *Devon-shire*, not, thoroughly resolv'd whether to attack *Plymouth*, or *Exeter*, or both; when advertisement came to them, by an express from *Oxford*, "that the King had sent Prince *Maurice*, and the Marquis of *Hertford*, with a very good Body of Horse to joyn with them, and that they were advanced towards them as far as *Somerset-shire*; and that *Sr William Waller* was design'd by the Parliament, to visit the West, with a new Army, which would receive a good recruit from those who escaped from the Battle of *Stratton*: So that it was necessary for all the King's Forces in those parts to be united in a Body, as soon as might be; hereupon it was quickly resolv'd to leave such a Party at *Salt-ash*, and *Milbrook* as might defend faithful *Cornwal* from any incursions of *Plymouth*, and with their Army to march Eastward; their number increasing daily upon the Reputation of their new wonderful Victory; many Volunteers coming to them out of *Devon-shire*, and very many of their Prisoners professing, they had been seduced, and freely offering to serve the King against those who had wrong'd both; who, being entertain'd under some of their own converted Officers, behaved themselves afterwards with great Honesty and Courage. And so making no longer stay by the way, than was necessary for the refreshing of their Troops, the *Cornish* Army, for that was the style it now carried, march'd by *Exeter*, where the Earl of *Stamford*, with a sufficient Garrison, then was; and staying only two or three days to fix small Garrisons, whereby that Town, full of fear and apprehension, might be kept from having too great an influence upon so populous a County, advanced to *Triverton*, where a Regiment of Foot of the Parliament, under Colonel *Ware*, a Gentleman of that Country, had fixed themselves; hoping *Sr William Waller* would be as soon with them for their relief, as the *Cornish* would be to force them; which Regiment being easily dispersed, they stay'd there to expect new Orders from the Marquis of *Hertford*.

WHEN the loss of *Reading* was well digested, and the King understood the declining condition of the Earl of *Essex's* Army,

my, and that he would either not be able to advance, or not in such a manner, as would give him much trouble at *Oxford*; and hearing in what prosperous state his hopeful Party in *Cornwall* stood, whither the Parliament was making all hast to send *Sr William Waller*, to check their good success; his Majesty resolv'd to send the Marquis of *Hertford* into those parts, the rather because there were many of the prime Gentlemen of *Wilt-shire*, *Dorset-shire*, and *Somerset-shire*, who confidently undertook, if the Marquis went through those Counties, with such a strength as they supposed the King would spare to him, they would in a very short time raise so considerable a power, as to oppose any force the Parliament should be able to send. When the Marquis was ready for his Journey, news arriv'd of the great Victory at *Stratton*; so that there was no danger in the Marquis's being able to joyn with that little *Cornish* Army; and then there would appear indeed a visible Body worthy the name of an Army. This put some Persons upon desiring, that Prince *Maurice* (who was yet in no other Quality of Command, than of a private Colonel of Horse, but had always behaved himself with great Courage and Vigilance) might be likewise disposed into a Command of that Army. Hereupon the King assign'd Him, and his Highness willingly accepted to be Lieutenant General under the Marquis; who for many reasons, besides that he was actually possess'd of it, was thought fit to have the superior power over those Western Counties, where his Fortune lay, and the Estimation, and Reverence of the People to him was very great. So the Prince and the Marquis, with Prince *Maurice's*, and the Earl of *Carnarvon's*, and Colonel *Thomas Howard's* Regiments of Horse (the Earl being General of the Cavalry) advanced into the West; and staying only some few days at *Salisbury*, and after in *Dorset-shire*, whilst some new Regiments of Horse and Foot, which were levying by the Gentlemen in those parts, came up to them, made all convenient hast into *Somerset-shire*, being desirous to joyn with the *Cornish*, as soon as might be; presuming they should be then best able to perfect their new Levies, when they were out of apprehension of being disturbed by a more powerful Force. For *Sr William Waller* was already march'd out of *London*, and used not to stay longer by the way than was unavoidably necessary.

IN the Marquis's first entrance into the West, He had an unspeakable loss, and the King's Service a far greater, by the death of *Mr Rogers*, a Gentleman of a rare Temper, and excellent Understanding; who besides that he had a great Interest in the Marquis, being his Cousin-german, and so, out of that private Relation, as well as Zeal to the publick, passionately inclined to advance the Service, had a wonderful great influence

influence upon the County of *Dorset*, for which he serv'd as one of the Knights in Parliament; and had so well design'd all things there, that *Poole*, and *Lyme* (two Port Towns in that County, which gave the King afterwards much Trouble) if He had liv'd, had been undoubtedly reduced. But by his Death all those hopes were cancelled, the surviving Gentry of that Shire being, how well affected soever, so unactive, that the progress, that was that year made there to the King's advantage, ow'd little to their Assistance.

ABOUT the middle of *June*, Prince *Maurice*, and the Marquis, with sixteen or seventeen Hundred Horse, and about one thousand new levied Foot, and seven or eight Field-pieces, came to *Chard*, a fair Town in *Somerset-shire*, nearest the edge of *Devon-shire*; where, according to order, they were met by the *Cornish* Army; which consisted of above three thousand excellent Foot, five hundred Horse, and three hundred Dragoons, with four or five Field-pieces; so that, Officers and all, being joyn'd, they might well pass for an Army of seven thousand Men; with an excellent Train of Artillery, and a very fair proportion of Ammunition of all sorts, and so good a Reputation, that they might well promise themselves a quick increase of their Numbers. Yet if the extraordinary temper and virtue of the Chief Officers of the *Cornish*, had not been much superior to that of their Common Soldiers, who valued themselves high, as the Men whose courage had alone vindicated the King's Cause in the West, there might have been greater disorder at their first joyning, than could easily have been compos'd. For how small soever the Marquis's Party was in Numbers, it was supplied with all the General Officers of a Royal Army, a General, Lieutenant General, General of the Horse, General of the Ordnance, a Major General of Horse, and another of Foot, without keeping suitable Commands for those who had done all that was pass'd, and were to be principally relied on for what was to come. So that the Chief Officers of the *Cornish* Army, by joyning with a much less Party than themselves, were at best in the condition of Private Colonels. Yet the same Publick thoughts still so absolutely prevail'd with them, that they quieted all murmurings and emulations among Inferior Officers, and Common Soldiers; and were, with equal candour and estimation, valued by the Prince and Marquis, who be-thought themselves of all expedients, which might prevent any future misunderstanding.

TAUNTON was the first place they resolv'd to visit, being one of the fairest, largest, and richest Towns in *Somerset-shire*; but withal as eminently affected to the Parliament, where they had now a Garrison; but they had not yet the same Courage they

The Marquis of Hertford and Prince Maurice, with their Forces, joyn the Cornish Army at Chard.

they recover'd afterwards. For the Army was no sooner drawn near the Town, the head Quarters being at *Orchard*, a House of the *Portmans*, two miles from the Town, but the Town sent two of their substantial Inhabitants to Treat; which, though nothing was concluded, struck that terror into the Garrison (the Prisoners in the Castle, whereof many were Men of good Fortunes, imprison'd there as Malignants, at the same time raising some commotion there) that: the Garrison fled out of the Town to *Bridgewater*, being a less Town but of a much stronger situation; and, with the same panick fear, the next day, from thence; so that the Marquis was possess'd, in three days, of *Taunton*, *Bridgewater*, and *Dunstar-Castle*, so much stronger than both the other, that it could not have been forced; yet by the dexterity of *Francis Windham*, who wrought upon the fears of the owner, and master of it, Mr *Lutterel*, was, with as little blood-shed as the other, deliver'd up to the King; into which the Marquis put him, that took it, as Governour; as he well deserv'd.

THE Government of *Taunton* he committed to *St John Stawell*, a Gentleman of a very great Estate in those parts; who, from the beginning, had heartily and personally engaged Himself and his Children for the King; and was in the first form of those who had made themselves obnoxious to the Parliament. The other Government, of *Bridgewater*, was conferr'd upon *Edmund Windham*, High Sheriff of the County, being a Gentleman of a Fortune near the place, and of a good personal Courage, and unquestionable Affection to the Cause. The Army stay'd about *Taunton* seven or eight days, for the settling those Garrisons, and to receive Advertisements of the Motion, or Station of the Enemy; in which time they lost much of the Credit, and Reputation, they had with the Country. For whereas the Chief Commanders of the *Commons* Army, had restrain'd their Soldiers from all manner of Licence, obliging them to solemn, and frequent Actions of Devotion, inasmuch as the fame of their Religion, and Discipline, was no less than of their Courage, and thereupon *St Ralph Hopton* (who was generally consider'd as the General of that Army, though it was govern'd by such a Commission as is before remember'd) was greedily expected in his own Country, where his Reputation was second to no Man's; the Horse, that came now with the Marquis, having lived under a loose Discipline, and coming now into plentiful Quarters, unvisited by an Army, eminent for their Disaffection, were disorderly enough to give the Enemy credit in laying more to their Charge than they deserv'd; and by their Licence hinder'd those orderly Levies, which should have brought in a supply of Money, for the regular payment of the Army.

This extravagancy produced another mischief, some jealousy, or shadow of it, between the Lord Marquis and Prince *Maurice*; the first, as being better versed in the Policy of Peace, than in the Mysteries of War, desiring to regulate the Soldier, and to restrain him from using any Licence upon the Country, and the Prince being thought so wholly to incline to the Soldier, that he neglected any consideration of the Country, and not without some design of drawing the sole dependence of the Soldier upon himself. But here were the seeds rather sown of dislike, than any visible disinclination produced; for after they had settled the Garrisons before mention'd, they advanced, with Unity and Alacrity, Eastward, to find out the Enemy, which was gathered together in a considerable Body, within less than twenty Miles of them.

WHILST so much time was spent at *Oxford*, to prepare the supplies for the West, and in settling the manner of sending them; which might have been done much sooner, and with less noise; the Parliament foresaw, that if all the West were recover'd from them, their Quarters would by degrees be so streighten'd, that their other Friends would quickly grow weary of them. They had still all the Western Ports at their Devotion, those in *Cornwall* only excepted; and their Fleets had always great benefit by it. And though most of the Gentry were engaged against them, as they were in truth in many parts throughout the Kingdom, yet the Common People, especially in the Cloathing parts of *Somersetshire*, were generally too much inclined to them. So that they could not want Men, if they sent a Body of Horse, and some Armes, to countenance them; with the last of which, they had sufficiently stored the Sea Towns which were in their hands. And therefore they resolv'd, that though they could not easily recruit their Army, they would send some Troops of Horse, and Dragoons, into the West, to keep up the Spirits of their Friends there. And for the conduct of this service, they made choice of *Sr William Waller*, a Member of the House of Commons, and a Gentleman of a Family in *Kent*.

The Parliament sent Sr W. Waller into the west with an Army.

Sr William Waller had been well bred; and, having spent some years abroad, and some time in the Armies there, return'd with a good Reputation home; and shortly after, having Married a young Lady, who was to inherit a good Fortune in the West, he had a quarrel with a Gentleman of the same Family, who had the Honour to be a menial Servant to the King in a place near his Person; which, in that time, was attended with Privilege and Respect from all Men. These two Gentlemen discoursing with some warmth together, *Sr William Waller* receiv'd such provocation from the other, that he struck him a blow oyer the face, so near the Gate of *Westminster*-

minster-Hall, that there were Witnesses, who swore, "that it "was in the Hall it self, the Courts being then sitting; which, according to the rigour of Law, makes it very penal; and the credit the other had in the Court, made the prosecution to be very severe; insomuch as he was at last compelled to redeem himself at a dear ransom; the benefit whereof, was conferr'd on his adversary, which made the sense of it the more grievous; and this produced in him so eager a spirit against the Court, that he was very open to any temptation, that might engage him against it; and so concurring in the House of Commons with all those Counsels which were most Violent, he was employed in their first Military Action, for the reducing of *Portsmouth*; which he effected with great ease, as is remember'd before; and when the Earl of *Essex* had put the Army into Winter Quarters, he had with some Troops, made a Cavalcade or two into the West, so fortunately, that he had not only beat up some loose Quarters, but had surpris'd a fix'd and fortified Quarter, made by the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland* near *Glocester*; in which he took above twelve hundred Prisoners with all the Officers; being a number very little inferior to his own Party; which is likewise particularly remember'd before. So that he got great Reputation with the Parliament and the City; and was there call'd *William the Conqueror*. And it is very true, that they who look'd upon the Earl of *Essex* as a Man that would not keep them company to the end of their Journey, had their Eyes upon *Sr William Waller*, as a Man more for Their turn; and were desirous to extol him the more, that he might eclipse the other. And therefore they prepared all things for his march, with so great expedition, and secrecy, that the Marquis of *Hertford* was no sooner joyn'd to the *Cornish* Troops (in which time *Bridgewater*, and *Dunstar*, and some other places were reduced from the Parliament) before he was inform'd that *Sr William Waller* was within two days march of him, and was more like to draw supplies to him from *Bristol*, and the parts adjacent, which were under the Parliament, than the Marquis could from the open Country; and therefore it was held most Counselable to advance, and engage him, whilst he was not yet too strong; and by this means they should continue still their march towards *Oxford*; which they were now inclined to do.

THOUGH *Sr William Waller* himself continued still at *Bath*, yet the remainder of those Horse and Dragoons that escaped out of *Cornwal*, after the Battle of *Stratton*, and such other as were sent out of *Exeter* for their ease, when they apprehended a Siege, and those Soldiers who fled out of *Taunton*, and *Bridgewater*, and other Regiments of the Country, were by *Alexander Popham*,

Popham, Strode, and the other Deputy Lieutenants of the Militia for *Somerset*, rallied; and with the Train'd-bands, and Volunter Regiments of the Country, drawn together, with that confidence, that when the Marquis had taken up his head Quarters at *Somerton*, the Enemy, before break of day, fell upon a Regiment of Dragoons, quarter'd a mile Eastward from the Town; and gave so brisk an Alarm to the King's Army, that it was immediately drawn out, and advanced upon the Enemy (being the first they had seen make any stand before them, since the Battle of *Stratton*) who making stands upon the places of advantage, and maintaining little Skirmishes in the Rear, retired in no ill order to *Wells*; and the King's Forces still pursuing, they chose to quit that City likewise; and drew their whole Body, appearing in number as considerable as their Pursuers, to the top of a Hill, call'd *Mendip-Hill*, overlooking the City of *Wells*, which they had left. The day being far spent, and the March having been long, the Marquis, with all the Foot, and Train, stayed at *Wells*; but Prince *Maurice*, and the Earl of *Carnarvon*, with *Sr Ralph Hopton*, and *Sr John Berkley*, and two Regiments of Horse, resolv'd to look upon the Enemy on the top of the Hill; who suffer'd them, without interruption, to gain the top of the Hill level with them, and then, in a very orderly manner, facing with a large Front of their Horse, to give their Foot and Baggage leisure and security, retired together as the Prince advanced. This, and the natural contempt the King's Horse yet had of the Enemy, which in all Skirmishes and Charges had been hitherto beaten by them, made the Prince judge this to be but a more graceful running away; and therefore follow'd them farther, over those large Hills, till the Enemy, who were anon to pass through a Lane, and a Village called *Chewton*, were compelled, before their entrance into the Lane, to leave their Reserve; which faced about much thinner than it was over the Hill; which opportunity and advantage was no sooner discern'd, as it had been foreseen, but the Earl of *Carnarvon* (who always Charged home) with an incomparable Gallantry Charged the Enemy, and press'd them so hard, that he enter'd the Lane with them, and Routed the whole Body of their Horse, and follow'd the execution of them above two miles.

BUT this was like to have been a dear success; for *Sr William Waller*, who lay with his new Army at *Bath*, and had drawn to him a good supply out of the Garrison at *Bristol*, had directed this Body which was in *Somerset*, to retire before the King's Forces till they should joyn with him, who had sent a fresh, strong Party of Horse and Dragoons, to assist their Retreat; which, by the advantage of a Hedge, had

march'd without being discover'd : so that the Earl of *Carnarvon*, being a stranger in the Country and the ways, pursued the Enemy into *Sr William Waller's Quarters*, and till himself was press'd by a fresh Body of Horse and Dragoons ; when he was necessitated to retire in as good order as he could ; and sent the Prince, who follow'd him, word of the danger which attended them. His Highness hereupon, with what haste he could, drew back through the Village ; choosin' rather, with very good reason, to attend the Enemy in the plain Heath, than to be engaged in a narrow passage : thither the Earl of *Carnarvon* with his Regiment came to him, broken and chased by the Enemy ; who immediately drew up a large Front of Horse and Dragoons, much stronger than the Prince's Party, who had only his own, and the Earl of *Carnarvon's* Regiments, with some Gentlemen Volunteers. The streight, and necessity he was in, was very great ; for as he might seem much too weak to Charge them, so the danger might probably be much greater to retire over these fair Hills, being pursued with a fresh Party much superior in number. Therefore he took a Gallant Resolution, to give the Enemy a brisk Charge with his own Regiment upon their advance, whilst the Earl rallied His, and prepared to second him, as there should be occasion. This was as soon and fortunately executed as resolv'd ; the Prince in the head of the Regiment Charging so vigorously, that he utterly broke, and routed that part of the Front that receiv'd the impression. But almost half the Enemies Horse, that, being extended larger than his Front, were not Charg'd, wheeled about, and Charg'd the Prince in the Rear ; and at the same time the Earl of *Carnarvon*, with his rallied Regiment, Charg'd Their Rear ; and all this so thoroughly perform'd, that they were mingled one among the other, and the good Sword was to decide the controversy, their Pistols being spent in the close. The Prince himself receiv'd two shrewd hurts in his head, and was beaten off his Horse ; but he was presently reliev'd, and carried off ; and the Enemy totally routed, and pursued again by the Earl of *Carnarvon* ; who had a fair execution upon them, as long as the light countenanced his chase, and then he return'd to the head Quarters at *Wells* ; there having been in these Skirmishes three-score or four-score Men lost on the Prince's Party, and three times that number by the Enemy ; the Action being too quick to take many Prisoners.

At *Wells* the Army rested many days, as well to recover the Prince's wounds, being only cuts with Swords, as to consult what was next to be done ; for they were now within distance of an Enemy that they knew would Fight with them. For *Sr William Waller* was at *Bath* with his whole Army, much encreased

increas'd by those who were chased out of the West; and resolv'd not to advance, having all advantages of Provisions, and Passes, till a new supply, he every day expected from *London*, were arriv'd with him. On the other side, the Marquis was not only to provide to meet with so vigilant an Enemy, but to secure himself at his Rear, that the disaffection of the People behind him, who were only subdued, not converted, upon the advance of *Sr William Waller*, might not take fresh Courage. Though *Cornwall* was reasonably secured, to keep off any impression upon it self from *Plymouth*, yet *Devon-shire* was left in a very unsafe posture; there being only a small Party at *Columb-John*, a House of *Sr John Ackland's* three miles off *Exeter*, to controul the power of that City, where the Earl of *Stamford* was; and to dispute not only with any commotion, that might happen in the Country, but with any power that might arrive by Sea. Upon these considerations, and the intelligence, that the Parliament had sent directions to the Earl of *Warwick* their Admiral, "to attend the *Devon-shire* Coast with his Fleet, and take any advantage he could," the Marquis, by the advice of the Council of War, sent *Sr John Berkley* back into *Devon-shire*, with Colonel *Howard's* Regiment of Horse, to Command the Forces which were then there, and to raise what Numbers more he could possibly, for the blocking up that City, and reducing the County; and upon his arrival there, to send up to the Army *Sr James Hamilton's* Regiment of Horse and Dragoons; which had been left in *Devon-shire*; and, by the Licence they took, weaken'd the King's Party; so that by sending this relief thither, he did not lessen at all his own Numbers, yet gave great strength to the reducing those parts, as appear'd afterwards by the success.

AFTER this disposition, and eight or ten days rest at *Wells*, the Army generally expressing a chearful impatience to meet with the Enemy, of which, at that time, they had a greater contempt, than in reason they should have; the Prince, and Marquis, advanced to *Frome*, and thence to *Bradford* within four Miles of *Bath*. And now no day pass'd without Action, and very sharp Skirmishes; *Sr William Waller* having receiv'd from *London* a fresh Regiment of five hundred Horse, under the Command of *Sr Arthur Haslerig*; which were so completely Arm'd, that they were called by the other side the Regiment of Lobsters, because of their bright Iron shells, with which they were cover'd, being perfect Cuirassiers; and were the first seen so Arm'd on either side, and the first that made any impression upon the King's Horse; who, being unarm'd, were not able to bear a shock with them; besides that they were secure from hurts of the Sword, which were

almost the only Weapons the other were furnish'd with.

THE Contention was hitherto with Parties, in which the Successes were various, and almost with equal losses: for as *St William Waller*, upon the first advance from *Wells*, beat up a Regiment of Horse and Dragoons of *St James Hamilton's*, and dispersed them; so, within two days, the King's Forces beat a Party of His from a Pass near *Bath*, where the Enemy lost two Field-pieces, and near an hundred Men. But *St William Waller* had the advantage in his ground, having a good City, well furnish'd with provisions, to quarter his Army together in; and so in his choice not to Fight, but upon extraordinary advantage. Whereas the King's Forces must either disperse themselves, and so give the Enemy advantage upon their Quarters, or, keeping near together, lodge in the Field, and endure great distreis of Provision; the Country being to disaffected, that only force could bring in any supply or relief. Hereupon, after several attempts to engage the Enemy to a Battle upon equal terms, which having the advantage, he wisely avoided; the Marquis, and Prince *Maurice*, advanced with their whole Body to *Marsfield*, five miles beyond *Bath* towards *Oxford*; presuming, that, by this means, they should draw the Enemy from their place of advantage, his chief business being to hinder them from joyning with the King. And if they had been able to preserve that temper, and had neglected the Enemy, till he had quitted his advantages, it is probable they might have Fought upon as good terms as they desired. But the unreasonable contempt they had of the Enemy, and confidence they should prevail in any ground, together with the streights they endured for want of Provisions, and their want of Ammunition, which was spent as much in the daily Hedge Skirmishes, and upon their Guards, being so near as could have been in Battle, would not admit the patience; for *St William Waller*, who was not to suffer that Body to joyn with the King, no sooner drew out his whole Army to *Lansdown*, which look'd towards *Marsfield*, but they suffer'd themselves to be engaged upon great disadvantage.

The Battle of
Lansdown
July 5.

IT was upon the fifth of July when *St William Waller*, as soon as it was light, possess'd himself of that Hill; and after he had, upon the brow of the Hill over the high way, rais'd Breast-works with faggots and earth, and planted Cannon there, he sent a strong Party of Horse towards *Marsfield*; which quickly Alarm'd the other Army, and was shortly driven back to their Body. As great a mind as the King's Forces had to cope with the Enemy, when they had drawn into Battalia, and found the Enemy fixed on the top of the Hill, they resolv'd not to attack them upon so great disadvantage; and so retired again towards their old Quarters: which *St William Waller*

Waller perceiving, sent his whole Body of Horse and Dragoons, down the Hill, to Charge the Rear and Flank of the King's Forces; which they did throughly, the Regiment of Cuirassiers so amazing the Horse they Charged, that they totally routed them; and, standing firm and unshaken themselves, gave so great terror to the King's Horse, who had never before turn'd from an Enemy, that no example of their Officers, who did Their parts with invincible Courage, could make them Charge with the same confidence, and in the same manner they had usually done. However, in the end, after *Sr Nicholas Slanning* with three hundred Musqueteers, had fallen upon, and beaten their Reserve of Dragooners, *Prince Maurice*, and the Earl of *Carnarvon*, rallying their Horse, and winging them with the *Cornish* Musqueteers, Charged the Enemies Horse again, and totally routed them; and in the same manner receiv'd two Bodies more, and routed and chased them to the Hill; where they stood in a place almost inaccessible. On the brow of the Hill there were Breast-works, on which were pretty Bodies of small shot, and some Cannon; on either Flank grew a pretty thick Wood towards the declining of the Hill, in which strong Parties of Musqueteers were placed; at the Rear, was a very fair Plain, where the Reserves of Horse and Foot stood ranged; yet the *Cornish* Foot were so far from being appalled at this disadvantage, that they desired to fall on, and cryed out, "that they might have leave to fetch off those Cannon. In the end, order was given to attempt the Hill with Horse and Foot. Two strong Parties of Musqueteers were sent into the Woods, which flank'd the Enemy; and the Horse and other Musqueteers up the Road way, which were Charged by the Enemies Horse, and Routed; then *Sr Bevil Greenvil* advanced with a Party of Horse, on his right hand, that ground being best for Them; and his Musqueteers on the left; himself leading up his Pikes in the middle; and in the face of their Cannon, and Small shot from the Breast-works, gained the brow of the Hill; having sustain'd two full Charges of the Enemies Horse; but in the third Charge his Horse failing, and giving ground, he receiv'd, after other wounds, a blow on the Head with a Poll-Axe, with which he fell, and many of his Officers about him; yet the Musqueteers fired so fast upon the Enemies Horse, that they quitted their ground, and the two Wings, who were sent to clear the Woods, having done their Work, and gain'd those parts of the Hill, at the same time beat off their Enemies Foot, and became possess'd of the Breast-works; and so made way for their whole Body of Horse, Foot, and Cannon, to ascend the Hill; which they quickly did, and planted themselves on the ground they had won; the Enemy

retiring about Demy Culvering shot behind a Stone Wall upon the same Level, and standing in reasonable good order.

EITHER Party was sufficiently tired, and battered, to be contented to stand still. The King's Horse were so shaken, that of two thousand which were upon the Field in the morning, there were not above six hundred on the top of the Hill. The Enemy was exceedingly scatter'd too, and had no mind to venture on plain ground with those who had beaten them from the Hill; so that, exchanging only some shot from their Ordnance, they look'd one upon another till the night interposed. About twelve of the Clock, it being very dark, the Enemy made a shew of moving towards the ground they had lost; but giving a smart Volly of small shot, and finding themselves Answer'd with the like, they made no more noise; which the Prince observing, he sent a Common Soldier to hearken as near the place, where they were, as he could; who brought word, "that the Enemy had left lighted matches in "the Wall behind which they had lain, and were drawn off "the Field; which was true; so that, as soon as it was day, the King's Army found themselves possess'd entirely of the Field, and the Dead, and all other Ensigns of Victory: *Sr William Waller* being march'd to *Bath*, in so much disorder and apprehension, that he left great store of Armes, and ten Barrels of Powder, behind him; which was a very seasonable supply to the other side, who had spent, in that day's Service, no less than fourscore Barrels, and had not a safe proportion left.

IN this Battle, on the King's part, there were more Officers and Gentlemen of Quality slain, than Common Men; and more hurt, than slain. That which would have clouded any Victory, and made the loss of others less spoken of, was the death of *Sr Bevil Greenvil*. He was indeed an excellent Person, whose Activity, Interest, and Reputation, was the Foundation of what had been done in *Cornwall*; and his temper, and affections, so publick, that no accident which happen'd, could make any impressions in him; and His example kept others from taking any thing ill, or at least seeming to do so. In a word, a brighter Courage, and a gentler Disposition, were never married together to make the most chearful, and innocent conversation.

VERY many Officers and Persons of Quality were hurt; as the Lord *Arundel of Wardour*, shot in the thigh with a brace of Pistol Bullets; *Sr Ralph Hopton*, shot through the Arme with a Musquet; *Sr George Vaughan*, and many others, hurt in the head of their Troops with Swords and Poll-Axes; of which, none of name died. But the morning added much to the Melancholy of their Victory, when the Field was entirely
their

*Sr Bevil
Greenvil
slain.*

their own. For *Sr Ralph Hopton* riding up and down the Field to visit the hurt Men, and to put the Soldiers in order, and readiness for motion, sitting on his Horse, with other Officers and Soldiers about him, near a Waggon of Ammunition, in which were eight Barrels of Powder; whether by treachery, or meer accident, is uncertain, the Powder was blown up; and many, who stood nearest, kill'd; and many more maim'd; among whom *Sr Ralph Hopton*, and Serjeant Major *Sheldon* were miserably hurt; of which, Major *Sheldon*, who was thought to be in less danger than the other, died the next day, to the general grief of the whole Army, where he was wonderfully below'd, as a Man of an undaunted Courage, and as great gentleness of Nature. *Sr Ralph Hopton*, having hardly so much life, as not to be number'd with the dead, was put into a Litter, and then the Army march'd to their old Quarters at *Marsfield*; exceedingly cast down with their morning's misfortune (*Sr Ralph Hopton* being indeed the Soldiers darling) where they repos'd themselves the next day, principally in care of *Sr Ralph Hopton*; who, though there were hope of his recovery, was not fit to travel. In this time many of the Horse, which had been routed in the morning, before the Hill was won, found the way to *Oxford*; and, according to the custom of those who run away, reported all to be lost, with many particular accidents, which they fancied very like to happen when they left the Field; but the next day brought a punctual advertisement from the Marquis, but, withal, a desire of a Regiment or two of fresh Horse, and a supply of Ammunition; whereupon the Earl of *Crawford* with his Regiment of Horse, consisting of near five hundred, was directed to advance that way, with such a proportion of Ammunition as was desired.

AFTER a days rest at *Marsfield*, it being understood that *Sr William Waller* was still at *Bath* (his Army having been rather surpris'd and discomforted with the incredible boldness of the *Cornish* Foot, than much weaken'd by the Number slain, which was no greater than on the King's part) and that he had sent for fresh supply from *Bristol*; it was concluded, rather to march to *Oxford*, and so to joyn with the King's Army, than to stay and attend the Enemy, who was so near his supplies: And so they march'd towards *Chippenham*. But when *Sr William Waller* had Intelligence of the blowing up of the Powder, of which he well knew there was scarcely enough before, and of the hurt it had done, he infused new spirit into his Men; and verily believ'd, that they had no Ammunition, and that the loss of *Sr Ralph Hopton* (whom the People took to be the Soul of that Army, the other Names being not so much spoken of, or so well known, and at this time believ'd to be dead) would be found in the Spirits of the Soldiers; and

having gotten some fresh Men from *Bristol*, and more from the inclinations of the three Counties of *Wilts*, *Glocester*, and *Somerſet*, which joyn'd about *Bath*, in the moſt abſolute diſaffected parts of all three, he follow'd the Marquis towards *Chippenham*; to which he was as near from *Bath*, as the other from *Marsfield*.

THE next day, early in the morning, upon notice that the Enemy was in diſtance, the Prince, and the Marquis drew back the Army through *Chippenham*, and preſented themſelves in Battalia to the Enemy; being very well contented to fight in ſuch a place, where the ſucceſs was to depend more on their Foot, who were unqueſtionably excellent, than on their Horſe, which were at beſt weary, though their Officers were, to Envy, forward and reſolute. But *Sr William Waller*, who was a right good chooſer of advantages, liked not that ground; relying as much upon his Horſe, who had gotten Credit, and Courage, and as little upon his Foot, who were only well Arm'd, and well Bodied, very vulgarly Spirited, and Officer'd: ſo that having ſtood all night in Battalia, and the Enemy not coming on, the Prince and Marquis, the next day, advanced towards the *Deviſes*; *Sr Nicholas Slanning*, with great Spirit and Prudence, ſecuring the Rear with ſtrong Parties of Muſqueteers; with which he gave the Enemy, who preſs'd upon them very ſmartly, ſo much Interruption, that *Sr William Waller*, deſpairing of overtaking, ſent a Trumpet to the Marquis, with a Letter; offering a pitch'd Field at a place of his own chooſing, out of the way. The which being eaſily underſtood to be only a Stratagem to beget a delay in the march, the Marquis carried the Trumpet three or four miles with him, and then ſent him back with ſuch an Answer as was fit. There were, all this day, perpetual and ſharp Skirmiſhes in the Rear; the Enemy preſſing very hard, and being always with loſs repulſed, till the Army ſafely reach'd the *Deviſes*.

THEN the caſe was alter'd for their retreat to *Oxford*, the Enemy being upon them with improvement of Courage, and improvement of Numbers; *Sr William Waller* having diſperſed his Warrants over the Country, ſignifying, "that he had beaten the Marquis, and requiring the People "to riſe in "all places for the apprehenſion of his ſcatter'd, and diſperſed "Troops; which confidence, Men conceiv'd, could not proceed from leſs than a manifeſt Victory; and ſo they flock'd to Him as the Maſter of the Field. The Foot were no more now to make the retreat, the ſituation of the place they were now in, being ſuch as they could move no way towards *Oxford*, but over a Campagne of many miles, where the ſtronger in Horſe muſt needs prevail.

HEREUPON, it was unanimouſly adviſed, and conſented to,

to, that the Lord Marquis and Prince *Maurice* should that night break through, with all the Horse, to *Oxford*; and that *Sr Ralph Hopton* (who, by this, was supposed past danger of death, and could hear and speak well enough, though he could not see or stir) with the Earl of *Marlborough*, who was General of the Artillery, the Lord *Mohun*, and other good Officers of Foot, should stay there with their Foot, and Cannon, where it was hoped they might defend themselves, for a few days, till the General might return with relief from *Oxford*; which was not above thirty miles off. This resolution was pursued; and, the same night, all the Horse got safe away into the King's Quarters, and the Prince, and Marquis, in the morning, came to *Oxford*; by which time, *Sr William Waller* had drawn all his Forces about the *Devises*. The Town was open, without the least Fortification, or Defence, but small Ditches and Hedges; upon which the Foot were placed, and some pieces of Cannon conveniently planted. The Avenues, which were many, were quickly Barricadoed to hinder the entrance of the Horse, which was principally apprehended. *Sr William Waller* had soon notice of the remove of the Horse; and therefore, intending that pursuit no farther, he brought his whole Force close to the Town, and beleaguered it round; and having raised a Battery upon a Hill near the Town, he poured in his shot upon it without intermission, and attempted to enter in several other places with Horse, Foot, and Cannon; but was in all places more resolutely resisted, and repulsed. At the same time, having Intelligence (as his Intelligence was always most exact in whatsoever concern'd him) of the Earl of *Crawford's* marching with a supply of Powder, according to order, after the first Battle of *Lansdown*, he sent a strong Party of Horse and Dragoons to intercept him; who, before he knew of the alterations which had happen'd, and of the remove of the Horse towards *Oxford*, was so far engaged, that he hardly escaped with the loss of his Ammunition, and a Troop or two of his Horse.

UPON this improvement of his success, *Sr William Waller* reckon'd his Victory out of question; and thereupon sent a Trumpet into the Town to summon the besieged, to let them know, "that he had cut off their relief, and that their State was now desperate; and therefore advised them to submit themselves to the Parliament, with whom he would mediate on their behalf. They in the Town were not sorry for the Overture; not that they apprehended, it would produce any conditions they should accept, but that they might gain some time of rest by it: for the streights they were in, were too great for any minds not prepared to preserve their honour at any rates. When the Enemy came first before the Town, and the

the Guards were supplied with Ammunition for their duty, there was but one hundred and fifty weight of Match left in the Store; whereupon diligent Officers were directed to search every House in the Town, and to take all the Bed-cords they could find, and to cause them to be speedily beaten, and boyled. By this suddain expedient, there was, by the next morning, provided fifteen hundred weight of such serviceable Match, as very well endured that sharp service. The compass of the ground they were to keep, was so large, and the Enemy press'd so hard upon all places, that their whole Body were upon perpetual duty together, neither Officer, or Soldier having any time for rest; and the activity of the Chief Officers was most necessary to keep up the Courage of the Common Men, who well enough understood the danger they were in, and therefore they were very glad of this Message; and return'd, "that they would send an Officer to Treat, if a Cessation were agreed to during the time of the Treaty; which was consented to, if it were suddainly expedited.

ON the Party of the Besieged were propos'd such terms, as might take up most time in the Debate, and might imply Courage and Resolution to hold out. *Sr William Waller*, on the other hand, offer'd only Quarter, and civil usage to the Officers, and leave to the Common Soldiers to return to their Houses without their Armes, except they would voluntarily choofe to serve the Parliament. These being terms many of the Officers would not have submitted to in the last extreme, the Treaty ended; after those in the Town had gained what they only looked for, seven or eight hours sleep, and so long time sparing of Ammunition. The truth is, *Sr William Waller* was so confident that they were at his Mercy, that he had written to the Parliament, "that their work was done, and "that, by the next Post, he would send the Number, and "Quality of his Prisoners; neither did he imagine it possible, that any relief could have been sent from *Oxford*; the Earl of *Essex*, to whom he had signified his success, and the posture he was in, lying with his whole Army at *Thame*, within ten miles of it. But the importance was too well understood by the King to omit any thing, that might, with the utmost hazard, be attempted for the redeeming those Men, who had wrought such wonders for him. And therefore, as soon as the Marquis, and Prince, arriv'd at *Oxford*, with the sad and unexpected news, and relation of the distress of their Friends, though the Queen was then on her march towards *Oxford*, and the King had appointed to meet her two days Journey for her security, his Majesty resolv'd to take only his own Guards of Horse, and Prince *Rupert's* Regiment, for that expedition; and sent the Lord *Wilmot* with all the rest of the Horse, to march that

that very day in which the advertisment came to him, towards the *Devises*; so that the Marquis and the Prince coming to *Oxford* on the *Monday* morning, the Lord *Wilmot*, that night, moved towards the work; and Prince *Maurice* returning with him as a *Voluntier*, but the Lord *Wilmot* Commanding in Chief, appear'd, on the *Wednesday* about noon, upon the plain within two miles of the Town.

THE Lord *Wilmot* had with him fifteen hundred Horses, and no more, and two small Field-pieces, which he shot off to give the Town notice of his coming; having it in his hopes, that, it being a fair Campagne about the Town, when the Enemy should rise from before it, he should be able in spite of them to joyn with the Foot, and so to have a fair Field for it; which would be still disadvantageous enough, the Enemy being Superior by much in Horse, very few of those, who had broken away from the *Devises* (except the Prince himself, the Earl of *Carnarvon*, and some other Officers) being come up with them, because they were tired, and dispersed. The Enemy, careful to prevent the joyning of this Party of Horse with the Foot, and fully advertised of their coming, drew off, on all parts, from the Town; and put themselves in Battalia upon the top of a fair Hill, called *Roundway-Down*; over which the King's Forces were necessarily to march, being full two miles off the Town: they within conceiv'd it hardly possible, that the relief, they expected from *Oxford*, could so soon arrive; all the Messengers, who were sent to give notice of it, having miscarried by the closeness of the Siege; and therefore suspected the warning pieces from the Plain, and the drawing off the Town by the Enemy, to be a Stratagem to couzen the Foot from those Posts they defended, into the open Field; and so, very reasonably, being in readiness to march, they waited a surer Evidence, that their Friends were at hand; which shortly arriv'd; and assured them, "that the Prince was near and expected them.

It will be easily conceived, with what alacrity they advanced to meet him; but *Sr William Waller* had purposely chose that ground to hinder that conjunction, and advanced so fast on the Lord *Wilmot*, that without such removes, and traverses, as might give his Men some apprehension, that Lord could not expect the Foot from the Town; and therefore he put his Troops in order upon that ground to expect the Enemies Charge, who were somewhat more than Musquet-shot off in order of Battle.

HERE *Sr William Waller*, out of pure gayety, departed from an advantage he could not again recover; for being in excellent order of Battle, with strong wings of Horse to his Foot, and a good Reserve placed, and his Cannon usefully planted,

The Battle of
Roundway
Down,
wherein Sr
William
Waller is
Routed.

planted, apprehending still the conjunction between the Horse and the Foot in the Town, and gratifying his Enemy with the same contempt, which had so often brought inconveniences upon them, and discerning their number inferior to that he had before (as he thought) master'd, he march'd, with his whole Body of Horse, from his Foot, to Charge the Enemy; appointing *Sr Arthur Haslerig* with his Cuirassiers apart, to make the first impresson; who was encounter'd by *Sr John Byron*, in whose Regiment the Earl of *Carnarvon* Charg'd as a Voluntier; and after a sharp conflict, in which *Sr Arthur Haslerig* receiv'd many wounds, that impenetrable Regiment was Routed, and, in a full Career, chased upon their other Horse. At the same time, the Lord *Wilmot* Charging them from division to division, as they were ranged, in half an hour, so suddain Alterations the accidents of War introduce, the whole entire Body of the Triumphant Horse were so totally Routed, and Dispersed, that there was not one of them to be seen upon that large spacious Down; every Man shifting for himself with greater danger by the Precipices of that Hill, than he could have undergone by opposing his pursuer. But as it was an unhappy ground to fly, so it was as ill for the pursuer; and after the Rout, more perish'd by falls and bruises from their Horses, down the Precipices, than by the Sword. The Foot stood still firm, making shew of a gallant Resistance; but the Lord *Wilmot* quickly seized their Cannon, and turn'd them upon them, at the same time that the *Cornish* Foot, who were by this come from the Town, were ready likewise to Charge them; upon which their hearts failed; and so they were Charged on all sides, and either kill'd, or taken Prisoners, very few escaping; the *Cornish* retaining too fresh a Memory of their late distresses, and revenging themselves on those who had contributed thereunto. *Sr William Waller* himself, with a small Train, fled into *Bristol*, which had sacrificed a great part of their Garrison in his Defeat; and so were even ready to expire at his entry into the Town, himself bringing the first news of his disaster.

THIS glorious day, for it was a day of Triumph, redeem'd for that time the King's whole Affairs, so that all Clouds that shadowed them seem'd to be dispelled, and a bright light of success to shine over the whole Kingdom. There were in this Battle slain, on the Enemies part, above six hundred on the place; nine hundred Prisoners taken, besides two or three hundred retaken and redeem'd, whom they had gathered up in the Skirmishes, and pursuit; with all their Cannon, being eight pieces of Brass Ordnance; all their Armes, Ammunition, Waggon, Baggage, and Victual; eight and twenty Foot Ensigns, and nine Cornets; and all this by a Party of fifteen hundred

hundred Horse, with two small Field-pieces (for the Victory was perfect, upon the matter, before the *Cornish* came up ; though the Enemies Foot were suffer'd to stand in a Body uncharged, out of ceremony, till They came ; that they might be refresh'd with a share in the Conquest) against a Body of full two thousand Horse, five hundred Dragoons, and near three thousand Foot, with an excellent Train of Artillery. So that the *Cornish* had great reason to think their deliverance, and Victory at *Roundway*, more signal and wonderful, than the other at *Stratton*, save that the first might be thought the Parent of the latter, and the loss on the King's Party was less ; for in This there were slain very few ; and, of Name, none but *Dudley Smith*, an honest and valiant young Gentleman ; who was always a Voluntier with the Lord *Wilmot*, and among the first upon any action of danger.

BESIDES the present fruit of this Victory, the King receiv'd an advantage from the Jealousy, that, from thence, grew among the Officers of the Parliament Armies. For *St William Waller* believ'd himself to be absolutely betrayed, and sacrificed by the Earl of *Essex*, out of envy at the great things he had done, which seem'd to eclipse His Glories ; and complain'd, "that he lying with his whole Army within ten miles of *Oxford*, should suffer the Chief strength of that place to march thirty miles to destroy him, without so much as sending out a Party to follow them, or to Alarm *Oxford*, by which they would have been probably recalled. On the other hand, the Earl, disdain'd to be thought his Rival, reproach'd the other with "unsoldierly neglects, and want of Courage, to be beaten by a handful of Men, and to have deserted his Foot and Cannon, without engaging his own Person in one Charge against the Enemy. Wherever the fault was, it was never forgiven ; but from the Enmity that proceeded from thence, the King often afterwards reaped very notable, and seasonable advantages ; which will be remember'd in their places.

THIS blessed Defeat happen'd to be upon the same day, and upon the same time of the day, when the King met the Queen upon the Field near *Keinton*, under *Edge-hill*, where the Battle had been fought in *October* before ; and before their Majesties came to *Oxford*, they receiv'd the happy news of it. It is easy to imagine the joy with which it was receiv'd, all Men raising their fallen Spirits to too great a height, as though they should now go through all the work without farther opposition ; and this transport to either extremes was too natural upon all the Vicissitudes of the War ; and it was some allay to the welcome news of the Victory to some Men, that it had been obtain'd under the Command and Conduct of

of *Wilmot*; who was very much in Prince *Rupert's* difesteem, and not in any notable degree of favour with the King, but much belov'd by all the good fellowship of the Army; which was too great a Body. It was now time for the King's Army, Victorious in so many Encounters, to take the Field; upon What Enterprize, was the Question. This overthrow of *Waller* had infinitely surpris'd, and encreas'd the distractions at *London*. They had seen the Copy of the Warrants, which his vanity had caused to be disperfed, after the Action at *Lansdown*; in which he declared, "that he had Routed the Marquis's Army, and was in pursuit of them; and therefore Commanded the Justices of Peace, and Constables, to give order for the apprehension of them, as they fled disperfed; and expected every day, that the Marquis would be sent up Prisoner: and now to hear that his whole invincible Army was defeated, and himself fled, upon the matter, alone (for ill news is for the most part made worse, as the best is reported to be better than it is) brought them to their Wits end; so that they could little advance the recruiting the Earl of *Essex* his Army; who in his Person likewise grew more sullen towards them, and resented their little regard of him, and grew every day more conversant with the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Holland*, and others who were most weary of the War, and would be glad of Peace upon easy terms.

The King
meets the
Queen near
Keinton;
she coming
with a great
Recruit.

THE King's Army receiv'd a fair addition, by the conjuncture with those Forces which attended the Queen; for her Majesty brought with her above two thousand Foot, well Arm'd, and one thousand Horse, and six pieces of Cannon, and two Mortars, and about one hundred Waggon: So that as soon as their Majesties came to *Oxford*, the Earl of *Essex*, who had spent his time about *Thame*, and *Aylesbury*, without any Action after that Skirmish in which Mr *Hambden* was slain, save by small Parties of which there was none of Name, or Note, but one handsome smart conflict between a Party of five hundred Horse and Dragoons, Commanded by Colonel *Middleton*, a Scotch-man, on the Parliament Party, and a Regiment of Horse, Commanded by Sr *Charles Lucas*, on the King's; where, after a very Soldierly contest, and more blood drawn than was usual upon such Actions, the King's Party prevailed, returning with some Prisoners of Name, and the slaughter of one hundred of their Enemy, not without some loss of their own: The Earl, I say, retired with his Army broken, and dishearten'd to *Uxbridge*, giving over any thought of fighting with the King, till he should be recruited, with Horse, Men, and Money; and suffering no less in the talk of the People (who began to assume a great freedom in discourse) for not interposing to hinder the Queen's march to *Oxford*,
and

The Earl of
Essex re-
tires from
Thame
with his Ar-
my to *Ux-*
bridge.

and joyning with the King, than for sitting still so near Oxford, whilst the Lord *Wilmot* went from thence to the ruin of *St William Waller*.

AFTER which Defeat, the Lord *Wilmot* retired to Oxford to attend his Majesty; and the *Cornish* Army (for that name it deservedly kept still, though it receiv'd so good an encrease by the Marquis, and Prince's joyning with them) drew back, and possess'd themselves of *Bath*, which was soon quitted to them, upon the overthrow of *Waller*; that Garrison being withdrawn to reinforce *Bristol*. At *Bath* they rested, and refresh'd themselves, till they might receive new Orders from the King; who, upon full advice, and consideration of the State he was in, and the broken condition of the Enemy, resolv'd to make an attempt upon the City of *Bristol*; to which Prince *Rupert* was most inclined, for his being disappointed in a former design; and where there were many well affected to the King's Service from the beginning, and more since the execution of those two eminent Citizens. And the disesteem generally had of the Courage of *Nathaniel Piennet*, the Governour, made the design to be thought the more reasonable; so the Marquis, and Prince *Maurice*, return'd to *Bath*, upon agreement to appear, on such a day, with their whole strength before *Bristol*, on the *Somerset-shire* side, when Prince *Rupert* with the Oxford Forces would appear before it, on the *Glocester-shire* side.

ON the four and twentieth of *July*, both Armies sat down before it; Quartering their Horse in that manner, that none could go out or in to the City, without great hazard of being taken; and the same day, with the assistance of some Seamen, who were prepared before, they seized all the Ships that were in *King-road*; which were not only laden with goods of great value, as Plate, Money, and the best sort of all Commodities, which those who suspected the worst had sent abroad; but with many Persons of Quality; who, being unwilling to run the hazard of a Siege, thought that way to have secured themselves, and to have escaped to *London*; and so were all taken Prisoners. The next day, Prince *Rupert* came to his Brother, and the Marquis, and a general Council of all the principal Officers of both Armies being assembled, it was Debated, "in what Manner, they should proceed, by Assault or Approach."

THERE were in the Town five and twenty hundred Foot, and a Regiment of Horse and Dragoons; the Line about the Town was finish'd; yet in some places the graff was wider, and deeper than in others. The Castle within the Town was very well prepared, and supplied with great store of Provisions to endure a Siege. The opinions were several: The Officers

ficers of the *Cornish* were of opinion, "that it was best to proceed by way of Approach; because, the ground being very good, it would in a very short time be done; and since there was no Army of the Enemy in a possibility to relieve it, the securest way would be the best; whereas the Works were so good, that they must expect to lose very many Men; and, if they were beaten off, all their Summer hopes would be destroyed; it not being easy, again to make up the spirit of the Army for a new Action. Besides, they alledg'd, the well affected Party in the City, which was believ'd to be very great, would, after they had been closely Besieged three or four days, have a greater influence upon the Soldier, and be able to do more towards the Surrender, than they could upon a Storm; when they would be equally sensible of the disorder of the Soldier, and their own damage by plunder, as the other; and the too late example of the executed Citizens, would keep Men from offering at any insurrection in the City.

ON the other hand, Prince *Rupert*, and all the Officers of His Army very earnestly desired to Assault it; alledg'd, "the Work to be easy, and the Soldiers fitter for any brisk attempt, than a dull patient design; and that the Army would be more weaken'd by the latter, than the former: that the City, not having yet recover'd the consternation of *Sir William Waller's* Defeat, was so full of horror, that it would make a very weak Defence: that there was no Soldier of experience in the Town, and the Governour himself not like to endure the terror of a Storm: whereas, if they gave them time to consider, and to look long upon them with a Wall between, they would grow confirm'd, and resolute, and courage would supply the place of skill; and having plenty of all kinds of Provisions within the Town, they would grow strong, and peremptory, whilst the Besiegers grew less vigorous, and dishearten'd. These reasons, and the Prince's importunity, with some insinuations of knowing more than was fit to be spoken, as if somewhat would be done within the Town, that must not be mention'd, and a glorious contempt of danger, prevailed so far, that it was consented to, on all parts, to Assault the Town the next morning at three places on the *Somersetshire* side, and at three places on the *Glocestershire* side, at the break of day. The truth is, both opinions, with regard to their different circumstances, were in themselves reasonable. For the *Glocestershire* side, where Prince *Rupert* was, might be Storm'd, the graff being shallow, and the Wall, in some places, low, and weak; which could not be easily Approach'd, by reason the ground was rocky, and the redoubts high and very strong, which overlook'd the ground; on the

other side, the ground was very easy to Approach, and as inconvenient, and dangerous to Storm, by reason of a plain level before the Line, and a broad and deep graff, and the Line, throughout, better flanker'd than the other.

THE next morning, with little other Provisions fit for such a Work, than the Courage of the Assailants, both Armies fell on. On the West side, where the *Cornish* were, they assaulted the Line in three places; one division led by *Sr Nicholas Slanning*, assisted with Colonel *John Trevannion*, Lieutenant Colonel *Slingsby*, and three more Field Officers; too great a number of such Officers to conduct so small a Party as five hundred Men, if there had not been an immoderate disdain of danger, and appetite of glory: Another division, on the right hand, was led by Colonel *Buck*, assisted by Colonel *Wagstaffe*, Colonel *Bernard Asbley*, who commanded the Regiment of the Lord Marquis *Hertford*, with other Field Officers: And the third division, on the left hand, led by *Sr Thomas Bassett*, who was Major General of the *Cornish*. These three divisions fell on together with that Courage, and Resolution, as nothing but death could controul; and though the middle division got into the graff, and so near filled it, that some mounted the Wall, yet by the prodigious disadvantage of the ground, and the full defence the Besieged made within, they were driven back with a great slaughter; the Common Soldiers, after their Chief Officers were kill'd, or desperately wounded, finding it a bootless attempt.

ON Prince *Rupert's* side, it was Assaulted with equal Courage, and almost equal loss, but with better success; for though that division led on by the Lord *Grandison*, Colonel General of the Foot, was beaten off, the Lord *Grandison* himself being hurt; and the other, led by Colonel *Bellasis*, likewise had no better fortune; yet Colonel *Washington*, with a less Party, finding a place in the Curtaine (between the places Assaulted by the other two) weaker than the rest, enter'd, and quickly made room for the Horse to follow. The Enemy, as soon as they saw the Line enter'd in one place, either out of fear, or by Command of their Officers, quit their Posts; so that the Prince enter'd with his Foot and Horse into the Suburbs; sending for one thousand of the *Cornish* Foot, which were presently sent to second him; and march'd up to *Frome-gate*, losing many Men, and some very good Officers, by shot from the Walls, and Windows; insomuch as all Men were much cast down to see so little gotten with so great a loss; for they had still a more difficult entrance into the Town, than they had yet passed, and where their Horse could be of no use to them; when, to the exceeding comfort of Generals, and Soldiers, the City beat a Parley; which the Prince willingly

embracing, and getting their Hostages into his hands, sent Colonel *Gerrard* and another Officer to the Governour to Treat. The Treaty began about two of the Clock in the afternoon, and, before ten at night, these Articles were agreed on, and sign'd by all Parties.

It is Surrender'd upon Articles.

1. "THAT the Governour, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, together with all the Officers both of Horse and Foot, now within, and about the City of *Bristol*, Castle, and Forts, may march out to morrow morning by nine of the Clock, with their full Armes, Bag and Baggage, provided it be their own Goods: And that the Common Foot Soldiers march out without Armes, and the Troopers with their Horses, and Swords, leaving their other Armes behind them, with a safe Convey to *Warmister*; and after, not to be molested in their march, by any of the King's Forces, for the space of three days.
2. "THAT there may be Carriages allowed and provided to carry away their Bag and Baggage, and sick and hurt Soldiers.
3. "THAT the King's Forces march not into the Town, till the Parliament Forces are march'd out; which is to be at nine of the Clock.
4. "THAT all Prisoners in the City be deliver'd up; and that Captain *Eyres*, and Captain *Cookein*, who were taken at the *Devifes*, be released.
5. "THAT *Sr John Horner*, *Sr John Seymour*, *Mr Edward Stevens*, and all other Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, and other Persons, that are now in the City, may, if they please, with their Goods, Wives, and Families, Bag and Baggage, have free liberty to return to their own homes, or elsewhere, and there to rest in safety, or ride, and travel with the Governour, and Forces: and such of them, and their Families, as shall be left behind, by reason of sickness or other cause, may have liberty, so soon as they can conveniently, to depart this Town with safety; provided that all Gentlemen, and other Persons, shall have three days liberty to reside here, or depart with their Goods, which they please.
6. "THAT all the Inhabitants of the City shall be secured in their Persons, Families, and Estates, free from plundering, and all other violence, or wrong whatsoever.
7. "THAT the Charters, and Liberties of this City may be preserv'd; and that the Ancient Government thereof, and present Governours, and Officers, may remain and continue in their former condition, according to his Majesties Charters, and Pleasure.
8. "THAT, for avoiding Inconveniences and Distractions,

"the

“the quartering of Soldiers be referr’d, or left to the Mayor, and Governour of the same City for the time being.

9. “THAT all such, as have carried any Goods into the Castle may have free liberty to carry the same forth.

10. THAT the Forces, that are to march out, are to leave behind them all Cannon, and Ammunition, with their Colours, and such Armes as is before expres’d.

THE next morning, if not before (for the truth is, from the time that the Treaty was first offer’d, they in the Town kept no Guards, nor observ’d any order; but Their Soldiers run away to the Prince, and many of His Soldiers went into the Town) his Highness was possess’d of *Bristol*, the Enemy then marching away. Here the ill example of *Reading*, in the breach of the Articles, was remember’d, and unhappily followed; for all that Garrison was now here. So that they, with some Colour of right, or retaliation, and the rest, by Their example, used great Licence to the Soldiers, who should have been safely conducted; which reflected much upon the Prince, though he used his utmost power to suppress it; and charged Colonel *Fiennes* to be accessory to his own wrong, by marching out of the Town an hour before his appointment; and thereby his Convoy was not ready; and at another Gate than was appointed and agreed on. And as the Articles were thus unhappily violated to those who went away, so they were not enough observ’d to those who stayed, and to the City itself: for many of Colonel *Fiennes* Soldiers taking conditions, and entering with the King’s Army, instructed their new Friends, Who were most disaffected; so that one whole Street upon the Bridge, the Inhabitants whereof lay under some brand of Malignity, though, no doubt, there were many honest Men among them, was almost totally plunder’d; which, because there was but little Justice done upon the Transgressors, was believ’d to be done by connivance from the Officers, and more discredited the King’s Forces, and his Cause, than was then taken notice of, or discover’d. It was a noble attribute given to the brave *Fabritius*, *qui aliquid esse crederet & in hostem nefas*. I wish I could excuse those swervings from Justice, and Right, which were too frequently practis’d against Contracts, under the notion, that they, with whom they were made, were Rebels, and could not be too ill used; when, as the cause deserv’d, so it needed all the ingenuity, and integrity, in the propugners of it, to keep despair from the Guilty, who were by much too numerous for the Innocent.

THIS reduction of *Bristol* was a full tide of prosperity to the King, and made him Master of the second City of his Kingdom,

Kingdom, and gave him the undisturbed possession of one of the richest Counties of the Kingdom (for the Rebels had now no standing Garrison, or the least visible influence upon any part of *Somerset-shire*) and render'd *Wales* (which was before well affected, except some Towns in *Pembroke-shire*) more useful to him; being freed of the fear of *Bristol*, and consequently of the charge, that always attends those fears; and restored to the Trade with *Bristol*; which was the greatest support of those parts. Yet the King might very well have said, what King *Pyrrhus* heretofore did, after his second Battle, by the City of *Asculum*, with the *Romans*, where he won the Victory; "If We win another at this price, We are utterly undone. And truly his Majesty's loss before this Town, was inestimable, and very hard to be repaired. I am persuaded there were slain, upon the several Assaults, of Common Men, but such as were tryed and incomparable Foot, about five hundred; and abundance of excellent Officers, whereof many were of prime Command, and Quality.

ON the *Cornish* side, fell, besides Major *Kendall*, and many other Inferior Officers, excellent in their degree; Colonel *Buck*, a modest and a stout Commander, and of good experience in War; who having got over the Graff, and even to the top of the Wall, was knock'd down with a Halbert, and perished in the Graff: *Sr Nicholas Slanning*, and Colonel *John Trevannion*, the Life and Soul of the *Cornish* Regiments, whose memories can never be enough celebrated; who being led by no impulsion, but of Conscience, and their own observation of the ill practices and designs of the great Conductors (for they both were of the House of Commons) engaged themselves with the first in the opposition; and as soon as *Sr Ralph Hopton*, and those other Gentlemen came into *Cornwall*, joyn'd with them; and being both of singular Reputation, and good Fortunes there, the one in Possession, the other in Reversion after his Father, they engaged their Persons and Estates in the Service; rather doing great things, than affecting that it should be taken notice of to be done by them; applying themselves to all infirmities, and condescending to all Capacities, for removing all obstructions, which accidentally arose among those, who could only prosper by being of one mind. *Sr Nicholas Slanning* was Governour of *Pendennis-Castle*, upon the credit and security whereof, the King's Party in that Country first depended, and by the Command it had of the Harbour of *Falmouth*, was, or might be, supplied with all that was necessary. He was indeed a young Man of admirable parts, a sharp and discerning Wit, a stayed and solid Judgement, a gentle and most obliging Behaviour, and a Courage so clear and keen, as, even without the other ornaments,

would

would have render'd him very considerable: They were both young, neither of them above eight and twenty, of entire friendship to one another, and to *Sr Bevil Greenvil*, whose body was not yet buried; they were both hurt almost in the same minute, and in the same place; both shot in the thigh with Musquet Bullets; their bones broken, the one dying presently, the other some few days after; and both had the Royal sacrifice of their Sovereign's very particular sorrow, and the concurrence of all good Mens; and, that which is a greater solemnity to their memories, as it fares with most great and virtuous Men, whose loss is better understood long afterwards, they were as often lamented, as the accidents in the publick Affairs made the Courage, and Fidelity of the *Cornish* of greatest signification to the Cause.

ON the North side, of Prince *Rupert's* Army, fell very many good Officers, the chief of whom was Colonel *Harry Lunsford*, an Officer of extraordinary Sobriety, Industry, and Courage; near whom, his excellent Lieutenant Colonel *Moyle* was likewise hurt, and died within few days, both shot out of a Window after they had enter'd the Suburbs. There were hurt, the Lord Viscount *Grandison*, Nephew to the Great Duke of *Buckingham*, who was Colonel General of the King's Foot; Colonel *John Bellasis*, since Lord *Bellasis*; Colonel *Bernard Ashley*; Colonel *Sr John Owen*; and many other Officers of name, of whom none of Quality died of their wounds but the Lord *Grandison*; whose loss can never be enough lamented. He was a young Man of so virtuous a habit of mind, that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him; so great a Lover of Justice, and Integrity, that no example, necessity, or even the barbarity of this War, could make him swerve from the most precise Rules of it; and of that rare Piety and Devotion, that the Court, or Camp, could not shew a more faultless Person, or to whose example young Men might more reasonably conform themselves. His Personal Valour, and Courage of all kinds (for he had sometimes indulged so much to the Corrupt opinion of Honour, as to venture himself in Duels) was very eminent, insomuch as he was accused of being too prodigal of his Person; his Affection, and Zeal, and Obedience to the King, was such as became a branch of that Family. And he was wont to say, "that if he had not understanding enough to know the uprightness of the Cause, nor Loyalty enough to inform him of the Duty of a Subject, yet the very obligations of Gratitude to the King, on the behalf of his House, were such, as his Life was but a due Sacrifice; and therefore, he no sooner saw the War unavoidable, than he engaged all his Brethren, as well as himself in the Service; and there were then

three more of them in Command in the Army, where he was so unfortunately cut off.

AS SOON as the News of the taking of *Bristol* came to the King at *Oxford*, after a solemn Thanksgiving to God for the Success, which was immediately, and publickly perform'd, his Majesty assembled his Privy Council, to consider how this great Blessing in War might be applied to the procuring a happy Peace; and that this might be the last Town he should purchase at the price of blood. It was evident, that, as this last Victory added great lustre, and beauty to the whole face of his Affairs, so it would produce an equal paleness, and be an ominous presage to the Parliament; where the Jealousies and Apprehensions between themselves still grew higher, and new remedies still proposed, which were generally thought worse than the disease.

The two
Houses send
Commissioners
into
Scotland
for relief.

UPON the News of the Lord *Fairfax's* being Defeated in the North, which came about this time, they resolv'd to send a Committee of the two Houses into *Scotland*, "to desire
"their Brethren of that Kingdom presently to advance with
"an Army for their Relief; which was thought so desperate
a Cure, that the Lords naming the Earl of *Rutland*, and Lord *Grey of Warke*, for that Embassy, the Earl upon indisposition of Health procured a release; and the other, who had never declined any employment they would confer on him, so peremptorily refused to meddle in it, that he was committed to the Tower; and in the end, they were compelled to depute only Commoners to that Service: and so *St William Armyne*, young *St Henry Vane*, and two more, assisted with *Mr Marshall* and *Mr Nye*, two of their powerful Clergy, were embarked in that Negotiation; upon which, they who sent them, were so far from being confident, and so little satisfied, that they should be driven to bring in Forreign Forces, with the purpose whereof they had so long traduced the King, that there was, some few desperate Persons only excepted, even a universal desire of Peace; and the Earl of *Essex* Himself, writing to the Speaker of the House of Commons, of the defects in his Army, and of his wants of Horse, Men, and Money, advised, "that they would think of sending some reasonable
"Propositions to the King, for the procuring a Safe Peace; which being the first intimation, he had ever given to that purpose, together with his familiarity, and correspondence with those Lords, who were known passionately to desire an accommodation, gave them sad apprehensions; which were encreased by some severe Messages they receiv'd from him, for his Vindication from the foul Aspersions, and Calumnies, which were generally and publickly laid on him, for his inactivity after the winning *Reading*, whilst the Queen march'd
securely

securely to *Oxford*, and *Sr William Waller* was destroyed; as if
 "he would think of some way of righting Himself, if They
 "were not sensible on His behalf.

How to work upon these discomposed humours, and to
 reduce them to such temper, that they might consent to the
 Kingdoms Peace, was the Argument of the King's consulta-
 tions: but by what Expedient to promote this, was the Diffi-
 culty. After the breach of the last Treaty, and when the
 King had in vain labour'd to revive it, and could not procure
 any Answer from them to his last Messages; but instead there-
 of his Messenger imprison'd, tryed before a Council of War
 for his Life, and still in custody, and a Declaration, "that
 "whosoever should be employed by his Majesty, on any Mes-
 "sage to them, without Their leave, should be proceeded a-
 "gainst as a Spy (so that though they pretended to be his
 great Council, they upon the matter now protested against
 any relation to his Majesty) he advised with his Council,
 "what might be fit for him to do, to lessen the Reverence
 "and Reputation of them with the People: for the super-
 stition towards the name of a Parliament was so general, that
 the King had wisely forbore to charge the two Houses with
 the Treason, and Rebellion which was raised, but imputed
 it to particular Persons, who were most visibly and actually
 engaged in it. Some were of opinion, "that, all the Mem-
 "bers who stayed there, and sate in either House, being guilty
 "of so many Treasonable Acts, thereby the Parliament was
 "actually dissolv'd, by the same reason, as a Corporation,
 "by great Misdemeanour and Crime, might forfeit their
 "Charter; and therefore that the King should, by his Pro-
 "clamation, declare the dissolution of it, and then consider
 "whether it were fit to call another: but this opinion was ge-
 nerally disliked, both "because it was conceiv'd not to be
 "just; for the Treason of those who were present, could not
 "forfeit the right of those who were away; neither was it
 "evident, that all that were present, consented to the ill that
 "was done; and the King's declaring a Parliament to be dis-
 "solv'd, contrary to an Act of Parliament, was believ'd,
 "would prove an Act so ungracious to the People, for the con-
 "sequences of it, that the King would be an exceeding loser
 "by such an attempt; and that many, in such a case, would
 "return thither, who out of conscience had withdrawn from
 "that Assembly.

IN Conclusion, the advice was unanimous, "that his Ma-
 "jesty should declare the Orders, and Proceedings of one or
 "both Houses to be void, by reason the Members did not
 "enjoy the Freedom and Liberty of Parliament; and there-
 "fore should require his good Subjects, no longer to be misled

"by them: and, to that purpose, the King had issued his Proclamation six Weeks before this happy turn in his Affairs, so that he could not now send a Message to them, as to two Houses of Parliament, lest he might seem to retract his former judgement of them, which was concluded to be both regular and just. Upon the whole matter, lest his Majesty might be understood to be so much elated with his good successes, and the encrease of his Strength, that he aimed at no less than a perfect Victory, and the ruin of those who had incensed him (by which insinuations they who could not forgive themselves, endeavour'd to make all others desperate) he was resolv'd to publish such a Declaration to the whole Kingdom, that both Houses, and their Army, could not but take notice of, and might, if they were inclined to it, thence take a rise to make any Overtures to him towards an attonement. To that purpose, the next day after he receiv'd the assurance of the taking of *Bristol*, his Majesty publish'd this ensuing Declaration; which I shall enter in his own words.

His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects, after his Victories over the Lord Fairfax in the North, Sir William Waller in the West, and the taking of Bristol by his Majesty's Forces.

*The King's
Declaration
after his late
successes.*

"As the grievances and losses of no particular Persons, since these miserable bloody distempers have disquieted this poor Kingdom, can be compared to the loss and damage We our self have sustain'd, there having been no Victory obtain'd but in the blood of our own Subjects, nor no rapine or violence committed, but to the impoverishment and ruin of our own People; so, a blessed and happy Peace cannot be so acceptable and welcome to any Man, as to Us. Almighty God, to whom all the secrets of Our heart are open, who hath so often and so miraculously preserv'd Us, and to whose power alone We must attribute the goodness of our present condition (how unhappy soever it is with reference to the publick Calamities) knows, with what unwillingness, with what anguish of Soul, We submitted our self to the Necessity of taking up Defensive Armes. And the World knows with what justice and bounty We have repaired our Subjects, for all the pressures and inconveniencies they had borne, by such excellent Laws, as would for ever have prevented the like; and with what earnestness and importunity We desired to add any thing, for the establishment of the Religion, Laws, and Liberty of the Kingdom. How all these have been disturbed, invaded, and almost destroyed, by Faction, Sedition, and Treason, by
"those,

“those, who have neither Reverence to God, nor Affection
“to Men, but have sacrificed Both to their own ends and am-
“bition, is now so evident, that We hope, as God hath won-
“derfully manifested his care of Us, and his defence of His
“and Our most just Cause; so, he hath so far touched the
“hearts of our People, that their Eyes are at last open’d to
“see how miserably they have been seduced, and to abhor
“those Persons, whose malice and subtlety had seduced them
“to dishonour Him, to rebel against Us, and to bring much
“misery and calamity upon their native Country.

“We well remember the Protestation voluntarily made by
“Us, in the head of that small Army we were Master of in
“September last, to defend and maintain the true Reform’d
“Protestant Religion: And if it should please God, by his
“blessing upon that Army, to preserve Us from this Rebel-
“lion, that We would maintain the just Privileges and Free-
“dom of Parliament, and govern by the known Laws of the
“Land; for whose Defence, in truth, that Army was only
“raised, and hath been since kept. And there cannot be a
“more seasonable time to renew that Protestation than Now,
“when God hath vouchsafed Us so many Victories and Suc-
“cesses, and hath render’d the power of those, who seek to
“destroy Us, less formidable than it hath been (so that We
“shall probably not fall under the scandalous imputation,
“which hath usually attended Our Messäges of Peace, that
“they proceed from the weakness of our power, not love of
“our People) and when there is more freedom in many Coun-
“ties, for our good Subjects to receive true information of
“their own, and Our condition; the knowledge whereof
“hath been, with equal industry and injustice, kept from
“them, as other Acts of cruelty have been imposed on them.

“We do therefore declare to all the world, in the presence
“of Almighty God, to whom We must give a strict account
“of all our Professions and Protestations, that We are so far
“from intending any alteration of the Religion establish’d (as
“hath been often falsely, scandalously, and against the Con-
“science of the Contrivers themselves of that rumour, sug-
“gested to our People) or from the least thought of invading
“the Liberty and Property of the Subject, or violating the
“just Privileges of Parliament, that We call that God to wit-
“ness, *who hath cover’d our head in the day of Battle*, that
“We desire from our Soul, and shall always use our utmost
“endeavour to preserve, and advance the true Reform’d Pro-
“testant Religion establish’d in the Church of *England*; in
“which We were born, have faithfully liv’d, and, by the
“grace of God, shall resolutely die: That the preservation
“of the Liberty and Property of the Subject, in the due ob-
“servation

“servation of the known Laws of the Land, shall be equally
 “our care, as the maintenance of our own Rights; We de-
 “siring to govern only by those good Laws, which, till they
 “were oppress’d by this odious Rebellion, preserv’d this Na-
 “tion happy. And We do acknowledge the just Privileges
 “of Parliament to be an essential part of those Laws, and shall
 “therefore most solemnly defend, and observe them. So that,
 “in truth, if either Religion, Law, or Liberty, be precious
 “to our People, they will, by their submission to Us, joyn
 “with Us in the defence of them; and thereby establish that
 “Peace, by which only they can flourish, and be enjoyed.

“WHETHER these Men, that be profess’d Enemies to
 “the establish’d Ecclesiastical Government, who reproach and
 “persecute the Learned Orthodox Ministers of the Church,
 “and into their places put ignorant, seditious, and schismatical
 “Preachers, who vilify the Book of Common Prayer, and
 “impiously prophane God’s Worship with their scurrilous and
 “seditious demeanour, are like to advance that Religion;
 “whether those Men, who boldly, and without the least sha-
 “dow or colour of Law, impose insupportable Taxes and
 “odious Excises upon their fellow Subjects, imprison, tor-
 “ment, and murder them, are like to preserve the Liberty
 “and Property of the Subject: And whether those Men, who
 “seise and possess themselves of our own unquestionable Re-
 “venue, and our just Rights, have denied Us our Negative
 “Voice, have, by force and violence, awed and terrified the
 “Members of both Houses, and lastly have, as far as in Them
 “lies, dissolv’d the present Parliament, by driving away and
 “imprisoning the Members, and resolving the whole power
 “thereof, and more, into a Committee of a few Men, con-
 “trary to all Law, Custom, or Precedent, are like to vindicate,
 “and uphold the Privileges of Parliament, all the world
 “may judge.

“WE do therefore once more conjure our Good Subjects,
 “by their memory of that excellent Peace and firm Happines,
 “with which it pleased God to reward their Duty, and Loyal-
 “ty in time past; by their Oaths of Allegiance and Supre-
 “macy, which no Vow or Covenant, contriv’d, and admi-
 “nister’d to, and by themselves, can cancel or evade; by
 “whatsoever is dear and precious to them in this life, or hoped
 “or prayed for in the life to come, that they will remember
 “their Duty, and consider their Interest, and no longer suffer
 “Themselves to be misled, their Prince dishonoured, and
 “their Country wasted and undone by the malice and cunning
 “of those State Impostors; who, under pretence of Refor-
 “mation, would introduce whatsoever is monstrous and un-
 “natural both to Religion, and Policy: But that they rather
 “choose

“choose quietly to enjoy their Religion, Property, and Liberty, founded and provided for by the wisdom and industry of former times, and secured, and enlarged by the blessings upon the present Age, than to spend their Lives and Fortunes to purchase confusion, and to make themselves liable to the most intolerable kind of Slavery, that is, to be Slaves to their fellow Subjects; who, by their prodigious, unheard of Acts of Oppression and Tyranny, have given them sufficient evidence What they are to expect at their hands.

“AND let not our good People, who have been misled, or, through want of Understanding, or want of Courage, submitted themselves to unwarrantable and disloyal Actions, be taught, by these Seducers, that their Safety now consists in Despair; and that they can only secure themselves for the ills they have done, by a resolute and peremptory disobedience. Revenge and Blood-thirstiness have never been imputed to Us, by those, who have not left either our Government, or Nature, unexamined, with the greatest Boldness, and Malice. And all those who, since these bloody distractions, out of Conscience have returned from their evil ways to Us, have found that it was not so easy for Them to repent as for Us to forgive. And whosoever have been misled by those whose hearts from the beginning have designed all this mischief, and shall redeem their past crimes by their present Service and Loyalty, in the apprehending, or opposing such who shall continue to bear Arms against Us, and shall use their utmost endeavours to reduce those Men to their due Obedience, and to restore this Kingdom to its wonted Peace, shall have cause to magnify our Mercy, and to repent the Trespases committed against so just and gracious a Sovereign. Lastly, We desire all our good Subjects who have really assisted, or really wished Us well, now God hath done such wonderful things for Us, vigorously to endeavour to put an end to all these miseries, by bringing in Men, Money, Plate, Horses, or Armes, to Our aid; that so We being not wanting to our selves, may with confidence expect the continuance of God's Favour, to restore Us all to that blessed harmony of Affections, which may establish a firm Peace; without the speedy obtaining of which, this poor Kingdom will be utterly undone, though not absolutely lost.

WHAT effect this Declaration produced, at least what accident fell out shortly after the publishing it, We shall have occasion anon to remember, when We have first remembered some unfortunate Passages, which accompanied this prosperity on the King's part; for the Sunshine of his Conquest was somewhat

*Jealousies
arise among
the King's
principal Of-
ficers about
the Govern-
ment of Bri-
stol.*

somewhat clouded, not only by the Number and Quality of the slain, but by the jealousies and misunderstandings of those who were alive. There was not, from the beginning, that conformity of humour and inclinations between the Princes and the Marquis of *Hertford*, as had been to be wish'd between all Persons of Honour, who were engaged in a Quarrel that could never prosper but by the Union of the Undertakers. Prince *Maurice*, and, on his behalf (or rather the other by his impulsion) Prince *Rupert* taking to heart, that a Nephew of the King's should be Lieutenant General to the Marquis, who had neither been exercised in the profession of a Soldier, nor even now punctually studied the Office of a General: On the other hand, the Marquis, who was of the most gentle Nature to the gentle, and as rough and resolute to the imperious, it may be liked not the Prince's assuming to himself more than became a Lieutenant General, and sometimes crossing Acts of his with relation to the governing, and disposing the Affairs of the Country, in which he knew himself better versed than the Prince; and when *Bristol* was taken, where the Marquis took himself to Command in Chief, being a Town particularly within his Commission, and of which he was besides Lord Lieutenant, he thought himself not regardfully enough used, that Prince *Rupert* had not only enter'd into the Treaty without His advice, but concluded the Articles without so much as naming him, or taking notice that he was there. And therefore with as little ceremony to his Highness, or so much as communicating it to either of the Princes, the Marquis declared that he would give the Government of that City to *Sr Ralph Hopton*. Prince *Rupert* on the other hand conceiv'd the Town wone by him, being enter'd on that side in which he Commanded absolutely, and the *Cornish* on the other part absolutely repulsed; and therefore that the disposition of the Command and Government of it, wholly belonged to him. But when he heard the resolution of the Marquis concerning *Sr Ralph Hopton*, who was not to be put into the Scale with any private Man, he gave over the design of conferring it upon any of the pretenders; and by the same Messenger, by whom he advertised his Majesty of the good success, he desired, "that he would bestow the Government of that City reduced by him, upon himself; the which the King readily consented to; not suspecting any dispute to be about it. And shortly after an express arriv'd likewise from the Marquis, with an account of all particulars, and that his Lordship had design'd *Sr Ralph Hopton* to be Governour of the new-got City.

THEN, and not before, the King understood what streight he was in; and was exceedingly perplexed to find an Expedient

dient to compose the difference that he saw would arise. He had passed his word to his Nephew, of whom he was very tender, and did in truth believe that his Title to dispose the Government was very just: he had likewise a very just esteem of the Marquis, who had serv'd him with all fidelity, and had clearly declared himself for him, when the doing otherwise would have been most prejudicial to his Majesty: and, it could not be denied, no Subject's Affection and Loyalty gave a greater Lustre to the King's Cause, than that of the Marquis; and that which was a circumstance of infinite Moment, was the nominating *Sr Ralph Hopton*; who as he was a Person of high merit from the King, so he was the most gracious and popular to that City, and the Country adjacent; and after so great service, and suffering in the service, to expose him to a refusal, was both against the kindness and goodness of the King's Nature, and his Politick foresight into his Affairs. And as a presage how various the interpretation would be abroad, of whatsoever he should determine, he found the Minds and Affections of his own Court and Council, with more passion than ordinary, ready to deliver their opinions. The Marquis was generally lov'd, and where he was not enough known to be so, his Interest and Reputation in the Kingdom was thought of wonderful consideration in the King's business: and many were very much troubled to see Prince *Rupert*, whose Activity and Courage in the Field they thought very instrumental, incline to get the possession of the second City of the Kingdom into his hands, or to engage himself so much in the Civil Government, as such a Command soberly executed must necessarily comprehend; and this as it were in contempt of one of the prime Noble Men of the Kingdom, to which Order the Prince had not express'd himself very debonair. And these thought "the King was, by Counsel and Precept, to reform and soften the Prince's understanding and humour; and to perswade him, in compliance with his Service, to decline the Contest, and suffer the Marquis to proceed in his disposition, which, on all parts, was acknowledged to be most fitly design'd.

OTHERS again were of opinion, "that the right of disposing the Command to whomsoever he thought fit, entirely belonged to Prince *Rupert*; and therefore (besides that the King had, by the same Messenger who brought the Suit, return'd his Consent) that he could not be reasonably refused, when he desired it for himself; which would take away all possible imagination of disrespect to *Sr Ralph Hopton*, who could not take it ill, that the Prince himself had taken a Command, that was design'd to Him: That the Eyes of the Army were upon his Highness, whose name was grown

a ter-

“a terror to the Enemy, as his Courage and Conduct had
 “been very prosperous to the King ; and if, after so happy
 “and glorious an achievement, he should now receive a re-
 “pulse in so reasonable a pretence, though it would not les-
 “sen his own duty or alacrity in the Service, it might have
 “an unhappy influence upon his Reputation and Interest in
 “the Army ; which could receive no diminution without ap-
 “parent damage to his Majesty : and therefore, that some
 “means should be used to the Marquis, to wave his Title,
 “and to consent that the Prince should enjoy his desires : so
 that they who were only fit to be employed to persuade and
 alter either, Seem’d, and indeed Were, passionately engaged
 against the thing they were to persuade. Whereupon the
 King discern’d that all depended upon his own Royal Wis-
 dom ; and therefore resolv’d to take a Journey in his own
 Person to *Bristol*, and there to give such a Rule as he should
 find most necessary ; to which, he presumed, both Persons
 would conform themselves, as well cordially, as obediently.

*The King
 goes to Bri-
 stol to com-
 pose the dif-
 ference.*

THAT which the King propos’d to himself, was to grati-
 fy his Nephew with the Name, and the Marquis, by making
St Ralph Hopton enjoy the Thing ; upon obliging whom the
 King’s care was very particular. For though he knew his na-
 ture, as in truth it was, most exactly free from interrupting
 the least publick Service by private ends or thoughts, other
 Men would be apt to conceive and publish a disrespect to be
 done to him, which himself apprehended not ; and therefore
 his Majesty was not only, in his own Princely mind, to re-
 tain a very gracious sense of his Service, but to give Evidence
 to all Men, that he did so. And so after he had made a joy-
 ful entrance into *Bristol*, which was perform’d with all decent
 Solemnity, and used all kind and obliging expressions to the
 Marquis, he desired him in private to consent, that he might
 perform his promise to his Nephew, which he had pass’d be-
 fore he had any imagination that his Lordship otherwise had
 determin’d of it ; without speaking at all of any other Title
 his Highness had to it, but by his Majesty’s promise. He esta-
 blish’d Prince *Rupert* in the Government of *Bristol*, who im-
 mediately sent a Commission to *St Ralph Hopton* (who was
 now so well recover’d, that he walked into the Air) to be
 his Lieutenant Governour ; signifying likewise to him, by a
 Confident that pass’d between them, “that though he was
 “now engaged for some time, which should not be long, to
 “keep the Superior Title himself, he would not at all med-
 “dle in the Government, but that he should be as absolute in
 “it, as if the Original Commission had been granted to Him.

St Ralph Hopton, who was exceedingly sorry that His name
 was at all used, and expos’d, as an Argument of difference

and misunderstanding between Persons of such eminent influence upon the publick, quickly discern'd that this expedient, though it seem'd plausibly to lessen the noise of the Debate, did in truth object him to the full Envy of one Party. For the Marquis (who by the King's persuasions was rather quieted, than satisfied) might, and he foresaw would, be persuaded to expect that He would refuse the Commission from Prince *Rupert*, both, as he might be thought to comply in an Injury done to the Marquis, to whom his devotion had been ancient, fast, and unshaken, and as the Command now given him, was inferior to what the Marquis, who had the power of disposal, had conferr'd on him; and so that he should vindicate the Title, which the King himself was loath to give a judgement upon. He was the more troubled, because he found that by submitting to this Charge, he should by some be thought to have deserted the Marquis out of a kind of Revenge for his having deserted the Enterprize, when he chose, the last year, rather to go into *Wales* than *Cornwal*, and for his deserting him again now, when he brought all new Officers to Command the Army over Their Heads who had raised it, and made the way for the new to come to them. Whereas the first, as is before remember'd, was done by his own Advice, as well as his full Consent; and the latter, he well knew, was rather to be imputed to Prince *Maurice* than to his Lordship, whose kindness and esteem had been ever very real to him. On the other hand, he saw plainly, that if he refused to receive this Commission, with what specious Circumstances of Duty and Submission soever, it might produce (as without doubt unavoidably it would) notable Disturbances and Interruptions in the King's Affairs; and that the Marquis, to common Understandings, had, to Obey the King, declined the Contest, and therefore that the reviving it, and the mischief that attended it, would be imputed to his particular Account. Besides that, he had always borne an avow'd and declar'd Reverence to the Queen of *Bohemia* and her Children, whom he had Personally and actively served in their Wars, whilst they maintain'd any, and for whose Honour and Restitution he had been a Zealous and known Champion. And therefore he had no inclination to disoblige a hopeful Prince of that House, upon whom our own hopes seem'd so much to depend. He therefore resolv'd, according to his rare temper throughout this War, to let him whom he profess'd to serve, choose in what kind he would be serv'd by him; and chearfully receiv'd the Commission from Prince *Rupert*; upon which, all discourse, or debate of difference, was for the present determin'd, what whisperings or murmurings soever remain'd.

THE

THE King found it now high time to resolve, to what Action next to dispose his Armies, and that their lying still so long there (for these Agitations had kept the main work from going forward ten or twelve days, a time in that Season unfortunately lost) had more weaken'd, than refresh'd them; having not lost more Men by storming the City, than afterwards by plundering it: those Soldiers, who had warm'd themselves with the burthen of Pillage, never quietly again submitting to the Carriage of their Armes.

THE Question was first, "whether both Armies should be united, and march in one upon the next Design? and then, "What that Design should be? Against the First, there were many Allegations.

1. "THE condition of the West: *Dorset-shire* and *Devon-shire* "were entirely possess'd by the Enemy; for though *St John Berkley* with a daring Party kept *Exeter*, and Colonel *John Digby* the North part (which was notoriously disaffected) "from joining with *Plymouth*, which would else quickly have "grown into an Army strong enough to infect *Cornwal*, yet "they had no place to retire to upon distress; and all the Ports "upon the Western Coasts were Garrison'd by the Parlia- "ment, which, upon the fame of the approach of the King's "Forces, and the loss of *Bristol*, might probably be, without "much resistance, reduced.

2. "THE *Cornish* Army was greater in Reputation, than "Numbers; having lost many at *Lansdown*, and the Assault "of *Bristol*, and, by the death of their Chief Officers, very many were run away since: besides they pretended some promise made to their Country (which they conceiv'd not to "be enough secured against *Plymouth*) of returning speedily "for the reduction of that Town; so that if they were compelled to march Eastwards, to which they were not inclined, it was to be doubted they would moulder away so fast, "that there would be little addition of strength by it. Whereas "as if they march'd Westward, it would be no hard matter "to gather up those who were return'd, and to be strong "enough in a very short time, by new Levies, for any Enter- "prise should be thought reasonable to be undertaken. To which was added, "that having lost those Officers, whom "they lov'd and fear'd; and whose Reverence restrain'd their "Natural distempers, they were too much inclined to mutiny; and had express'd a peremptory aversion to the joining, "and marching with the King's Army. And the truth is, their humours then were not very gentle and agreeable, as being apt to think that their prowess was not enough recompens'd, or valued. For though the King affected to make all possible demonstrations to them, of an extraordinary high esteem he

had of their wonderful Fidelity and Courage, yet he was able to procure very little Money for them; and they had then, by the discipline under which they had been train'd (which was most regular, and full of that sobriety which promised good fortune) an honest pride in their own Natures, a great disdain of plundering, or supplying themselves by those vile Arts, which they grew afterwards less tender to avoid.

3. "THE great number of the King's Horse; which was so brave a Body, that when that part of it, which was joyn'd to the *Cornish* was away, he should march with at least six thousand Horse, which were as many as would be able to live on any Country within a due distance of Quartering.

4. "LASTLY, some Correspondence with the Chief Gentlemen of *Dorset-shire*, who were ready to joyn with any considerable Party for the King, and had some probable hopes, that the small Garrisons upon the Coast would not make a tedious resistance.

THERE was another reason, which was not given, that if both Armies had been kneaded into one, Prince *Maurice* could have been but a private Colonel: but there were enough besides to satisfy the King to keep them divided; and so he gave Order to the Earl of *Carnarvon* to advance towards *Dorchester* (the Chief Town in that County, and one of the most Malignant in *England*, where the Rebels had a Garrison) with the Horse and Dragoons, and the next day to Prince *Maurice* to march after with the Foot and Cannon; his Majesty keeping with him the Marquis of *Hertford* to attend his own Person; for though he well saw, he should undergo some Inconveniences by withdrawing the Marquis from that employment, the opinion of the Soundness of his Religion, and Integrity of his Justice, rendring him by much the most popular Man in those parts, and was exceedingly tender of giving the least umbrage and distaste to his Lordship, upon whose Honour and Affection he relied entirely, and would as soon have trusted his Crown upon His Fidelity, as upon any Man's in his three Kingdoms, yet he discern'd plainly that the Prince and the Marquis would never agree together; and that there were Persons about them, who would foment their Indispositions to each other, with any hazard to His service; and concluded, that he should sooner reduce his People by the Power of his Army, than by the persuasions of his Counsel; and that the roughness of the one's Nature, might prevail more than the lenity and condescension of the other: and therefore he sent the Prince on that employment; using all imaginable means to remove any trouble, or jealousy of his favour from the Marquis's mind; his Majesty freely and clearly communicating to him all his Counsels, and the true grounds of his Resolution;

Prince Maurice sent on to the West with an Army.

tion; and declaring to him, "that he would make him a Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, and Groom of his Stole, "and that he would always have his Company and Advice "about him; with which the Marquis was satisfied, rather because he resolv'd not to disobey him, than that he was well pleas'd with the price of the obligations.

AND truly many wise and honest Men, were sorry for the King's Election; and though the Marquis's years, and a long indulgence to his ease, had superinduced a kind of laziness and inactivity upon his Nature, that was neither agreeable to his primitive Constitution, nor the great Endowments of his mind (for he was a good Scholar, and had a good judgement) and less to the temper of this time, and the Office of a General, inasmuch as he often resign'd an excellent understanding to those who had a very indifferent one, and follow'd the advice, and concluded upon the information of those, who had narrower, and more vulgar thoughts than suited with his Honour, and were not worthy of such a Trust; yet they thought the Prince's inexperience of the Customs and Manners of *England*, and an aversion from considering them, must subject him to the information and advice of worse Counsellors than the other, and which would not be so easily controuled: And I am of opinion, that if the Prince had waited on his Majesty in that Army, and never interposed in any Command, nor purely Martial, and the Marquis been sent with those Forces into the West with the Lord *Hopton* (who was now to be left at *Bristol* to intend his health, and to form that new Garrison; which was to be a Magazine for Men, Armes, Ammunition, and all that was wanted) and some other steady Persons, who might have been Assign'd to special Provinces, a greater tide of good fortune had attended that expedition.

THE next resolution to be taken, was concerning the King's own motion with the other Army. There was not a Man, who did not think the reducing of *Glocester*, a City within little more than twenty miles of *Bristol*, of mighty importance to the King, if it might be done without a great expence of time, and loss of Men: "It was the only Garrison "the Rebels had between *Bristol* and *Lancashire*, on the "North part of *England*, and if it could be recover'd, his Majesty would have the River of *Severn* entirely within his "Command; whereby his Garrisons of *Worcester*, and *Shrewsbury*, and all those parts, might be supplied from *Bristol*; "and the Trade of that City thereby so advanced, that the "Customs and Duty might bring a notable Revenue to the "King, and the Wealth of the City encreasing, it might bear "the greater Burthen for the War: A rich and populous "County, which hitherto rather yielded Conveniences of
Quarter,

"Quarter, than a settled Contribution (that strong Garrison holding not only the whole Forrest division, which is a fourth part of the County of *Glocester*, absolutely in obedience, but so alarm'd all other parts, that none of the Gentry, who for the most part were well affected, durst stay at their own Houses) might be wholly the King's Quarters, and by how much it had offended, and disquieted the King, more than other Counties, by so much the more Money might be rais'd upon them. Besides the General weekly Contributions, the Yeomanry, who had been most forward and seditious, being very wealthy, and able to redeem their Delinquency at a high Price (and these Arguments were fully press'd by the well affected Gentry of the County, who had carried themselves honestly, and suffer'd very much by doing so, and undertook great Levies of Men, if this Work were first done) there was another Argument of no less, if not greater Moment than all the rest: " If *Glocester* were reduced, there would need no Forces to be left in *Wales*, and all those Soldiers might be then drawn to the marching Army, and the Contributions and other Taxes assign'd to the payment of it. Indeed the King would have had a glorious, and entire part of his Kingdom, to have contended with the rest.

YET all these motives were not thought worth the engaging his Army in a doubtful Siege ; whilst the Parliament might both recover the fear that was upon them, and consequently allay and compose the distempers (which, if they did not wholly proceed from, were very much strengthen'd by those fears) and recruit their Army ; and therefore that it was better to march into some of those Counties which were most oppress'd by the Enemy, and there wait such advantage, as the distraction in and about *London* would administer, except there could be some probable hope that *Glocester* might be got without much delay. And to that purpose there had been secret agitation, the effect whereof was hourly expected. The Governour of that Garrison was one Colonel *Massy*, a Soldier of Fortune, who had, in the late Northern Expeditions prepared by the King against *Scotland*, been an Officer in the King's Army, under the Command of Colonel *William Leg* ; and, in the beginning of these Troubles, had been at *York* with inclination to serve the King ; but finding himself not enough known there, and that there would be little gotten, but the Comfort of a good Conscience, he went to *London*, where there was more Money, and fewer Officers ; and was easily made Lieutenant Colonel to the Earl of *Stamford* ; and being quickly found to be a diligent and stout Officer, and of no ill parts of Conversation to render himself acceptable among the Common People, was by his Lordship, when he went into

the West, left Governour of that City of *Glocester*, where he had behaved himself actively, and successfully. There was no reason to despair, that this Man (not intoxicated with any of those fumes which made Men rave, and frantick in the Cause) might not be wrought upon. And *Will. Leg*, who had the good opinion of most Men, and the particular kindness of Prince *Rupert*, had sent a Messenger, who was like to pass without suspicion to *Glocester*, with such a Letter of kindness and overture to *Massy*, as was proper in such a case from one Friend to another. This Messenger return'd when the King's and the Army's motion was under Debate, and brought an Answer from the Governour to Colonel *Leg*, in a very high Style, and seeming to take it much unkindly, "that he should endeavour to Corrupt him in his Honesty, and Fidelity, and to perswade him to break a Trust, which, to save his Life, he would never do; with much discourse of his Honour, and Reputation, which would be always dear to him. But the Messenger said withal, "that, after the Governour had given him this Letter, and some sharp Reproaches before Company, he was brought again, a back way, to a place where the Governour was by himself; and then he told him, "that it was most necessary he should write such an Answer as he had done; which was communicated to those, who else would have been jealous what such a Messenger should come to him about; but that he should tell *William Leg*, that he was the same Man he had ever been, his Servant; and that he wish'd the King well; that he heard Prince *Rupert* meant to bring the Army before that Town; if he did, he would defend it as well as he could; and his Highness would find another work than he had at *Bristol*; but if the King himself came with his Army, and summon'd it, he would not hold it against Him: For it would not stand with his conscience to fight against the Person of the King; besides that in such a case, he should be able to perswade those of the Town; which otherwise he could not do.

THIS Message turn'd the Scale; for though it might be without purpose of being honest, yet there was no great objection against the King's marching that way with his Army; since it would be still in his power to pursue any other Counsel, without engaging before it. And it was to some a sign that he meant well, because he had not hanged, or at least imprison'd the Messenger who came to him on such an Errand. Hereupon the King resolv'd for *Glocester*, but not to be engaged in a Siege; and so sent his Army that way; and the next day (having first sent *Sr Ralph Hopton* a Warrant to Create him Baron *Hopton of Stratton*, in Memory of the happy Battle

He fought there) with the remainder of his Forces march'd towards it. On *Wednesday* the tenth of *August*, the King rang'd his whole Army upon a fair Hill, in the clear View of the City, and within less than two miles of it; and then, being about two of the Clock in the Afternoon, he sent a Trumpet with this Summons to the Town.

*The King
marches to-
wards
Glocester,
and Sum-
mons it,
Aug. 10,
1643.*

"OUT of our tender Compassion to our City of *Glocester*, and that it may not receive prejudice by our Army, which We cannot prevent if We be compelled to Assault it, We are Personally come before it to require the same; and are graciously pleased to let all the Inhabitants of, and all other Persons within that City, as well Soldiers as others, know, that if they shall immediately submit themselves, and deliver this Our City to Us, We are contented, freely, and absolutely to pardon every one of them, without exception; and do assure them, in the word of a King, that they, nor any of them shall receive the least damage or prejudice by Our Army in their Persons or Estates; but that We will appoint such a Governour, and a moderate Garrison to reside there, as shall be both for the ease and security of that City, and that whole County. But if they shall neglect this proffer of Grace and Favour, and compel Us, by the power of Our Army, to reduce that place (which, by the help of God, We doubt not, We shall be easily and shortly able to do) they must thank Themselves for all the Calamities and Miseries must befall Them. To this Message We expect a clear and positive Answer, within two hours after the publishing hereof; and by these presents do give leave to any Persons, safely to repair to and return from Us, whom that City shall desire to employ unto Us in that business: And do require all the Officers, and Soldiers of Our Army, quietly to suffer them to pass accordingly.

WITHIN less than the time prescribed, together with the Trumpeter return'd two Citizens from the Town, with lean, pale, sharp, and bad Visages, indeed Faces so strange, and unusual, and in such a garb and posture, that at once made the most severe Countenances merry, and the most chearful hearts sad; for it was impossible such Embassadors could bring less than a Defiance. The Men, without any Circumstances of Duty, or good Manners, in a pert, shrill, undimay'd accent, said, "they had brought an Answer from the Godly City of *Glocester* to the King; and were so ready to give insolent and seditious Answers to any Question, as if their business were chiefly to provoke the King to violate his own Safe Conduct. The Answer they brought was in writing, in these very words.

August 10th 1643.

The Citizens
and Garrison
sent Answer.

"WE the Inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers, and Soldiers,
"within this Garrison of *Glocester*, unto his Majesty's graci-
"ous Message return this humble Answer: That We do keep
"this City, according to our Oaths and Allegiance, to and
"for the use of his Majesty, and his Royal Posterity: And do
"accordingly conceive our selves wholly bound to obey
"the Commands of his Majesty, signified by both Houses
"of Parliament: And are resolv'd, by God's help, to keep
"this City accordingly.

THIS Paper was subscribed by *Wise* the Mayor, and *Massy* the Governour, with thirteen of the Aldermen, and most substantial Citizens, and eleven Officers of the Garrison; and as soon as their Messengers return'd, who were quickly dismissed, without attending to see what the King resolv'd, all the Suburbs of the City, in which were very large and fair Buildings, well inhabited, were set on Fire; so that there was no doubt, the King was to expect nothing there but what could not be kept from him. Now was the time for new Debates, and new Resolutions; to which Men came not so unbiassed, or unswayed, as they had been at *Bristol*. This indignity and affront to the King prompted thoughts of Revenge; and some thought the King so far engaged, that in Honour he could not do less, than sit down before the Town, and force it: and these Inclinations gave Countenance, and Credit to all those plausible informations "of small Provisions "in the Town, either of Victual, or Ammunition; that, "where the Town was strongest, there was nothing but an "old Stone Wall, which would fall upon an easy Battery; that "there were many well Affected People in the Town, who, "with those who were incensed by the burning of the Suburbs, and the great losses they must sustain thereby, would "make such a Party, that as soon as they were distressed, the "seditious Party would be forced to yield. It was alledg'd, "that the Enemy had no Army; nor, by all Intelligence, was "like to form any soon enough to be able to Relieve it; and "if they had an Army, that it was much better for his Majesty to force them to that distance from *London*, and to "Fight there, where he could be supplied with whatsoever he "wanted, could choose his own ground, where his brave "Body of Horse would be able to Defeat any Army they "could raise, than to seek them in their own Quarters.

ABOVE all, the Confidence of the Soldiers of the best Experience moved his Majesty; who upon riding about the Town, and taking a near view of it, were clear of opinion, that

that they should be able in less than ten days by Approach, for all thoughts of Storming were laid aside upon the loss at *Bristol*, to win it. This produced a Resolution in his Majesty, not one Man in the Council of War dissuading it. So the King presently sent to *Oxford* for his General the Earl of *Brentford* "to come to him, with all the Foot that could be spared out of that Garrison, and his pieces of Battery, to govern that Action: Prince *Rupert* wisely declining that Province, and retiring himself into the Generallship of the Horse, that he might not be thought accountable for any Accidents which should attend that Service. At the same instant, Orders were dispatched to *Sr William Vavasour*, who Commanded all the Forces in South *Wales* (the Lord *Herbert* having been perswaded, so far to comply with the indisposition of that People, as to decline that Command, or at least for a time to dissemble it) "to draw all his Men to the Forrest side of the Town; where the Bridges being broken down, a small strength would keep them in, and any from going to them, which within two days was done. Thus the King was engaged before *Glocester*; and thereby gave respite to the distracted Spirits at *London*, to breath, and compose themselves; and, more methodically than they hoped to have done, to prepare for their preservation, and accomplishing their own ends; which at that time seem'd almost desperate, and incurable.

*The King
Besieges this
Town.*

THE direful News of the Surrender of *Bristol*, which was brought to the two Houses on the 31st of *July*, struck them to the heart, and came upon them as a Sentence of Death, after a vast Consumption of Money, and Confident Promises of destroying all the King's Forces by a day, every Tax and Imposition being declared to be the last; and for finishing the work, the Earl of *Essex* was at the same time return'd to *Kingston*, within ten Miles of them, with his broken and dismay'd Troops, which himself would not endure should have the Title of an Army. So that the War seem'd to be even at an end in a sense very contrary to what they had undertaken; their General talking more, and pressing for Reparation, and Vindication of his Honour from imputations, and aspersions, than for a Recruit of Forces, or providing an Army to defend them. Every Man reproach'd his Neighbour with his want of inclination to Peace, when good Conditions might be had, and magnified his own Wisdom, for having fear'd "it would come to This. The King's last Declaration had been read by all Men, and was magnified "as a "most gracious and undeniable instance of his Clemency and "Justice, that he was so far from being elated with his good "Successes, and Power almost to have what he would, that

“he renew’d all those Promises, and Protestations for the
 “Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom, and Privi-
 “leges of Parliament; which had been out of their pervers-
 “ness discredited before, as proceeding from the low Condi-
 “tion he was in; and whereas they had been frighted with
 “their representation of their own guilt, and the implacable-
 “ness of the King’s Nature, as if he meant an utter Conquest
 “of them, his Majesty had now offer’d all that could be ho-
 “nestly desired, and had express’d himself a Prince not de-
 “lighted with Blood and Revenge, but an indulgent Father
 “to the most disobedient Children. In this Reformation of
 Understanding, the Lords in their House Debated nothing
 but expedients for Peace: there were not of that Body above
 five, at the most, who had any inclination to continue the
 War; and the Earl of *Essex* had sufficiently declared, “that
 “He was weary of it, and held closest and strictest Corres-
 pondence with those who most passionately pressed an Ac-
 commodation. So that, on the fifth of *August*, they desired
 a Conference with the Commons; and declared to them,
 “that they were resolv’d to send Propositions to the King,
 “and they hoped, They would concur in them: the particulars
 proposed by them were,

*Propositions
 for Peace gi-
 ven by the
 House of
 Lords to the
 House of
 Commons in
 a Conference.*

1. “THAT both Armies might be presently disbanded,
 “and his Majesty be entreated to return to his Parliament,
 “upon such security as should give him satisfaction.
2. “THAT Religion might be settled with the advice of
 “a Synod of Divines, in such a manner as his Majesty, with
 “the consent of both Houses of Parliament, should appoint.
3. “THAT the Militia, both by Sea and Land, might be
 “settled by a Bill; and the Militia, Forts, and Ships of the
 “Kingdom, put into such hands as the King should appoint,
 “with the approbation of both Houses of Parliament: and
 “his Majesty’s Revenue to be absolutely, and wholly re-
 “stored unto him; only deducting such part, as had been of
 “necessity expended for the maintenance of his Children, and
 “not otherwise.
4. “THAT all the Members of both Houses who had
 “been expelled only for absenting themselves, or meer com-
 “pliance with his Majesty, and no other matter of Fact against
 “them, might be restored to their Places.
5. “THAT all Delinquents, from before the tenth day of
 “*January* 1641, should be deliver’d up to the Justice of Par-
 “liament, and a General Pardon for all others on both sides.
6. AND lastly, “that there might be an Act of Oblivion
 “for all by-gone Deeds, and Acts of Hostility.

WHEN

WHEN this Conference was reported in the House of Commons, it begot a wonderful long, and a hot Debate, which lasted till ten of the Clock that night, and continued a day or two more; the violent Party (for there were yet many among them of more moderate Constitutions, who did, and ever had heartily abhor'd their proceedings, though out of fear, and indisposition of Health, or not knowing else well what to do, they continued there) inveighed furiously against the design it self of sending to the King at all, and therefore would not have the particular Propositions so much as consider'd: "They had receiv'd much prejudice by the last Treaty at *Oxford*, and therefore must undergo more now their condition was much lower: The King had since that, upon the matter, declared them to be no Parliament; for if they were not free, they could not be a Parliament; so that till that point were vindicated, they could not Treat in any safe Capacity, but would be look'd upon under the notion of Rebels, as his Majesty had declared them. They had sent Members into *Scotland* to require Assistance, which that Kingdom was preparing with all Brotherly affection, and forwardness, and after such a discovery, to Treat for Peace, without the privity of the *Scots*, was to betray them; and to forfeit all hopes hereafter of relief from thence, what necessities soever they might be reduced to. That the City of *London* had express'd all imaginable readiness to raise Forces for *Sr William Waller*; and the Counties near *London* were ready to rise as one Man, whereby the Earl of *Essex* would be speedily enabled to march, with a better Army than ever he had, to give the King Battle, except this discourse of Peace did extinguish the Zeal that was then flaming in the hearts of the People.

BUT notwithstanding these reasons, and the passion in the delivery, the terror of the King's Successes suggested Answers enough. "They had been punish'd for breaking off the Treaty of *Oxford*, when they might have had better terms than now they could expect; and if they omitted this opportunity, they should fare much worse; that they were not sure of aid from *Scotland*, neither was it almost possible it should come time enough to preserve them from the Ruin at hand. And for the City of *London*, though the common and meaner sort of People, who might promise themselves advantage by it, desired the continuance of the distractions, yet it was evident the most Substantial and Rich Men desired Peace, by their refusal to supply Money for the carrying on the War; and if they should judge of the Common People by their forwardness to engage their own Persons, they had reason to believe they had no mind to the War neither;

“ther; for their General was forced to retire even under their own Walls, for want of Men to recruit his Army. However, the sending reasonable Propositions to the King, would either procure a Peace, and so they should have no more need of an Army; or, being refused, would raise more Men and Money than all their Ordinances without it. These reasons and arguments prevailed; and after the Debate had lasted till ten of the Clock at night, it was resolv’d upon the Question, and carried by nine and twenty Voices, “that they should insist upon the Propositions, and send to his Majesty.

AND without doubt, if they had then sent (as if the Power had been in the two Houses of Parliament, they had done) a firm Peace had immediately ensued: For besides that if a Treaty and Cessation had been in that Conjunction enter’d upon, no extravagant demand would have been pressed, only a security for those who had been faulty, which the King would gladly have Granted, and most Religiously observ’d; the fourth Proposition, and Consent to restore all Members to their places in Parliament, would have prevented the kindling any more fire in those Houses. But this was too well known to be suffer’d to pass; and therefore the next day, being *Sunday*, the Seditious Preachers filled all the Pulpits with Alarms of “Ruin and Destruction to the City, if a Peace were now offer’d to the King; and printed Papers were scatter’d through the Streets, and fixed upon Gates, Posts, and the most publick places in the City and Suburbs, requiring “all Persons well affected, to rise as one Man, and to come to the House of Commons next morning; for that “twenty thousand *Irish* Rebels were landed; which information was likewise given that day in many Pulpits by their Preachers; and in other Papers likewise set up, it was declared, “that the Malignant Party had overvoted the Good, “and if not prevented, there would be a Peace.

WHEN the minds of the People were thus prepared, *Pennington*, their own Lord Mayor, though on *Sunday* (on which they before complain’d the King used to sit in Council) called a Common Council; where a Petition was framed to the House of Commons, taking notice “of Propositions passed “by the House of Peers for Peace, which if consented to, and “allow’d, would be destructive to Religion, Laws, and Liberties; and therefore desired that House to pass an Ordinance, according to the Tenor of an Act of their Common Council (which they appointed to be annex’d to their Petition) “which was for the vigorous prosecuting the War, “and declining all thoughts of Accommodation. With this Petition, and such an Attendance as those preparatives were like

*A Petition
of the Com-
mon Council
of London
against
Peace:*

like to bring, the Lord Mayor himself, who, from the time of his Mayoralty, had forborne sitting in the House as a Member, came to the House of Commons, and deliver'd it, with such farther Insinuations of the temper of the City, as were fit for the purpose; the People at the door behaving themselves as imperiously, telling the Members of both Houses, as they pass'd by them, "that if they had not a good Answer, they would be there the next day with double the Number. The Lords complain'd of the Tumults, and sent to the Commons to joyn with them in their Suppression; instead whereof whereupon the House of Commons rejected the Propositions of the Lords. the Commons (many of their Body withdrawing for fear, and others by fear converted, or it may be by hope of prevailing) gave the City thanks "for their Petition, Advice, and Courage; and rejected the Propositions for Peace.

THIS raised a new contest in the City, which was not willing to lie under the perpetual brand of resisting and opposing Peace, as they did of first raising the War. And therefore the Wise and Sober part of it, would gladly have discover'd how averse they were from the late Act of the Common Council. But the late Execution of *Tomkins*, and *Chaloner*, and the advantage which was presently taken against any Man who was moderately inclined, frighted all Men from appearing in Person to desire those things upon which their hearts were most set. In the end, the Women express'd greater Courage than the Men; and having a Precedent of a Rabble of that Sex, appearing in the beginning of these Distractions with a Petition to the House of Commons, to foment the Divisions, with acceptance and approbation, a great Multitude of the Wives of Substantial Citizens came to the House of Commons with a Petition for Peace. Thereupon a Troop of Horse, under the Command of one *Harvey*, a decayed Silk-man, who from the beginning had been one most Confided in, were sent for; who behaved themselves with such inhumanity, that they Charged among the silly Women, as an Enemy worthy of their Courage, and killed, and wounded many of them, and easily dispersed the rest. When they were by this means secured from farther vexation of this kind, special notice was taken of those Members who seem'd most importunate, and desirous of Peace, that some advantage might be taken against them. Whereupon, they well discerning the danger they were in, many both of the Peers, and the Commons, first absented themselves from the Houses, and then remov'd into those Quarters where they might enjoy the Protection of the King; and some of them came directly to *Oxford*.

HAVING diverted this Torrent, which would have brought Peace upon them before they were aware, they consider'd their

An Ordinance for raising an Army under the Earl of Manchester

their strength, and applied themselves to the recovery of the Spirits of their General; whose indisposition troubled them more, than any other distress they were in. To this cure they applied remedies of contrary Natures, which would yet work to the same end. First they caressed *Sr William Waller* with wonderful kindness and esteem; and as he was met upon his return to *London*, after the most total Defeat that could almost be imagin'd (for though few of his Horse were kill'd upon the place, they were so ruinously dispersed, that of above two thousand, there were not three hundred gotten together again for their Service) with all the Train'd-bands and Militia of *London*, and receiv'd as if he had brought the King Prisoner with him, so he was immediately chosen Governour and Commander in Chief of the Forces and Militia of *London*, for the Defence of the City; and it was now declared, "that they would forthwith supply him with a good Body of Horse, and Foot, to take the Field again, and relieve their distressed Friends in the West. Then another Ordinance was passed to raise a great Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester* (who had been always steady to his first Principles, and never a friend to any Overture of accommodation) in order to opposing the Earl of *New-Castle*, and to take charge of all the Associated Counties; which were *Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntington*, and (by a new addition) *Lincoln*; and for the speedy raising Men to joyn to those who would voluntarily list themselves under these two beloved Generals, there was an Ordinance passed both Houses for the Pressing of Men; which seem'd somewhat to discredit their Cause, that, after so much pretence to the hearts of the People, they should be now compell'd to Fight whether they would or no; and was the more wonder'd at, because they had themselves procured the King's Consent to an Act this Parliament, that declared it to be unlawful to press, or compel any of the freeborne Subjects, to march out of the County in which they liv'd, if he were not willing so to do; and direction was given by other Ordinances to press great Numbers of Men, to serve both under the Earl of *Manchester*, and *Sr William Waller*; and having thus provided for the worst, and let the Earl of *Essex* discern, that they had another Earl to trust to, and more Generals than one at their Devotion, they sent a formal Committee of both Houses to him, to use all imaginable Art, and Application to him, to recover him to his former Vigour, and Zeal in their Cause. They told him "the high Value the Houses had of the Service he had done, and the hazards, dangers, and losses, he had for their sakes undergone: That he should receive as ample a Vindication for the Calumnies, and Aspersions raised

"on

“on him, as he could desire, from the full Testimony, and
 “Confidence of the two Houses; and if the infamous Au-
 “thors of them could be found, their punishment should be
 “as notorious as their Libels: That no other Forces should
 “be recruited till His were made up; and that all his Sol-
 “diers Arrears should be paid, and Cloaths presently sent for
 “his Foot.

WHETHER these Reasons, with the Jealousy of the Earl of *Manchester*, upon whom he plainly saw the Violent Party wholly depended, or the insinuations pour'd into him by the Lord *Say* and Mr *Pym*, of the desperateness of his own Condition, with an opinion, upon the differences between the two Princes, and the Marquis of *Hertford*, that the Marquis's Services were not enough valued by the King (which many desired should be thought to have then some influence upon the Earl) or whether he had not steadiness enough, to engage in so hazardous an Enterprize, he grew insensibly alter'd from his moderate inclinations, and desire of Peace; for it is most certain, that as the confidence in him gave many Lords the Spirit to appear Champions for Peace, who had been before as solicitous against it, so the design was then the same, which hath been since prosecuted, with effect, to a worse purpose, that is, for the Members of both Houses who were of one mind, upon that signal Ryot, and compelling the House of Commons to renounce their former Resolution of Propositions to the King, to have gone to the Earl of *Essex*, and there, under the security of their own Army, to have protested against the violence which was offer'd, the breach of their Privileges by the Common Councils taking notice of their Counsels, and over-ruling their Conclusions, and to have declared their want of Freedom: by means whereof, they made no doubt to have drawn the Houses to Consent to such an Agreement as the King would well have approved of; or to have enter'd upon such a Treaty themselves with the King, as all the moderate part of the Kingdom would have been glad to be comprehended under.

BUT this staggering in their General frustrated that design, and put them to other Resolutions; and so, having render'd themselves very ungracious in the Houses, and possibly suspecting the Earl of *Essex* might discover some of their Overtures, many of the Lords left the Town, and went either directly to *Oxford*, or into the King's Quarters; the Earl of *Portland*, and the Lord *Lovelace* (of whose good Affections to his Service the King had always assurance, and who had only stayed there, as at a place where they might do him more Service, than any where else) directly to *Oxford*; and the Lord *Conway* shortly after them; the Earl of

Clare

The Earls of
Bedford,
and Hol-
land, put
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Quarters, as
likewise some
other of the
Parliament
Lords.

Clave into *Worcester-shire*, and from thence, by the King's free acceptance, to *Oxford*; there being no other objection against his Lordship, than his staying so long at *London*; but his total differing with them in all their extravagances, he having no manner of relation to the Court, render'd him to his Majesty's opinion under a very good Character. The Earls of *Bedford*, and *Holland*, not without some difficulty, their purpose being discover'd or suspected, got into the King's Garrison at *Wallingford*, from whence the Governour gave Advertisement of their Arrival; the Earl of *Northumberland*, with the leave of the House, retired for his health to his House at *Petworth* in *Sussex*; which, though it was in a County entirely then at the Parliament's devotion, yet it was near enough to be infested from some of the King's Quarters, if he had not some assurance of being safe there.

THE Violent Party carried now all before them; and were well contented with the absence of those who used to give them some trouble, and vexation. For the better strengthening themselves with the People, they Order'd the Divines of the Assembly, to repair into the Country to their Cures, especially in the Counties of the Association under the Earl of *Manchester*, to stir up the People, with all their Eloquence, to Rise as one Man against their Sovereign; and omitted nothing within their power, which might contribute to the raising Men or Money; being not a little joyed, when they understood the King had given them more time than they expected, to Compose all Disorders and Divisions among themselves, by his staying with his Army before *Glocester*; which they took to be the greater Blessing, and Preservation to them, because at the same time there were suddain Insurrections in *Kent* against their Ordinances and Jurisdiction, in Defence of the known Laws, and especially of the Book of Common Prayer; which, if the King's Army had been at any distance to have countenanced, they would never have been able to suppress.

THE fame of all these Distractions and Disorders at *London*, exceedingly disposed Men in all places to reproach his Majesty's stay before *Glocester*; his Friends at *London* desiring that his Majesty should march directly thither, to take the advantage of those Distractions; and the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, upon the intelligence and advice from thence, were very solicitous that the King would take that resolution, to which he was himself enough inclin'd. But his Condition was believ'd to be, in both places, better than it was; and that he had now a Victorious Army, without an Enemy to restrain his motion; whereas, in truth, his was a weak Army, lessen'd exceedingly by the losses it sustain'd before

Bristol;

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Bristol; and when that part of it was march'd with Prince *Maurice* into the West, and which could not have march'd any other way, the King had not much above six thousand Foot to march with, though he left none at *Bristol*, but obliged my Lord *Hopton* to Garrison it as he could, which he shortly did; and that would have appear'd a very small Army to have march'd towards *London*; though it is true the Horse was a noble Body, and Superior in number to that of the Foot.

THERE was likewise another circumstance, that few Men were then acquainted with: Upon the first News of the taking of *Bristol*, his Majesty, before he left *Oxford*, had sent an Express to the Earl of *New-Castle*, who was then engaged before *Hull*, "that if he found the business of *Hull* to be more difficult than he expected, he should leave it block'd up at a distance, which might restrain Excursions into the County, and march with his Army into the Associated Counties; which comprehended *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridge-shire*, and *Essex*, &c. which had Associated themselves, by some Agreement, to serve the Parliament; though the better part of all those Counties, especially of the two greater, were most affected to the King, and wish'd for an opportunity to express it; and if the Earl would bring his Army through those Counties towards *London*, his Majesty would then resolve, with his own, to march towards it on the other side. And in the very time that his Majesty came before *Glocester*, and before he took the Resolution to sit down before it, that Express return'd from the Earl of *New-Castle*, who inform'd him, "that it was impossible for him to comply with his Commands, in marching with his Army into the Associated Counties, for that the Gentlemen of the Country, who had the best Regiments, and were among the best Officers, utterly refused to march, except *Hull* were first taken; and that he had not strength enough to march and to leave *Hull* securely block'd up: which Advertisement, with the consideration before mention'd, of the enlarging his Quarters by the taking of *Glocester*, and the Concurrence of all the Officers, that it would speedily be taken, produced that Resolution of Attempting it, notwithstanding that the Queen herself writ so importunately against it, that his Majesty thought it necessary to make a Journey himself to *Oxford*, to convince her Majesty, and to Compose some distempers which were risen among his Council there, upon the News of the Arrival of some of the Lords mention'd before in those Quarters.

THE King was newly set down before *Glocester*, when the Governour of *Wallingford* sent notice to *Oxford*, of the Arrival

*Debates in
the Council
at Oxford
how those
Lords should
be receiv'd.*

val of those two Earls; to whom the Lords of the Council return'd direction, "that they should stay there, till the King's pleasure was understood; to whom the Secretary had sent the information, and desired his Majesty's will concerning their reception. The King well knew, any Order he should give in it, would be liable to many objections, and he had not so good an inclination to either of them, as to run any inconvenience for their sakes; the Earl of *Bedford* having serv'd in Person against him, as the General of the Rebels Horse; and the Earl of *Holland*, in the King's opinion, having done worse. And therefore his Majesty Commanded, "that his Privy Council should Debate the matter among themselves, and "present their opinion and advice to him, and he would then "determine what kind of Entertainment they should have. The opinions at the board were several; some thought, "that "his Majesty should receive them very graciously, and with "all outward expressions of his acceptance of their return to "his Service, and that the demeanour of all others to them "should be such, as might make them think themselves very "welcome, without the least taking notice of any thing formerly done amiss by them; which would be a great encouragement to others to come away too: So that the Numbers, and Quality of those who stayed behind, would probably in a short time be so small, that they would have no reputation in the Kingdom to continue the War. Many differ'd diametrically from this; and were so far from thinking this advice agreeable to the dignity, or security of the King, that they thought it not fit "to admit them presently to the "King's or Queen's presence, till by their good carriage and "demeanour, they should give some testimony of their Affections: They had both taken the late Covenant, of which "one Clause was, to assist the Forces rais'd by the Parliament, "against the Army rais'd by the King; with many reproaches, "and known scandals upon that Army. If they had felt a true remorse of Conscience for the ill they had done, they would "have left that Party, when that Covenant was to be imposed upon them; which, since they did not, that they came now was to be imputed rather to the King's success, "and the weakness of that power which they had hitherto "serv'd, than to any reformation of their understanding, or "improvement of their Allegiance: and that it was great reason, that they who had given such Arguments of just jealousy and suspicion of themselves, should raise a confidence "in their Loyalty and Affection by some Act equal to the "other; and therefore none who had taken that Covenant, "should be admitted to the presence of the King, Queen, or "Prince, before he had taken some other Oath or Covenant, "declaring

"declaring an equal hatred, and abhorring of the Rebellious
 "Armes which were taken up against his Majesty, and the
 "Counsels by which they were taken up.

It was said, "that the good, or ill reception of these
 "Lords, could have no influence upon the Actions, or Deli-
 "berations at *Westminster*, or *London*, or any considerable
 "Persons there : that they were but single Men, without any
 "considerable dependence upon them : Whilst they had Re-
 "putation, and Interest enough to do good or hurt, and the
 "King's condition needed their attendance, they chose to be
 "engaged against him; but Now, when they were able to do
 "him no more harm, they came to receive benefit and ad-
 "vantage from him : That it was a common Argument Men
 "used to alledge to themselves for their compliance with, and
 "submission to, the Commands of the Parliament; that, if
 "they did otherwise, their severity, and rigour was so great,
 "that They and their Families were sure to be ruined; but,
 "if the King prevailed, He was gracious and merciful, and
 "would remit their Offences whensoever they cast themselves
 "at his feet; which presumption if they should see confirm'd
 "in this example, it would make the observation of Con-
 "science and Loyalty of no price; and encourage those who
 "were risen against him, and exceedingly dishearten those
 "who had been honest and faithful from the beginning : That
 "there could ensue no inconvenience from any reservedness
 "and coldness towards them; for they durst not return to
 "*London*, having now made themselves odious to that Party,
 "and having no hope but from the acceptance of his Majesty;
 "which they should merit before they found. There was a
 third opinion between these extremes, "that they should be
 "neither Courted nor Neglected, but be admitted to kiss the
 "King's and Queen's hands, and to dispose themselves as they
 "thought fit; and so to leave the rest to their future demea-
 "nour: and to resolve which of these opinions to follow, was
 another motive for his Majesties suddain Journey to *Oxford*.

THE King found greater alterations in the minds and spi-
 rits at *Oxford*, than he expected after so much success as had
 befallen him; and that success was it, that had made the alte-
 ration; it being the unlucky temper of that place, and that
 Company, to be the soonest and the most desperately cast
 down upon any misfortune or loss, and to be again, upon any
 Victory, the most elated, and the most apt to undervalue any
 difficulties which remain'd. The taking *Bristol* had so pos-
 sessed them with joy, that they thought the War even at an
 end, and that there was nothing left to be done, but to take
 possession of *London*; which they were assured would be deli-
 ver'd to them upon demand: many Members of both Houses

*The King
 comes to
 Oxford to
 consult about
 it.*

were come to *Oxford*, which assured them, "the violent People there, were even in despair; and after the News came "of the Surrender of *Bristol*, that they had only kept up their "spirits in hopes that the King would engage his Army in "the Siege of *Glocester*, which some of them had seem'd to "promise their Friends would be the Case: from whence they would infer, "that the King was betrayed, and that they who "had perswaded him to undertake that design, were corrupted "by the Parliament. And the Envy and Jealousy of all this fell upon *Sr John Colepepper*, who was indeed of the opinion for the Siege, but, without doubt, how much soever he suffer'd at that time, and afterwards, under that reproach, he believ'd there was very good reason for that Engagement, and was most free from any corrupt end, and of most sincere fidelity.

THIS discourse and imagination had made wonderful impression upon the Queen, who was inflamed with a jealousy that there was a design to lessen her Interest in the King, and that Prince *Rupert* was Chief in that Conspiracy, and meant to bring it to pass by keeping the King still in the Army, and by hindring his coming to *Oxford*: and out of this apprehension the Queen had written so warmly and concernedly to the King, who was the most incapable of any such apprehensions, and had her Majesty in so perfect an adoration, that as soon as he receiv'd that Letter, without delay he came to *Oxford*, and quickly compos'd those mistakes; though the being engaged before *Glocester* was still very grievous, and reproaches were publicly cast upon those who gave the advice.

BUT that which took up most of the time of that one day that the King stay'd at *Oxford*, was concerning the two Lords who were retain'd at *Wallingford*; which had been agitated in the Council with great passion before the King's coming. The King caus'd the Council to meet the next morning, and asked their advice, "whether the Earls of *Bedford*, and of *Holland*, "should be admitted to come into *Oxford*, or obliged to return from whence they came? or, if admitted, how they "should be receiv'd, or countenanced by their Majesties? And it cannot be enough wonder'd at, that there should be any difference of opinion in that matter; but it cannot be express'd, with how much earnestness and unreasonableness the whole was debated, and how warmly even they, who in all other debates still express'd all moderation and temper, did now oppose the receiving these Lords with any grace, with more passion, and other reasons, than had been offer'd in their former Conferences; so that there was scarce known such an union in opinion at that board, in any thing, where disunion was very inconvenient.

ALL

ALL exaggerated "the Carriage and foul Ingratitude of
 "the Earl of *Holland*, from the beginning of the Parliament;
 "and the Earl of *Bedford's* being General of the Horse in the
 "Earl of *Essex's* Army; and now when the Parliament was
 "low, and They had lost their credit and interest There,
 "they were come to the King, whom they had so much of-
 "fended; and expected to be as much, it may be, more made
 "of, than they who had borne the heat of the day; which
 "would so much reflect upon the King's Honour, that Men
 "would be exceedingly discouraged to serve him. Some
 "moved, "that they might be detain'd, and kept Prisoners of
 "War, since they came into the King's Quarters without any
 "Pass; others, as plainly, and more vehemently pressed, "that
 "they might not be suffer'd to come to *Oxford*, or where the
 "King or Queen should be; but permitted to live in some
 "other place within the King's Quarters, until they should
 "manifest their Affections by some Service. They who
 "thought this too severe and unpolitick, proposed that they
 "might be suffer'd to come to *Oxford*, that thereby they might
 "be kept from returning to the Parliament (which appear'd
 "to most to be liable to many exceptions) "but that being at
 "*Oxford*, they should not come to Court; and that no Privy
 "Counsellor should visit them.

IN this whole Debate, the Chancellor of the Exchequer,
 who seldom spoke without some earnestness, was the only
 Man (except another, who brought no credit to the opinion,
 the Lord *Saville*) who advis'd confidently, "that they might
 "be very graciously receiv'd by both their Majesty's, and ci-
 "villy be visited, and treated by every Body; that other Men
 "might, by the entertainment they receiv'd, be encouraged
 "to desert the Parliament too. He said, "it would be too
 "great a disadvantage to the King, and to his Cause, that
 "whilst the Parliament used all the industry and artifices, to
 "corrupt the Duty and Affection of the Subject, and had
 "their Armes open to receive and embrace all, who would
 "come to them, his Majesty should admit none to return to
 "him, who had been faulty, or not come so soon as they
 "ought to have done; that if the King had a mind to gratify,
 "and oblige the Parliament, he could not do it more to their
 "hearts desire, than by rejecting the application of these Lords,
 "or suffering it to pass unregarded. There was one Argu-
 "ment against their admission urged very loudly, "that it
 "would disturb the Peace of the place; the Earl of *Bedford*
 "had Commanded that part of the Army, which infested the
 "Marquis of *Hertford*, at his being at *Sherborne*, when the Mar-
 "quis had sent *Harry Seymour*, as is mention'd before, with a
 "Challenge to the Earl to fight with him; which the Earl rea-

sonably declined at that time; and said, "he would be ready, "when the business of the Parliament should be over, to wait "upon the Marquis when he should require it. And some Men, who were near enough to the Marquis's Counsels, undertook to know, that if the Earl of *Bedford* should be in *Oxford*, the Marquis, who was every day expected, would exact the performance of his promise; which sure he was too wise to do.

THE King, during the whole Debate, did not express any thing of his own sense, save that he seem'd well pleas'd with any sharpness that was express'd towards the Earl of *Holland*. He said, "that he was bound to his good behaviour, by being "under the common reproach of inclining too much to those "who had us'd him worst; of which he would not be guilty: However, he did not think, at this time, that it would be good to make any Persons desperate; and therefore gave order, "that the Governour of *Wallingford* should permit them "to continue their Journey to *Oxford*; where all Men might "use what civilities they pleas'd to them; and that Himself, "and the Queen, would do that towards them, which upon "their application and address, they should think fit: and though this determination was given, without the least discovery of grace towards the Persons of those Lords, and not without some reflections of prejudice towards them, it was not grateful to the Table; which was evident enough by their Countenance. The next morning, the King return'd to the Army.

THERE had been, as is said, very great divisions in the Counsels at *Westminster*, from the time of the Treaty, and the very abrupt breaking it off; and the Earl of *Northumberland*, resenting the Affront done to him by *Martin*, had increased those divisions; and the ill successes afterwards in the Defeat of *Waller*, and the taking of *Bristol*, had given every Man Courage to say what he would. And then the proceeding upon Mr *Waller's* discovery, and obliging all Men to take a desperate Engagement, which they durst not refuse, for fear of being declared guilty of the Plot, as many of them were, incens'd very many: But above all, the prosperity of the King's Affairs made every Body wish to come into his Quarters. A great Number of the House of Commons, who were known always to wish well, came to *Oxford*: and of the Peers, the Earl of *Portland*, who was always very faithful to the King, and had stay'd in the House of Peers by his Majesty's leave, and had been accus'd by Mr *Waller* to be privy to that design, upon which he had endured a long imprisonment, came at this time to *Oxford*, as is said before, together with the Lord *Conway*, and the Lord *Lovelace*; the former of which had been

been likewise question'd, and imprison'd, and the latter had been as knowing of the matter, and of constant duty to the King; and all three had gotten liberty, and opportunity to come away by swallowing that Vow, and Oath, which could only set them free, and which they made hast to Answer for to the King. The Return of the Earl of *Essex* to *London* in ill humour, had given opportunity to the Earl of *Holland*, and the rest, who were weary of the work in hand, to inflame him to resentment of the neglects which had been put upon him, and the jealousies which were entertain'd of him. The Earl of *Bedford* had given up his Commission of General of the Horse, and quitted the Service, and never had any Affection to their ways in his Judgement. The Earl of *Clare* had been with the King at *York*, and had his leave to return to *London*, to intend his own particular Affairs; and, during his stay, had never concurred in any malicious Counsel against the King, but was look'd upon as a Man, not only firm to the Principles of Monarchy, but of Duty to the Person of the King. He was a Man of Honour, and of Courage, and would have been an excellent Person, if his heart had not been set too much upon the keeping, and improving his Estate; he was weary of the Company he kept, and easily hearken'd to the Earl of *Holland*, in any consultation how to recover the King's Authority, and to put an end to the War. The Earl of *Essex* was, as is said before, enough provoked, and incensed, and willingly heard all the Lords, and others, who inveighed against the violent Proceedings of those who swayed the Parliament, and differ'd not with them in his judgement of the Men, and the Matter: so that they believ'd that he would as readily be disposed to agree upon the Remedy, as he did upon the Disease.

THEIR end and design was, as I said, if they could draw him to a concurrence, that They, and all the rest of those who were accounted moderate Men, that is who desired a Peace, and to return to their duty to the King (which were much the Major part of both Houses that remain'd at *Westminster*, after so many of both were gone to the King) might all go to the Army; and thereupon the General, and They, to write to the Parliament together, and to send such Propositions to them, as the Parliament should transmit to the King, as the conditions of Peace. If the King should refuse to consent to them, it would be an infallible way to unite all People to compel him to it: but if the Parliament would refuse to transmit those Propositions to the King, or to consent to a Peace upon those conditions, they would then declare against them, for not adhering to the grounds upon which the War was first begun, and would joyn themselves to the King to

force them to it. If this had been done in that conjuncture, when the authority and credit of the Earl of *Effex* was not yet eclipsed, and before an Independent Army was raised, which was shortly after done, it could not probably have failed of the success desired. But the Earl was too scrupulous and too punctual to that which he called a Trust; and this was too barefaced a separation for him to engage in: Besides that he did believe, that he should be able to suppress that violent Party by the Parliament it self, and he thought that would bring all about which he desired; and so he did not only reject what was proposed to him, but express'd such a dislike of the Earl of *Holland* for proposing it, that he thought it high time to get himself out of his reach. The Earl of *Holland*, who always consider'd Himself in the first place, had, from the time of the Queen's landing, privately made offer of his Service to the Queen, and renew'd his old confidence and friendship with Mr *Fermyn*; and knowing well to enhance the value of his own Service, made great promises of notable Service; and Mr *Fermyn* easily perswaded her Majesty, "that it "was much better for her to restore an old Servant, whom "she knew so well, to her confidence (though he had stepped out of the way) than to rely upon the fidelity of any of "those, who were now about the King, and who were all "upon the matter strangers to her, at least not enough known "by her; and then, "that by laying hold upon this opportunity, she would, at her first coming to the King, carry his "Restoration with her, possess her self of the whole frame of "his business, because all other designs would be laid aside; "and so all the good, that would redound to the King and "Kingdom from this new Negotiation, must, by the consent "of all the world, be attributed to her Majesties Wisdom and "Conduct. This appearing hopeful to her Majesty, and all that had any thing of Hope was by the other always looked upon as Certain, the correspondence was embraced; and the Earl assured not only to be restored to his former Station in all respects, but to a Title to new Interests. And upon this encouragement and obligation, when he found he could not prevail with the Earl of *Effex*, that the King's Affairs prosper'd, and that *Bristol* was now taken, and the Queen come to *Oxford*, he resolv'd Himself to go thither, and prevailed with the Earls of *Bedford*, and *Clare*, to do the like; he assuring them, that they should be very well receiv'd. The Earl of *Clare* made his Journey by himself, out of the common Road, and came without any interruption into *Oxford*, at the time appointed: the Earls of *Bedford*, and *Holland*, came together to *Wallingford*, as is mention'd. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was naturally suspicious, went to his own House at *Petworth*.

Petworth in *Suffex*: by which he thought he shew'd aversion enough to the Counsels at *Westminster*, and would keep it in his own power to return, if he found that the reception of the other Lords at *Oxford* was not answerable to their expectation; besides that he would expect the result of the Lord *Conway's* Negotiation, who was more trusted by him than any other.

THE leave for the two Earls to come from *Wallingford* to *Oxford*, was declared but the night before the King return'd to the Army; and was not sent thither till the next day. So that the Lords came not to *Oxford* till two days after, much mortified with the time they had been forced to spend at *Wallingford*, and with the disputation, they heard, had been held concerning them; of which they had receiv'd so particular information, that the Earl of *Holland* writ a very civil Letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer before he came to *Oxford*, taking notice of "the Affection he had shew'd to him in his advice to the King. Both of them had Friends enough there to provide for their accommodation in convenient Lodgings, so that the one had a Lodging at *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, of which House he had formerly been a Member; the other lay in *Baliol* College, where he had a Daughter, who spared him part of her Lodgings. But for any application to them by the Lords, or Persons in Authority there, they had no reason to think themselves very welcome. They went, in the first place, to do their Duties to the Queen; who receiv'd them coldly enough, not out of disinclination, or unwillingness to shew them any countenance, but pure compliance with the ill humour of the Town, which she detested: nor did Mr *Fermyn*, who still valued himself upon the impossible faculty to please All, and displease None, think fit to deal clearly with them in that point (having, probably, said more in his Letters of correspondence and advice, than he had Authority to do; it being his custom to write, and speak, what was most grateful to the Persons) so that the Earl of *Holland*, with whom alone the correspondence had been, began to think himself betrayed, and invited to *Oxford* only to be exposed to contempt. He came one morning to visit the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when there were the Lord *Cottington*, and two or three other Privy Counsellors with him, who all went presently away, without so much as saluting him; which offended the Chancellor as much as it did Him, and in truth obliged the Chancellor to more ceremony and civility, than, it may be, he would otherwise have practiced: so that he did visit him again, and made all professions and offers of kindness and service to him; which he did very heartily; and complied therein, not only with his own inclinations, but with his judgement, as very important to the King's Service; and

did all he could to induce others to be of the same opinion; in which he had no great success.

THE Intelligence from *London* brought, every day, the Resolution of the Parliament, "to relieve *Glocester*; and that, if their Levies did not supply them with Men soon enough, the *Tran'd-bands* of the City would march out with the General for that Service: whereupon the three Earls, *Bedford*, *Holland*, and *Clare*, after some days stay in *Oxford*, thought it necessary to offer their Service to the King in the Army, and to bear their part in any danger that might happen by an engagement between the Armies; and so went together to *Glocester*; where the King receiv'd them without any disrespect, and spoke with them as they gave him occasion.

*The King's
Affairs in
the West.*

WHILST the King continued before *Glocester*, his Forces in the West moved with a full gale and tide of success. The Earl of *Carnarvon* march'd with the Horse and Dragoons, being near two thousand, into *Dorset-shire*, two days before Prince *Maurice* moved with his Foot and Cannon from *Bristol*, and had made a fair entrance upon the reduction of that whole County, before his Highness overtook him; and it was thought then, that if the Prince had march'd more slowly, the Earl had perfected that work. Upon the Surrender of *Bristol*, many of the Gentlemen, and others of that County, who were engaged in that City for the Parliament, had visited their Houses, and Friends, in their Journey to *London*, whither by their safe conduct they went, and had made such prodigious discourses of the fierceness and courage of the Cavaliers (as most Men who run away, or are beaten, extol the power of the Enemy which had been too hard for them) that resisting them begun to be thought a matter impossible. One Mr *Strode*, a Man much relied on in those parts and of a good Fortune, after he had visited his House, took *Dorchester* in his way to *London*, and being desired by the Magistrates, "to view their Works and Fortifications, and to give his Judgment of them; after he had walked about them, he told them, "that those Works might keep out the Cavaliers about half an hour; and then told them strange stories of the manner of Assaulting *Bristol*; "and that the King's Soldiers "made nothing of running up Walls twenty foot high, and "that no Works could keep them out; which he said not out of any purpose to betray them (for no Man wish'd the King's Army worse success) but had really so much horror, and consternation about him, and the dreadful Image of the Storm of *Bristol* imprinted in his mind, that he did truly believe, they had scaled all those Forts and Places which were deliver'd to them; and he propagated this fear and trepidation so fruitfully where he came, that the Earl of *Carnarvon* came

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no sooner near *Dorchester* with his Horse and Dragoons (which, it may be, was understood to be the Van of the Victorious Army which had taken *Bristol*) but the Town sent Commissioners to him to Treat; and upon Articles of Indemnity, that they should not be plunder'd, and not suffer for the ill they had done, deliver'd up the Town (which was strongly Situated, and might very well have been Defended by the spirits of these People, if they had Courage equal to their Malice; for a place more entirely disaffected to the King, England had not) with all their Armes, Ammunition, and Ordnance. The fame of the Earl's coming had before frightened *Sr Walter Earl*, who had for a long time Besieged *Corfe-Castle* (the House of the Lord Chief Justice *Banks*, defended by his Lady with her Servants, and some few Gentlemen, and Tenants, who betook themselves thither for Her assistance, and their own security) from that Siege; and he making more hast to convey himself to *London*, than Generals use to do, who have the care and charge of others, his Forces were presently disperfed. And now the Surrender of *Dorchester* (the Magazine from whence the other places were supplied with principles of Rebellion) infused the same spirit into *Weymouth*, a very convenient Harbour and Haven: and that example again prevailed on the Island and Castle of *Portland* (a place not enough understood, but of wonderful importance) to all which the Earl granted fair conditions, and receiv'd them into his Majesties Protection. Dorch
Surrender'd
Wey-
mouth and
Portland
Surrender'd
to the King's
Forces.

HITHER Prince *Maurice* came now up with Foot and Cannon, and neglecting to follow the Train of the Enemies fears to *Lyme*, and *Poole*, the only two Garrisons then left in their possession, stay'd with his Army about *Dorchester* and *Weymouth* some days, under the Notion of settling and disposing the Government of those Garrisons. Here the Soldiers, taking advantage of the famous Malignity of those places, used great licence; neither was there care taken to observe those Articles which had been made upon the Surrender of the Towns; which the Earl of *Carnarvon*, who was full of Honour and Justice upon all Contracts, took so ill, that he quitted the Command he had with those Forces, and return'd to the King before *Glocester*; which publish'd the injustice with more scandal. Whether this licence, which was much spoken of, and, no doubt, given out to be greater than it was, aliened the Affections of those parts, or whether the absence of the Marquis of *Hertford* from the Army, which was not till then taken notice of, begot an apprehension that there would not be much Lenity used towards those who had been high, and pertinacious Offenders, or whether this Army, when it was together, seem'd less formidable than it was before

Prince Maurice comes before Exeter with his Army.

fore conceiv'd to be, or that the terror which had possess'd and seiz'd upon their Spirits, was so violent that it could not continue, and so Men grew less amazed, I know not: but those two small Towns, whereof *Lyme* was believ'd inconsiderable, return'd so peremptory a refusal to the Prince's Summons, that his Highness resolv'd not to Attack them; and so march'd to *Exeter*, where he found all things in better order, and that City more distressed, than he had reason to expect, by the diligence and dexterity of *Sr John Berkley*, who being sent from *Wells* by the Marquis of *Hertford*, as is before remember'd, to govern the Affairs of *Devon-shire*, with one Regiment of Horse, and another of new Levied and half-arm'd Foot, had so encreased his Numbers by the concurrence of the Gentlemen of that County, that he fixed strong Quarters within less than a Mile of the City, and kept his Guards even to the Gates; when the Earl of *Stamford* was within, with a strength, at least equal in number to the Besiegers.

THE Parliament commended the Relief of this place, by special instructions, to their Admiral the Earl of *Warwick*, after whose having made shew of Landing Men in several places upon the Coast, and thereby compelled *Sr John Berkley* to make quick and wearisome marches with Horse and Dragoons from place to place, the wind coming fair, the Fleet left those who attended their Landing about *Totness*, turn'd about, and with a fresh Gale made towards the River, that leads to the Walls of *Exeter*, and having the Command of both sides of the River, upon a flat, by their Cannon, the Earl presumed that way he should be able to send Relief into the City; but the diligence, and providence of *Sr John Berkley* had fortunately cast up some slight works upon the advantageous Nookes of the River, in which his Men might be in some security from the Cannon of the Ships; and made great hast with his Horse to hinder their Landing; and so this Attempt was not only without success, but so unfortunate, that it discouraged the Seamen from endeavouring the like again. For after three or four hours pouring their great shot, from their Ships, upon the Land Forces, the Tide falling, the Earl of *Warwick* fell off with his Fleet, leaving three Ships behind him, of which one was burnt, and the other two taken from the Land, in view of his whole Fleet; which no more looked after the Relief of *Exeter* that way.

The Earl of Warwick with his Fleet attempts the relief of it, but succeeds not.

WHILST all the King's Forces were employed in the blocking up the Town, and attending the Coast, to wait upon the Earl of *Warwick*, the Garrison of *Plymouth* encreased very fast, into which the Fleet disburthen'd themselves of all they could spare; and the North parts of *Devon-shire* gather'd

ed apace into a head for the Parliament; *Barnstable*, and *Bediford*, being Garrison'd by them; which having an uninterrupted line of Communication with *Plymouth*, resolv'd to joyn their whole strength, and so to compel the Enemy to draw off from the Walls of *Exeter*, which had been very easy to have been done, if they in the City had been as active for their own Preservation. *Sr John Berkley* having notice of this Preparation and Resolution, sent Colonel *John Digby* (who had from their first entrance into *Cornwall*, Commanded the Horse) with his own Regiment of Horse, and some loose Troops of Dragoons, into the North of *Devon*, to hinder the joyning of the Rebels Forces. He chose *Torrington* for his Quarter, and within few days drew to him a Troop of new raised Horse, and a Regiment of Foot, raised by his old Friends in *Cornwall*; so that he had with him above three hundred Horse, and six or seven hundred Foot. Those of *Bediford* and *Barnstable*, being Superior in number, and apprehending that the King's Successes Eastward, might increase His strength and power There, and weaken Theirs, resolv'd to try their Fortunes; and joyning themselves together, to the Number of above twelve hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse, under the Command of Colonel *Bennet*, hoped to surprize Colonel *John Digby* at *Torrington*; and he was upon the matter surpris'd: for albeit he had notice in the Night from *Barnstable*, "that the Forces drew out thence to *Bediford* in the Night, and that they intended to fall on his Quarters early in the Morning; and thereupon put himself into a posture to receive them, and drew up all his Forces together out of the Town, upon such a piece of ground, as, in that inclosed County, could be most advantageous for his Horse, having, through all the little Inclosure, cut Gaps, through which his Horse might enter; yet, after he had attended their coming till Noon, and heard no more of them, and his small Parties, which were sent out to enquire, return'd with assurance, that there was no appearance of an Enemy, he believ'd they had given over their design; and so dismissed his Horse to their several Quarters, reserving only one hundred and fifty upon their Guard, and return'd himself into the Town with the Foot.

BUT, within less than an hour, he receiv'd the Alarm, "that the Enemy was within half a Mile of the Town. The confusion was very great, so that he resolv'd not to draw the Foot out of the Town; but having placed them in the best manner he could, upon the Avenues, himself went to the Horse out of the Town, resolving to wait upon the Rear of the Enemy; who were drawn up on the same piece of ground, on which he had expected them all the morning. The Colonel,

Sr John
Digby
Routs the
Parliament's
Forces at
Torrington.

lonel, whose courage, and vivacity upon Action, was very eminent, and commonly very fortunate, intended rather to look upon them, than to engage with them, before his other Troops came up; but having divided his small Party of Horse, the whole consisting but of one hundred and fifty, into several Parties, and distributed them into several little Closes, out of which there were gaps into the larger ground, upon which the Enemy stood, a forelorne hope of fifty Musqueteers advanced towards that ground where himself was, and if they had recover'd the Hedge, they would easily have driven him thence. And therefore, as the only expedient left, himself taking four or five Officers into the Front with him, Charged that forelorne hope; which immediately threw down their Armes, and run upon their own Body, and carried so infectious a fear with them, that without making a Stand, or their Horse offering once to Charge, the whole Body Routed themselves, and fled; Colonel *Digby* following the execution with his Horse, till their Swords were blunted with slaughter, and his Numbers over-burthen'd with Prisoners; though the Foot out of the Town hasten'd to the chase, as soon as they saw what terror had possessed their Enemies.

IN this Action (for it cannot be called a Battle; hardly a Skirmish; where no resistance was made) there were near two hundred kill'd, and above two hundred taken Prisoners, and those that fled contributed more to the Victory, than the Prisoners, or the slain, for they were scatter'd and disperfed over all the Country, and scarce a Man without a cut over the face and head, or some other hurt; that wrought more upon the Neighbours towards their conversion, than any Sermon could be Preach'd to them. Some of the Principal Officers, and of their Horse, got into *Bediford*, and *Barnstable*; and not considering the inconvenience of acknowledging, that God was extraordinary propitious to the Cavaliers, told strange stories of "the horror and fear that seized upon them, and "that no body saw above six of the Enemy, that Charged "them; which proved a greater dismay to their Friends, than their Defeat.

Barnstable
and Bedi-
ford yielded
to him.

AT this time came Prince *Maurice* to *Exeter*, the same of whose arrival brought a new terror, so that the Fort at *Apple-dore*, which commanded the River to *Barnstable* and *Bediford*, being deliver'd to Colonel *Digby*, within two or three days after his Victory, those two Towns shortly after submitted to his Majesty, upon promise of Pardon, and such other Articles as were of course; which Colonel *Digby* saw precisely observ'd, as far as concern'd the Towns in point of plunder, or violence towards the Inhabitants. And this success so wrought upon the Spirits, and Temper of that People, that all the Persons of eminent

eminent disaffection withdrawing themselves, according to their liberty by the Articles; Colonel *Digby*, within very few days, encreased his small Party to the Number of three thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse; with which he was by Prince *Maurice* order'd to march to *Plymouth*, and to block up that place from making incursions into the Country.

THE loss of all their Garrisons on the North Coast, and despair of succour or relief from any other place, prevailed with the Earl of *Stamford*, and that Committee in *Exeter* (to whom the Earl was not superior) to Treat with the Prince; and thereupon Articles were agreed to; and that rich and pleasant City was deliver'd on the fourth of *September*, which was within fourteen or sixteen days after Prince *Maurice* came thither, into the King's protection, after it had suffer'd no other distress, or impression from the Besiegers, than the being kept from taking the Air without their own Walls, and from being supplied from the Country Markets.

Exeter deliver'd to the Prince upon Articles, Septemb. 4.

THERE was an accident fell out a little before this time, that gave new Argument of trouble to the King, upon a difference between Prince *Maurice* and the Marquis. It hath been said, that the Earl of *Carnarvon*, who was General of the Horse of the Western Army, had march'd from *Bristol* the day before the Prince, and had taken *Dorchester*, and *Weymouth*, before his Highness came up to the Army, both considerable places, and the Seats of great Malignity. The former was not thought necessary to be made a Garrison, but the latter was the best Port Town of that Country, and to be kept with great care. The Marquis had made some promise of the Government thereof, when it should be taken (of which they made no doubt) to *St Anthony Ashley Cooper*, a young Gentleman of that Country, of a fair and plentiful Fortune, and one, who in the opinion of most Men, was like to advance the place by being Governour of it, and to raise Men for the defence of it, without lessening the Army; and had, in expectation of it, made some provision of Officers and Soldiers, when it should be time to call them together. Prince *Maurice*, on the other side, had some other Person in his view, upon whom he intended to confer that charge, when it should fall. In the moment that the Town was taken, and before the Prince came thither, *St Anthony*, hearing that the Marquis came not with the Army, but remain'd some time at *Bristol*, made all the hast he could to him, and came thither the same day the King left it; and apply'd himself to the Marquis, who remember'd his promise, and thought himself obliged to make it good, and that it was in his power so to do, since it appear'd, that the Town was taken before the King had declared to him, that he should not go to the Army; till when

when he ought to be looked upon as General of it. He conferr'd with the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon it, as a matter in which his Honour was concern'd, and on which his heart was set. *St Anthony* came likewise to him, who was of his acquaintance, and desired his assistance, "that, after so much charge he had been put to, in the expectation of it, and to prepare for it, he might not be expos'd to the Mirth, and Contempt of the Country. It was evident that if he return'd with the Commission from the Marquis (which he was most inclined to give him) both He and the Commission would be affronted, and the Town would not be suffer'd to submit to him. Therefore the Chancellor was of opinion, that there was no way but to appeal to the King, and desire his Favour, as well as his Justice, in giving his Commission to the Person design'd by the Marquis; which would remove that part of the exception, which would most trouble the Prince; and he offer'd to write himself very earnestly to the King. Besides his desire to gratify the Marquis, he did in truth believe it of great importance to his Majesty's Service, to engage a Person of such a Fortune and Interest, so thoroughly in his quarrel, as he then believ'd such an obligation must needs do; the flexibility and instability of that Gentleman's nature, not being then understood, or suspected.

HE did write, with all the skill and importunity he could use, to the King; and writ to the Lord *Falkland*, "to take *St John Colepepper* with him, if he found any aversion in the King, that they might together discourse, and prevail with him. But his Majesty positively and obstinately refused to grant it; and said, "he would not, to please the Marquis in an unjust pretence, put a publick disobligation and affront upon his Nephew. So the express return'd without effect, and the Marquis was as sensibly touched as could be imagin'd; and said, "that he was fallen from all credit with the King, and "was made incapable of doing him farther Service; that his "Fidelity should never be lessen'd towards him (as in truth he was incapable of a disloyal thought) "but since he was become so totally useless to the King, and to his Friends, he "hoped his Majesty would give him leave to retire to his own House; where, he doubted not, he should be suffer'd "to live privately, and quietly, to pray for the King. The Chancellor knew well the nature of the Marquis, that would never give him leave to pursue any Resolution which he found might prove inconvenient to his Majesty, for whom he had all possible duty; yet he knew too, that the mischief was not small, from the observation that the Marquis thought himself ill used, and that there were too many who would take the

opportunity to foment those jealousies and discontents; and therefore resolv'd (having dispatch'd all things which were incumbent on him at *Bristol*, and used all freedom with the Marquis, for the dispelling all troublesome imaginations) to go himself to the King, and to represent that affair to him, and the probable consequences of it, with new Instances. And at last, with very great difficulty, he did so far prevail with his Majesty, that he gave a Commission to *St Anthony Asbley Cooper*, to be Governour of *Weymouth*; which he was the more easily perswaded to, out of some prejudice he had to the Person, who, he understood, was design'd to that Government. However, the Marquis receiv'd it as a seasonable Act of favour to himself, and in a short time after, came from *Bristol* to *Oxford*, to attend upon his Majesty according to his Command.

At *Glocester* the business proceeded very slowly: for though the Army encreas'd wonderfully there, by the access of Forces from all Quarters, yet the King had neither Money, nor materials requisite for a Siege, and they in the Town behaved themselves with great Courage and Resolution, and made many sharp and bold Sallies upon the King's Forces, and Did more hurt commonly than they Receiv'd; and many Officers of Name, besides common Soldiers, were slain in the Trenches, and Approaches; the Governour leaving nothing unperform'd that became a vigilant Commander. Sometimes, upon the Sallies, the Horse got between the Town and Them, so that many Prisoners were taken, who were always drunk; and, after they were recover'd, they confess'd, "that the Governour always gave the Party that made the Sally, as much Wine and strong Water as they desired to drink: so that it seems their mettle was not purely natural; yet it is very observable, that, in all the time the King lay there with a very glorious Army, and after the taking of a City of much greater name, there was no one Officer run from the Town to him, nor above three common Soldiers, which is a great Argument, the discipline within was very good. Besides the loss of Men before the Town, both from the Walls, and by sickness (which was not greater than was to be reasonably expected) a very great Licence broke into the Army both among Officers, and Soldiers; the malignity of those parts being thought excuse for the exercise of any rapine, or severity among the Inhabitants. Inasmuch as it is hardly to be credited, how many thousand Sheep were in a few days destroyed, besides what were brought in by the Commissaries for a regular provision; and many Country Men imprison'd by Officers without Warrant, or the least knowledge of the King's, till they had paid good Sums of Money, for their Delinquency; all which brought

The Prosecution of the Siege of Glocester.

brought great clamour upon the Discipline of the Army, and Justice of the Officers, and made them likewise less prepared for the Service they were to expect.

IN the mean time nothing was left at *London* unattempted, that might advance the preparation for the relief of *Glocester*. All Overtures of Peace were suppress'd, and the City purely at the Devotion of those who were most Violent, who put one complement upon them at this time, that is not to be pass'd over. It is remember'd before, that, at the beginning of these distractions, before the King's going into the North, his Majesty had, upon the reiterated importunity of the two Houses, made *Sr John Coniers* Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*; who was a Soldier of very good estimation, and had been the Lieutenant General of his Horse in that last preparation against the *Scots*, and Governour of *Berwick*. The Parliament thought, by this obligation, to have made him their own Creature, and desired to have engaged him in some active Command in their Armies, having the Reputation of one of the best Officers of Horse of that time. But he warily declined that engagement, and contain'd himself within the limits of that place, which, by the multitude of Prisoners, sent to the Tower by the two Houses, and the excessive Fees they paid, yielded him a vast profit; in the administration whereof, he was so impartial, that those Prisoners who suffer'd most for his Majesty, found no more favour or indulgence from him, than the rest. About this time, either discerning that they grew to Confide less in him, than they had done, and that he must engage himself in their Service, or should shortly lose the benefit of their good opinion, or really abhorring to be so near those Actions he saw every day committed, and to lie under the scandal of keeping his Majesty's only Fort which he could not apply to his Service, he desired leave from the Houses, "to go into *Holland*, where his Education had been, and his Fortune was, without obliging himself to a time of return. The Proposition was not unwelcome to the Houses; and thereupon they immediately committed that charge, the Custody of the Tower of *London*, to the Lord Mayor *Pennington*; that the City might see they were trusted to hold their own Reins, and had a jurisdiction committed to them which had always justled with their own. This complement serv'd to a double purpose; for thereby, as they made the City believe they had put themselves under their protection, so they were sure, they had put the City under the power, or under the apprehension of the power of him, who would never forsake them out of an Appetite to Peace.

THE Earl of *Essex* now declared, that he would himself undertake the relief of *Glocester*, whereas before *Sr William*

The Custody
of the Tower
committed
by the two
Houses to the
Lord Mayor
Penning-
ton.

Waller was design'd to it, and, whencesoever it proceeded, was return'd to his old full alacrity against the King, and recover'd those Officers and Soldiers again to him, who had absented by his Connivance, or upon an opinion that he would march no more; yet his Numbers encreased not so fast as the occasion required: for Colonel *Massy* found means to send many Messengers out of the Town, to advertise the streights he was in, and the time that he should be able to hold out. Their Ordinance of Pressing, though executed with unusual rigour, insomuch as Persons of good Fortunes, who had retired to *London*, that they might be less taken notice of, were seized on, and detain'd in Custody, till they paid so much Money, or procured an able Man to go in their places, brought not in such a supply as they expected; and such as were brought in, and deliver'd to the Officers, declared such an averiness to the work to which they were design'd, and such a Peremptory resolution not to Fight, that they only encreased their Numbers, not their Strength, and run away upon the first opportunity. In the end, they had no other resort for Men, but to those who had so constantly supplied them with Money, and prevailed with their true Friends, the City, which they still alarm'd with the King's irreconcilableness to them, to send three or four of their Train'd-band Regiments, or Auxiliaries, to Fight with the Enemy at that distance, rather than to expect him at their own Walls, where they must be assured to see him as soon as *Glocester* should be reduced; and then they would be as much perplexed with the Malignants within, as with the Enemy without their City.

UPON such Arguments, and the power of the Earl of *Essex*, so many Regiments of Horse and Foot as he desired, were assign'd to march with him; and so, towards the end of *August*, he march'd out of *London*; and having appointed a Rendezvous near *Aylesbury*, where he was met by the Lord *Grey*, and other Forces of the Associated Counties, from thence he marched by easy Journeys towards *Glocester*, with an Army of above eight thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse. It would not at first be credited at the Leaguer, that the Earl of *Essex* could be in a condition to attempt such a work; and therefore they were too negligent upon the Intelligence, and suspected rather that he would give some Alarm to *Oxford*, where the Queen was, and thereby hope to draw the Army from *Glocester*, than that in truth he would venture upon so tedious a march, where he must pass over a Campagne near thirty miles in length, where half the King's Body of Horse would distress, if not destroy his whole Army, and through a Country eaten bare, where he could find neither Provision for Man nor Horse; and if he should, without interruption, be

The Earl of Essex marches out of London to relieve Glocester.

suffer'd to go into *Glocester*, he could neither stay there, nor possibly retire to *London*, without being destroy'd in the Rear by the King's Army, which should nevertheless not engage it self in the hazard of a Battle. Upon these conclusions they proceeded in their works before *Glocester*, their Galleries being near finish'd, and visibly a great want of Ammunition in the Town; yet the Lord *Wilmot* was appointed, with a good Party of Horse, to wait about *Banbury*, and to retire before the Enemy, if he should advance towards *Glocester*, and to give such impediments to their March, as in such a Country might be easy to do; Prince *Rupert* himself staying with the Body of Horse, upon the Hills above *Glocester*, to joyn, if the Earl of *Essex* should be so hardy as to venture.

THE Earl came to *Brackly*, and having there taken in from *Leicester* and *Bedford*, the last recruits upon which he depended, he march'd steadily over all that Campagne, which they thought he fear'd, towards *Glocester*; and though the King's Horse were often within view, and entertain'd him with light Skirmishes, he pursued his direct way; the King's Horse still retiring before him, till the Foot was compelled to raise the Siege, in more disorder and distraction, than might have been expected; and so with less loss, and easier Skirmishes, than can be imagined, the Earl, with his Army and Train, march'd to *Glocester*; where he found them reduced to one single Barrel of Powder; and all other Provisions answerable. And it must be confess'd, that Governour gave a stop to the Career of the King's good Success, and from his pertinacious defence of that place, the Parliament had time to recover their broken Forces, and more broken Spirits; and may acknowledge to this rise, the greatness to which they afterwards aspired.

THE Earl of *Essex* stayed in that joyful Town (where he was receiv'd with all possible demonstrations of Honour) three days; and in that time, which was as wonderful as any part of the Story, caused all necessary Provisions to be brought in to them, out of those very Quarters in which the King's Army had been sustain'd, and which they conceiv'd to be entirely spent: So sollicitous were the People to conceal what they had, and to reserve it for Them; which, without a Connivance from the King's Commissaries, could not have been done. All this time, the King lay at *Sudley-Castle*, the House of the Lord *Chandois*, within eight Miles of *Glocester*, watching when that Army would return; which, they conceiv'd, stayed rather out of Despair than Election, in those eaten Quarters; and, to open them a way for their Retreat, his Majesty removed to *Elsham*, hoping the Earl would choose to go back the same way he came; which, for many reasons,

was

The Siege of
Glocester
rais'd.

was to be desired; and thereupon the Earl march'd to *Tewkesbury*, as if he had no other purpose. The King's Horse, though bold, and vigorous upon Action, and Execution, were always less patient of Duty, and ill Accommodation than they should be; and at this time, partly with weariness, and partly with the indisposition that possess'd the whole Army upon this Relief of the Town, were less vigilant towards the motion of the Enemy: So that the Earl of *Essex* was march'd with his whole Army and Train from *Tewkesbury*, four and twenty hours before the King heard which way he was gone: for he took the advantage of a dark night, and having sure Guides, reached *Cirencester*, before the breaking of the Day; where he found two Regiments of the King's Horse quartered securely; all which, by the negligence of the Officers (a common and fatal Crime throughout the War, on the King's part) he surpris'd, to the number of above three hundred; and which was of much greater value, he found there a great quantity of Provisions, prepared, by the King's Commissaries, for the Army before *Glocester*, and which they neglected to remove after the Siege was rais'd, and so most sottishly left it for the Relief of the Enemy, far more apprehensive of Hunger than of the Sword; and indeed this wonderful supply strangely exalted their Spirits, as sent by the special care and extraordinary hand of Providence, even when they were ready to faint.

The Earl of Essex in his return seizes upon Cirencester.

FROM hence the Earl, having no farther apprehension of the King's Horse, which he had no mind to encounter upon the open Campagne, and being at the least twenty Miles before him, by easy marches, that his sick and wearied Soldiers might overtake him, moved, through that deep and enclosed County of North *Wiltshire*, his direct way to *London*. As soon as the King had sure notice which way the Enemy was gone, he endeavour'd, by expedition and diligence, to recover the advantage, which the supine negligence of those he trusted, had robbed him of; and Himself, with matchless industry, taking care to lead up the Foot, Prince *Rupert*, with near five thousand Horse, march'd Day and Night over the Hills, to get between *London* and the Enemy before they should be able to get out of those enclosed deep Countrys, in which they were engaged between narrow Lanes, and to entertain them with Skirmishes till the whole Army should come up. This design, pursued and executed with indefatigable pains, succeeded to his wish; for when the Van of the Enemies Army had almost march'd over *Amborne* Chase, intending that Night to have reach'd *Newbury*, Prince *Rupert*, beyond their fear, or expectation, appear'd with a strong Body of Horse so near them, that before they could put themselves in order to

receive him, he Charged their Rear, and Routed them with good Execution ; and though the Enemy perform'd the Parts of good Men, and applied themselves more dexterously to the relief of each other, than on so suddain and unlook'd for an occasion was expected, yet with some difficulty, and the loss of many Men, they were glad to shorten their Journey, and the Night coming on, took up their Quarters at *Hungerford*.

IN this Conflict, which was very sharp for an hour or two, many fell of the Enemy, and of the King's Party none of Name, but the Marquis of *Vieu Ville*, a Gallant Gentleman of the *French* Nation, who had attended the Queen out of *Holland*, and put himself as a Voluntier upon this Action, into the Lord *Fermyn's* Regiment. There were hurt many Officers, and among those the Lord *Fermyn* receiv'd a shot in his Arm with a Pistol, owing the preservation of his Life from other shots to the excellent temper of his Armour ; and the Lord *Digby* a strange hurt in the face, a Pistol being discharged at so near a distance upon him, that the Powder fetch'd much blood from his face, and for the present blinded him, without farther mischief ; by which it was concluded, that the Bullet had dropped out before the Pistol was discharged : And may be reckon'd among one of those escapes, of which that Gallant Person hath pass'd a greater number, in the course of his Life, than any Man I know.

By this Expedition of Prince *Rupert*, the Enemy was forced to such delay, that the King came up with his Foot and Train, though his numbers, by his exceeding long and quick marches, and the Licence which many Officers and Soldiers took whilst the King lay at *Essex*, were much less'n'd, being above two thousand fewer, than when he rais'd his Siege from *Glocester*. And when the Earl, the next day, advanced from *Hungerford*, hoping to recover *Newbury*, which Prince *Rupert* with his Horse would not be able to hinder him from ; when he came within two Miles of the Town, he found the King possess'd of it. For his Majesty, with his whole Army, was come thither two hours before ; this put him to a necessity of staying upon the Field that Night ; it being now the seventeenth day of *September*.

IT was now thought by many, that the King had recover'd whatsoever had been lost by former Oversights, Omissions, or Neglects, and that by the destroying the Army which had reliev'd *Glocester*, he should be fully recompenced for being disappointed of that purchase. He seem'd to be possess'd of all advantages to be desired, a good Town to refresh his Men in, whilst the Enemy lodged in the Field, his own Quarters to friend, and his Garrison of *Wallingford* at hand, and *Oxford* it self within distance for supply of whatsoever should be wanting ;

wanting ; when the Enemy was equally tired with long marches, and from the time that the Prince had attacked them, the day before, had stood in their Armes in a Country where they could not find Victual. So that it was conceiv'd, that it was in the King's power, whether he would fight or no, and therefore that he might compel them to notable disadvantages, who must make their way through, or starve ; and this was so fully understood, that it was resolv'd over night, not to engage in Battle, but upon such grounds as should give an Assurance of Victory. But, contrary to this resolution, when the Earl of *Essex* had, with excellent conduct, drawn out his Army in Battalia, upon a Hill called *Bigg's-Hill*, within less than a mile of the Town, and order'd his Men in all places to the best advantage, by the precipitate Courage of some young Officers, who had good Commands, and who unhappily always undervalued the Courage of the Enemy, strong Parties became successively so far engaged, that the King was compelled to put the whole to the hazard of a Battle, and to give the Enemy at least an equal game to play.

It was disputed, on all parts, with great Fierceness and Courage; the Enemy preserving good Order, and standing rather to keep the ground they were upon, than to get more; by which they did not expose themselves to those disadvantages, which any motion would have offer'd to the Assailants. The King's Horse, with a kind of contempt of the Enemy, Charged with wonderful boldness, upon all grounds of inequality; and were so far too hard for the Troops of the other side, that they Routed them in most places, till they had left the greatest part of their Foot without any guard at all of Horse. But then the Foot behaved themselves admirably on the Enemies part, and gave their scatter'd Horse time to Rally, and were ready to assist and secure them upon all occasions. The *London Train'd-bands*, and Auxiliary Regiments (of whose inexperience of danger, or any kind of Service, beyond the easy practice of their Postures in the Artillery Garden, Men had till then too cheap an estimation) behaved themselves to wonder; and were, in truth, the preservation of that Army that day. For they stood as a Bulwark and Rampire to defend the rest; and when their wings of Horse were scatter'd, and dispersed, kept their ground so steadily, that, though Prince *Rupert* himself led up the choice Horse to Charge them, and endured their storm of small shot, he could make no impression upon their stand of Pikes; but was forced to wheel about: of so Sovereign benefit and use, is that readiness, order, and dexterity in the use of their Armes, which hath been so much neglected.

*The Battle
of Newbury.*

It was fought all that day without any such notable turn,

as that either Party could think they had much the better. For though the King's Horse made the Enemies often give ground, yet the Foot were so immoveable, that little was gotten by the other; and the first entrance into the Battle was to suddain, and without Order, that, during the whole day, no use was made of the King's Cannon, though that of the Enemy was placed so unhappily, that it did very great execution upon the King's Party, both Horse and Foot. The night parted them, when nothing else could; and each Party had then time to revolve the oversights of the day. The Enemy had fared at least as well as they hoped for; and therefore, in the morning early, they put themselves in order of marching, having an obligation in necessity to gain some place, in which they might eat and sleep. On the King's side there was not that caution which should have been the day before, and though the Number of the slain was not so great, as, in so hot a day, might have been looked for; yet very many Officers and Gentlemen were hurt: so that they rather chose to take advantage of the Enemies motion, than to Charge them again upon the old ground, from whence they had been, by order, called off the night before, when they had recover'd a Post, the keeping of which would much have prejudiced the Adversary. The Earl of *Essex* finding his way open, pursued his main design of returning to *London*, and took that way by *Newbury*, which led towards *Reading*; which Prince *Rupert* observing, suffer'd him, without interruption or disturbance, to pass, till his whole Army was enter'd into the narrow Lanes; and then with a strong Party of Horse, and one thousand Musquetters, followed his Rear with so good effect, that he put them into great disorder, and killed many, and took many Prisoners. However the Earl, with the gross of his Army, and all his Cannon, got safe into *Reading*; and, after a night or two spent there to refresh and rest his Men, he moved in a slow and orderly march to *London*, leaving *Reading* to the King's Forces; which was presently possess'd by *Sr Jacob Asbley*, with three thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, and made again a Garrison for the King: his Majesty and Prince *Rupert*, with the remainder of the Army, retiring to *Oxford*, and leaving a Garrison under the Command of Colonel *Boys* in *Donnington-Castle* (a House of *John Packer's*, but more famous for having been the Seat of *Geoffery Chaucer*, within a mile of *Newbury*) to Command the great Road, through which the Western Trade was driven to *London*.

At this time *Sr William Waller* was at *Windfor*, with above two thousand Horse, and as many Foot; as unconcern'd for what might befall the Earl of *Essex*, as the Earl had formerly been on His behalf at *Roundway-Hill*: otherwise, if he had advanced

The Earl of
Essex gets
into Read-
ing; thence,
to London.

advanced upon the King to *Newbury* (which was not above twenty miles) when the Earl was on the other side, the King had been in great danger of an utter Defeat ; and the apprehension of this, was the reason, or was afterwards pretended to be, for the hasty engagement in Battle.

THE Earl of *Effex* was receiv'd at *London*, with all imaginable demonstrations of Affection, and Reverence ; Publick, and Solemn Thanksgiving was appointed for his Victory ; for such they made no scruple to declare it. Without doubt, the Action was perform'd by him with incomparable Conduct and Courage ; in every part whereof, very much was to be imputed to his own Personal Virtue ; and it may be well reckon'd among the most Soldierly Actions of this unhappy War. For he did the business he undertook, and, after the Relief of *Glocester*, his next care was to retire with his Army to *London* ; which, considering the length of the way, and the difficulties he was to contend with, he did with less loss than could be expected ; on the other hand, the King was not without signs of a Victory. He had follow'd, and compell'd the Enemy to Fight, by overtaking him, when he desired to avoid it. He had the spoil of the Field, and pursued the Enemy the next day after the Battle, and had a good execution upon them, without receiving any loss ; and, which seem'd to Crown the Work, fixed a Garrison again at *Reading*, and thereby streighten'd their Quarters as much as they were in the beginning of the year ; his own being enlarged by the almost entire Conquest of the West, and his Army much stronger, in Horse and Foot, than when he first took the Field. On which side soever the Marks and publick Ensigns of Victory appear'd most conspicuous, certain it is, that according to the unequal fate, that attended all Skirmishes and Conflicts with such an Adversary, the loss on the King's side was in Weight much more considerable, and penetrating ; for whilst some obscure, unheard of Colonel or Officer, was missing on the Enemies side, and some Citizen's Wife bewailed the loss of her Husband, there were on the other, above twenty Officers of the Field, and Persons of Honour, and publick Name, slain upon the place, and more of the same Quality hurt.

HERE fell the Earl of *Sunderland*, a Lord of great Fortune, tender years (being not above three and twenty years of Age) and an early Judgement ; who, having no Command in the Army, attended upon the King's Person, under the obligation of Honour ; and putting himself that day in the King's Troop a Voluntier, before they came to Charge, was taken away by a Cannon Bullet.

The Earl of Sunderland slain in this Battle :

THIS day also fell the Earl of *Carnarvon*, who, after he had Charged, and Routed a Body of the Enemies Horse,

And the Earl of Carnarvon ; but coming (haradler,

coming carelessly back by some of the scatter'd Troopers, was, by one of them who knew him, run through the Body with a Sword; of which he died within an hour. He was a Person, with whose great Parts and Virtue, the world was not enough acquainted. Before the War, though his Education was adorn'd by Travel, and an exact observation of the manners of more Nations, than our Common Travellers use to visit (for he had, after the view of *Spain*, *France*, and most parts of *Italy*, spent some time in *Turky*, and those Eastern Countries) he seem'd to be wholly delighted with those looser Exercises of pleasure, hunting, hawking, and the like; in which the Nobility of that time too much delighted to excel. After the Troubles begun, having the Command of the first or second Regiment of Horse, that was raised for the King's Service, he wholly gave himself up to the office and duty of a Soldier; no Man more diligently Obeying, or more dexterously Commanding; for he was not only of a very keen Courage in the exposing his Person, but an excellent Discerner and Pursuer of Advantage upon his Enemy. He had a mind and understanding very present in the Article of danger, which is a rare benefit in that profession. Those Infirmities, and that Licence, which he had formerly indulg'd to himself, he put off with severity, when others thought them excusable under the notion of a Soldier. He was a great lover of Justice, and practis'd it then most deliberately, when he had power to do wrong: and so strict in the observation of his word, and promise, as a Commander, that he could not be perswaded to stay in the West, when he found it not in his power to perform the Agreement he had made with *Dorchester*, and *Weymouth*. If he had liv'd, he would have prov'd a great Ornament to that profession, and an excellent Soldier, and by his death the King found a sensible weakness in his Army.

And the
Lord Vis-
count Falk-
land; his
Character.

BUT I must here take leave a little longer to discontinue this Narration: and if the celebrating the memory of eminent, and extraordinary Persons, and transmitting their great Virtues, for the imitation of Posterity, be one of the principal ends and duties of History, it will not be thought impertinent, in this place, to remember a loss which no time will suffer to be forgotten, and no success or good fortune could repair. In this unhappy Battle, was slain the Lord Viscount *Falkland*; a Person of such prodigious parts of Learning and Knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness and delight in Conversation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to Mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of Life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed Civil War, than that single loss, it must be most infamous, and execrable to all Posterity.

Turpe

Turpe mori, post te, solo non posse dolore.

BEFORE this Parliament, his condition of life was so happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to be twenty years of Age, he was Master of a Noble Fortune, which descended to him by the gift of a Grandfather, without passing through his Father or Mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented, to find themselves passed by in the descent. His Education for some years had been in *Ireland*, where his Father was Lord Deputy; so that, when he return'd into *England*, to the possession of his Fortune, he was unintangled with any Acquaintance or Friends, which usually grow up by the custom of Conversation; and therefore was to make a pure Election of his Company; which he chose by other Rules than were prescribed to the young Nobility of that time. And it cannot be denied, though he admitted some few to his Friendship for the agreeableness of their Natures, and their undoubted Affection to him, that his familiarity and friendship, for the most part, was with Men of the most eminent and sublime Parts, and of untouch'd Reputation in point of Integrity; and such Men had a Title to his Bosome.

He was a great Cherisher of Wit, and Fancy, and good Parts, in any Man; and, if he found them clouded with Poverty or Want, a most liberal and bountiful Patron towards them, even above his Fortune; of which, in those administrations, he was such a Dispenser, as, if he had been trusted with it to such Uses, and if there had been the least of Vice in his expence, he might have been thought too prodigal. He was constant and pertinacious in whatsoever he resolv'd to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were necessary to that end. And therefore having once resolv'd not to see *London*, which he lov'd above all places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek Tongue, he went to his own House in the Country, and pursued it with that indefatigable Industry, that it will not be believ'd in how short a time he was Master of it, and accurately read all the Greek Historians.

In this time, his House being within little more than ten miles of *Oxford*, he contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate Men of that University; who found such an immenseness of Wit, and such a solidity of Judgment in him, so infinite a Fancy, bound in by a most Logical ratiocination, such a vast knowledge, that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet such an excessive humility, as if he had known nothing, that they frequently resorted, and dwelt with him, as in a College situated in a purer Air; so that his
House

House was a University in a less Volume ; whither they came not so much for Repose as Study ; and to examine and refine those grosser Propositions, which laziness and consent made current in vulgar Conversation.

MANY attempts were made upon him by the instigation of his Mother (who was a Lady of another persuasion in Religion, and of a most Masculine understanding, allayed with the passion and infirmities of her own Sex) to pervert him in his Piety to the Church of *England*, and to reconcile him to that of *Rome* ; which they prosecuted with the more confidence, because he declined no opportunity or occasion of conference with those of that Religion, whether Priests, or Laicks ; having diligently studied the controversies, and exactly read all, or the choicest of the Greek, and Latin Fathers, and having a Memory so stupendious, that he remember'd, on all occasions, whatsoever he read. And he was so great an Enemy to that passion and uncharitableness, which he saw produced, by difference of opinion, in matters of Religion, that in all those disputations with Priests, and others of the Roman Church, he affected to manifest all possible Civility to their Persons, and estimation of their Parts ; which made them retain still some hope of his reduction, even when they had given over offering farther reasons to him to that purpose. But this charity towards them was much lessen'd, and any correspondence with them quite declined, when, by sinister Arts, they had corrupted his two younger Brothers, being both Children, and stolen them from his House, and transported them beyond Seas, and perverted his Sisters : upon which occasion he writ two large discourses against the principal positions of that Religion, with that sharpness of Style, and full Weight of Reason, that the Church is deprived of great Jewels in the concealment of them, and that they are not publish'd to the world.

HE was superior to all those passions and affections, which attend Vulgar minds, and was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a Lover of all good Men ; and that made him too much a contemner of those Arts, which must be indulged in the transactions of human Affairs. In the last short Parliament, he was a Burgess in the House of Commons ; and, from the Debates which were there managed with all imaginable gravity and sobriety, he contracted such a reverence to Parliaments, that he thought it really impossible they could ever produce mischief or inconvenience to the Kingdom ; or that the Kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermission of them. And from the unhappy and unseasonable dissolution of that Convention, he harbour'd, it may be, some jealousy and prejudice to the Court, towards which

which he was not Before immoderately inclined; his Father having wasted a full Fortune there, in those offices and employments by which other Men use to obtain a greater. He was chosen again this Parliament to serve in the same place, and, in the beginning of it, declared himself very sharply and severely against those exorbitances, which had been most grievous to the State; for he was so rigid an observer of establish'd Laws and Rules, that he could not endure the least breach, or deviation from them; and thought no mischief so intolerable as the presumption of Ministers of State, to break positive Rules, for reasons of State; or Judges to transgress known Laws, upon the Title of Conveniency, or Necessity; which made him so severe against the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Lord *Finch*, contrary to his Natural gentleness, and temper: insomuch as they, who did not know his composition to be as free from Revenge, as it was from Pride, thought that the sharpness to the Former, might proceed from the Memory of some unkindnesses, not without a mixture of Injustice, from him towards his Father. But without doubt he was free from those temptations, and in both cases was only misled by the Authority of those, who, he believ'd, understood the Laws perfectly; of which, himself was utterly ignorant; and if the assumption, which was then scarce controverted, had been true, "that an Endeavour to overthrow the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom was Treason, a strict understanding might make reasonable conclusions to satisfy his own judgement, from the exorbitant parts of their several Charges.

THE great opinion he had of the uprightness, and integrity of those Persons who appear'd most active, especially of Mr *Hambden*, kept him longer from suspecting any design against the Peace of the Kingdom; and though he differ'd from them commonly in conclusions, he believ'd long their purposes were honest. When he grew better inform'd what was Law, and discern'd in them a desire to controul that Law by a Vote of one, or both Houses, no Man more oppos'd those attempts, and gave the adverse Party more trouble by reason and argumentation; insomuch as he was, by degrees, look'd upon as an Advocate for the Court, to which he contributed so little, that he declined those addresses, and even those Invitations which he was oblig'd almost by civility to entertain. And he was so jealous of the least imagination that he should incline to Preferment, that he affected even a moroseness to the Court, and to the Courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent, and divert the King's or Queen's Favour towards him, but the deserving it. For when the King sent for him once or twice to speak with him, and to give him thanks for his excellent comportment in those Counsels, which his Majesty

Majesty graciously term'd "doing him Service, his Answers were more negligent, and less satisfactory, than might be expected; as if he cared only, that his Actions should be just, not that they should be Acceptable, and that his Majesty should think that they proceeded only from the impulsion of Conscience, without any sympathy in his Affections; which, from a Stoical and Sullen Nature, might not have been misinterpreted; yet, from a Person of so perfect a habit of generous, and obsequious compliance with all good Men, might very well have been interpreted by the King as more than an ordinary averness to his Service: so that he took more pains, and more forced his Nature to Actions unagreeable, and unpleasant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the Court, than most Men have done to procure an Office there. And if any thing but not doing his duty, could have kept him from receiving a Testimony of the King's Grace and Trust, at that time, he had not been called to his Council; not that he was in truth averse from receiving publick Employment; for he had a great devotion to the King's Person, and had before used some small endeavour to be recommended to him for a Forreign Negotiation, and had once a desire to be sent Embassadour into *France*; but he abhor'd an imagination or doubt should sink into the thoughts of any Man, that in the discharge of his trust and duty in Parliament, he had any bias to the Court, or that the King himself should apprehend, that he looked for a reward for being Honest.

FOR this reason, when he heard it first whispered, "that the King had a purpose to make him a Privy Counsellor, "for which there was, in the beginning, no other ground, but because he was known sufficient (*haud semper errat fama, aliquando & eligit*) he resolv'd to decline it; and at last suffered himself only to be overruled, by the advice and persuasions of his Friends, to submit to it. Afterwards, when he found that the King intended to make him Secretary of State, he was positive to refuse it; declaring to his Friends, "that he was most unfit for it, and that he must either do that "which would be great disquiet to his own Nature, or leave "that undone which was most necessary to be done by one "that was honoured with that place; for the most just and "honest Men did, every day, that which he could not give "himself leave to do. And indeed he was so exact, and strict an Observer of Justice and Truth, that he believ'd those necessary condescensions and applications to the weakness of other Men, and those Arts and Insinuations which are necessary for discoveries, and prevention of ill, would be in Him a declension from his own rules of life; though he acknowledg'd them fit, and absolutely necessary to be practiced in those employments.

ployments. He was, in truth, so precise in the practick principles he prescribed Himself (to all others he was as indulgent) as if he had lived in *Republica Platonis, non in facie Romuli*.

Two reasons prevailed with him to receive the Seals, and but for those he had resolutely avoided them. The first, the consideration that his refusal might bring some blemish upon the King's Affairs, and that Men would have believ'd, that he had refused so great an Honour and Trust, because he must have been with it obliged to do somewhat else not justifiable. And this he made matter of Conscience, since he knew the King made choice of him, before other Men, especially because he thought him more honest than other Men. The other was, lest he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the House of Commons, who were sorely troubled at the displacing *Sr Harry Vane*, whom they looked upon as removed for having done them those Offices they stood in need of; and the disdain of so popular an incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other. For as he had a full appetite of fame by just and generous Actions, so he had an equal contempt of it by any servile expedients: and he so much the more consented to, and approved the Justice upon *Sr Harry Vane*, in his own private judgement, by how much he surpassed most Men in the Religious observation of a Trust; the violation whereof he would not admit of any excuse for.

FOR these reasons, he submitted to the King's Command, and became his Secretary, with as humble and devoted an acknowledgement of the greatness of the obligation, as could be expressed, and as true a sense of it in his heart. Yet two things he could never bring himself to, whilst he continued in that Office, that was to his death; for which he was contented to be reproached, as for omissions in a most necessary part of his place. The one, employing of Spies, or giving any countenance, or entertainment to them. I do not mean such Emisseries, as with danger would venture to view the Enemies Camp, and bring Intelligence of their Number, or quartering, or any particulars that such an observation can comprehend; but those, who by communication of Guilt, or Dissimulation of manners, wind themselves into such Trusts and Secrets, as enable them to make discoveries. The other, the Liberty of opening Letters, upon a suspicion that they might contain matter of dangerous consequence. For the first, he would say, "such Instruments must be void of all Ingenuity, and common Honesty, before they could be of use; and afterwards they could never be fit to be credited: and that no single preservation could be worth so general a wound, and
"corruption

"corruption of humane society, as the cherishing such Persons would carry with it. The last, he thought "such a violation of the Law of Nature, that no qualification by Office could justify him in the trespass; and though he was convinced by the necessity, and inquiry of the time, that those advantages of information were not to be declined, and were necessarily to be practiced, he found means to put it off from himself; whilst he confessed he needed excuse and pardon for the omission; so unwilling he was to resign any part of good Nature to an obligation in his Office.

IN all other particulars he filled his place with great sufficiency, being well versed in Languages, to understand any that are used in business, and to make himself again understood. To speak of his Integrity, and his high disdain of any bait that might seem to look towards corruption, *in tanto viro, injuria virtutum fuerit*. Some sharp expressions he used against the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and his concurring in the first Bill to take away the Votes of Bishops in the House of Peers, gave occasion to some to believe, and opportunity to others to conclude, and publish, "that he was no friend to the Church, and the establish'd Government of it; and troubled his very Friends much, who were more confident of the contrary, than prepared to Answer the Allegations.

THE truth is, he had unhappily contracted some prejudice to the Arch-Bishop; and having observ'd his Passion, when, it may be, multiplicity of business, or rather indisposition had possess'd him, did with him less intangled and engaged in the business of the Court, or State: though, I speak it knowingly, he had a singular estimation and reverence of his great Learning, and confessed Integrity; and really thought his own letting himself loose to those expressions which implied a disesteem of the Arch-Bishop, or at least an acknowledgment of his Infirmities, would enable him to shelter him from part of the storm he saw rais'd for his destruction; which he abominated with his Soul.

THE giving his consent to the first Bill for the displacing the Bishops, did proceed from two grounds: The first, his not understanding Then the Original of their Right and Suffrage there: the other, an opinion, that the combination against the whole Government of the Church by Bishops, was so violent and furious, that a less composition than the dispensing with their intermeddling in Secular Affairs, would not preserve the Order. And he was perswaded to this by the profession of many Persons of Honour, who declared, "they did desire the one, and would not then press the other; which, in that particular, misled many Men. But when his observation and experience made him discern more of their Intenti-

ons, than he before suspected, with great frankness he opposed the second Bill that was preferr'd for that purpose; and had, without scruple, the order it self in perfect reverence; and thought too great Encouragement could not possibly be given to Learning, nor too great Rewards to Learned Men. He was never, in the least degree, sway'd or moved by the objections which were made against that Government in the Church (holding them most ridiculous) or affected to the other, which those Men fancied to themselves.

HE had a Courage of the most clear and keen temper, and so far from fear, that he seem'd not without some Appetite of danger; and therefore, upon any occasion of Action, he always engaged his Person in those Troops which he thought, by the forwardness of the Commanders, to be most like to be farthest engaged; and in all such Encounters, he had about him an extraordinary chearfulness, without at all affecting the execution that usually attended them; in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it, where it was not, by resistance, made necessary: insomuch that at *Edge-hill*, when the Enemy was Routed, he was like to have incurr'd great Peril, by interposing to save those who had thrown away their Armes, and against whom, it may be, others were more fierce for their having thrown them away: so that a Man might think, he came into the Field chiefly out of Curiosity to see the face of Danger, and Charity to prevent the shedding of Blood. Yet in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profession of a Soldier; and shortly after he came to his Fortune, before he was of Age, he went into the Low Countries, with a resolution of procuring Command, and to give himself up to it; from which he was diverted by the compleat inactivity of that Summer: So he return'd into *England*, and shortly after enter'd upon that vehement course of Study we mention'd before, till the first Alarm from the North; then again he made ready for the Field, and though he receiv'd some repulse in the Command of a Troop of Horse, of which he had a promise, he went a Voluntier with the Earl of *Essex*.

FROM the Entrance into this unnatural War, his natural chearfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness, and dejection of Spirit stole upon him, which he had never been us'd to: yet being one of those who believ'd that one Battle would end all differences, and that there would be so great a Victory on one Side, that the Other would be compelled to submit to any conditions from the Victor (which supposition and conclusion generally sunk into the minds of most Men, and prevented the looking after many advantages that might then have been laid hold of) he resisted those indispositions,

dispositions, & *in luctu, bellum inter remedia erat*. But after the King's return from *Brentford*, and the furious resolution of the two Houses not to admit any Treaty for Peace, those indispositions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness; and He, who had been so exactly easy, and affable to all Men, that his face and countenance was always present, and vacant to his Company, and held any cloudiness, and less pleasantness of the visage, a kind of rudeness or incivility, became, on a suddain, less communicable; and thence, very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the Spleen. In his Cloaths and Habit, which he had minded before always with more neatness, and industry, and expence, than is usual to so great a Soul, he was not now only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of Suitors, and the necessary, or casual Addresses to his place, so quick, and sharp, and severe, that there wanted not some Men (strangers to his nature and disposition) who believ'd him proud and imperious; from which no mortal Man was ever more free.

It is true, that as he was of a most incomparable gentleness, application, and even submission to good, and worthy, and entire Men, so he was naturally (which could not but be more evident in his Place, which objected him to another conversation, and intermixture, than his own election would have done) *adversus malos injucundus*; and was so ill a dissembler of his dislike, and disinclination to ill Men, that it was not possible for Such not to discern it. There was once, in the House of Commons, such a declared acceptance of the good Service an eminent Member had done to Them; and, as they said, to the whole Kingdom, that it was moved, he being present, "that the Speaker might, in the name of the whole House, give him thanks; and then, that every Member might, as a testimony of his particular acknowledgment, stir or move his hat towards him; the which (though not order'd) when very many did, the Lord *Falkland* (who believ'd the Service it self not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous Person could not have stooped to it for any recompence) instead of moving his hat, stretched both his Armes out, and clasped his hands together upon the Crown of his hat, and held it close down to his head; that all Men might see, how odious that flattery was to him, and the very approbation of the Person, though at that time most popular.

WHEN there was any Overture, or hope of Peace, he would be more erect, and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it; and sitting among his Friends, often, after a deep silence, and

frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word *Peace, Peace*; and would passionately profess, "that the very agony of the War, and the view of the calamities and desolation the Kingdom did, and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart. This made some think, or pretend to think, "that he was so much enamoured on Peace, that he would have been glad the King should have bought it at any price; which was a most unreasonable Calumny. As if a Man that was himself the most punctual, and precise in every circumstance that might reflect upon Conscience, or Honour, could have wish'd the King to have committed a trespass against either. And yet this senseless scandal made some impression upon him, or at least he used it for an excuse of the daringness of his Spirit; for at the Leaguer before *Glocester*, when his Friend passionately reprehended him for exposing his Person unnecessarily to danger (for he delighted to visit the Trenches, and nearest approaches, and to discover what the Enemy did) as being so much beside the duty of his place, that it might be understood rather to be against it, he would say merrily, "that his Office could not take away the Privilege of his Age; and "that a Secretary in War might be present at the greatest secret of danger; but withal alledg'd seriously, "that it concern'd Him to be more active in enterprises of hazard, than other Men; that all might see, that his impatency for Peace proceeded not from pusillanimity, or fear to adventure his own Person.

IN the morning before the Battle, as always upon Action, he was very chearful, and put himself into the first rank of the Lord *Byron's* Regiment, then advancing upon the Enemy, who had lined the Hedges on both sides with Musqueteers; from whence he was shot with a Musquet in the lower part of the Belly, and in the instant falling from his Horse, his Body was not found till the next morning; till when, there was some hope he might have been a Prisoner; though his nearest Friends, who knew his temper, receiv'd small comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young Man, in the four and thirtieth year of his Age, having so much dispatch'd the true business of life, that the Eldett rarely attain to that immense Knowledge, and the Youngest enter not into the world with more Innocency: Whosoever leads such a life needs be the less anxious upon how short warding it is taken from him.

Now to go on with the Course of our History: the Earl of *Essex* enter'd into *London* on the 25th of *September* (a day we shall have occasion to remember upon another solemnity) and was the next day visited, at *Essex House*, by the Speaker

The Earl of Essex returns to London.

and the whole House of Commons, who declared to him, "that they came to congratulate his notable success, and to "render the thanks of the Kingdom to him, for his incomparable Conduct and Courage; and that they had caused their "acknowledgement to be enter'd in their Journal Book, as a "monument and record of His Virtue, and Their gratitude. A day or two after, solemn Thanks were render'd to those Members of both Houses who had Command in the Army, and some extraordinary signification of respect deriv'd to the Superior Officers, throughout the Army. A gaudy Letter of kindness and value, was sent to Colonel *Massy*, and, which made the Letter of more Value, a thousand pounds was sent him as a gratuity or present for his Service, over and above what was due to him for his Pay, and some largess to all the Interior Officers, and a Months Pay, over and above their Arrears, to the Soldiers of that Garrison.

LEST the discourse and apprehension of the jealousy between the Earl of *Effex*, and *St William Waller*, might administer hope or suspicion, that some division might grow amongst themselves, and, from thence, that the King might receive any Advantage, great care was taken to make, and greater to publish, a reconciliation between them; in which, *St William* was all submission and humility, and his Excellence full of grace and courtesy. The Passion and Animosity which difference of opinion had produced between any Members, was totally laid aside and forgotten, and no artifice omitted to make the world believe, that they were a People newly incorporated, and as firmly united to one and the same end, as their Brethren the *Scots*; of whose concurrence and assistance they were now assured, and satisfied that it would come soon enough for their preservation; of which, they had not before a full confidence.

THOUGH the King's Army had all the Trophies of Victory in, and after this Battle, as is before related (It kept the Field, and had the spoil of it; It took some Pieces of the Enemies Cannon, who march'd off in the Night, and were pursued with some considerable loss beyond *Reading*, where a Garrison was again placed for his Majesty, under the Command of *St Jacob Ashley*, Major General of the Army, an excellent Officer; so that the Parliament was in so much a worse State than they were in the Spring, as the loss of *Bristol*, and most of the West amounted to; for by this time *Exeter* was likewise reduced by Prince *Maurice*) yet, notwithstanding all this, the Earl of *Effex*, as is said before, was receiv'd at *London* with all imaginable Gratulation and Triumph; he had done all that was expected from him, with many circumstances of great, Soldierly, and notable Courage, and the heart
and

and Spirit of the Parliament was visibly much exalted, and their impatience for Peace quite abated.

ON the contrary, upon the King's return to *Oxford*, there appear'd nothing but dejection of mind, discontent, and secret Mutiny in the Army, Anger and Jealousy among the Officers, every one accusing another of want of Courage and Conduct in the Actions of the Field; and they who were not of the Army, blaming them all for their several failings and gross oversights. The Siege of *Glocester* was not believ'd to have been well Conducted, and that it might have been taken in half the time they were before it, if it had been skilfully gone about. The not engaging the Earl of *Essex* in all the march over so open a Country, was thought unexcusable, and was imputed to the want of Courage in *Wilmot*; whom Prince *Rupert* did in no degree favour: nor was the Prince himself without some reproaches, for suffering the Earl of *Essex*, after all the Horse was joyn'd, to march down a long steep Hill into the Vale of *Glocester*, without any disturbance; and that the whole Army, when it was found necessary to quit the Siege, had not been brought to Fight in that Vale, and at some distance from the Town, when the King's Men were fresh, and the other Side tired with so long a March.

BUT then all Men renew'd their Execrations against those who advis'd the sitting down before *Glocester*; the Officers, who had been present, and consenting to all the Counsels, disclaiming, as much as any, the whole design; and all conspired to lay the whole reproach upon the Master of the Rolls, who spoke most in those Debates, and was not at all gracious to the Soldiers: and this Clamour against that Engagement was so Popular and Universal, that no Man took upon himself to speak in Defence of it; though, besides the Reasons which have been formerly alledged for it, what happen'd in this last Action, in the Relief of *Glocester*, might well seem to justify it; for since it appear'd, that the City was so much United to the Parliament, that it supply'd their Army with such a Body of their Train'd-bands (without which it could never have march'd) with what success could his Majesty have approach'd *London*, after the taking of *Bristol*, with his harrassed Army? and would not the whole Body of the Train'd-bands have defended That, when so considerable a part of them could be perswaded to undertake a March of two hundred Miles? for less they did not March, from the time they went out, to that in which they return'd. But no reason could ever Convert those, who look'd upon that Undertaking at *Glocester*, as the ruin of the King's Affairs.

THE Temper of the Court was no better than that of the Army: and the King was so much troubled with both, that he did not enjoy the quiet his Condition required. They who had forborne to be importunate for Honours, or Offices, because they knew they should not be able to obtain their desires from the King, made their Modesty an argument of their Merit to the Queen; and assured Her, "that they had forborne to ask any thing in Her absence, because they had always resolv'd never to receive any thing, but by Her bounty. Many pretended former promises and engagements for Creations of Honour, as soon as any thing should be done of that kind. And it is true enough, that both their Majesties had given themselves ease from present importunities, by making promises, with reference to a time, which they imagined, and, at that time, resolv'd should not be soon: and now there was no sooner mention of conferring Honour upon one or two whom they had a mind to gratify, but the rest who had that promise, were very importunate and clamorous for the same Justice. By this means they were, upon the matter, compell'd to gratify some Men to whom they bore no good will; and so, they who receiv'd the favours were no more pleased, than they were who conferr'd them; and they who were without Ambition before, when they saw Honours and Offices conferr'd upon Men, who, they thought, did not merit them better than themselves, thought their Service undervalued if they did not receive the same reward. And it was a usual Prologue to suites of that kind, "that they did not desire it out of their own Ambition, but purely to satisfy their Friends; who withdrew their kindness from them, out of an opinion that they had offended the King, who would not otherwise put so great a difference between Them and other Men. Whence it may be observ'd, that Princes should not confer Publick Rewards in a season when they can only gratify a Few, and so Many stand upon the same level in pretences, that they are apt to resent the preferring of One, as an Affront and disobligation to the Rest.

THERE was no particular that gave the King more uneasiness, than the pretence of my Lord of *Holland*. The three Earls I before mention'd, had attended the King before he rose from *Glocester*, and had waited upon him throughout that march, and had Charged the Enemy, in the King's Regiment of Horse, at the Battle of *Newbury*, very bravely; and had behaved themselves, throughout, very well; and return'd to *Oxford* with his Majesty; and now expected to be well look'd upon: and the other Two had no cause to complain; the King, upon all occasions, spoke very graciously to them, and particularly sent the Chancellor of the Exchequer

to the Earl of *Clare*, "that he had liberty, and might be pre-
sent at the Councils of War; where the Peers usually were,
and where the general matters of contribution, and such things
as concern'd the Country, were usually debated. But the Earl
of *Holland* was not pleas'd; he thought nothing of former
Miscarriages ought to be remember'd; that all those were can-
celled by the Merit of coming to the King Now, and bring-
ing such considerable Persons with him, and disposing others
to follow; and expected, upon his first appearance, to have
had his Key restored to him; to have been in the same con-
dition he was in the Bed-Chamber, and in the Council, and
in the King's Grace and Countenance; of all which he had
assurance from the Queen before he came, at least from Mr
Jermyn, who, no doubt, did exceed his Commission; and
the very deferring of this, was grievous to him; and the more,
because he found the same disrespect from all others, as he
had done when he came first to *Oxford*.

He came frequently in the afternoon to *Merton College*;
where the Queen lay, and where the King was for the most
part at that time of the day, and both their Majesties look'd
well upon him, and spoke to him in publick as occasion was
administer'd. Sometimes the King went aside with him to
the Window, in the same Room, where they spoke a quarter
or half an hour together, out of the hearing of any body;
which the Queen did often in the same manner; and Mr *Jer-
myn*, who was about this time made a Baron, was very fre-
quently with him. The King was always upon his guard
towards him, and did not, in truth, abate any thing of his
former rigour or prejudice, and continued firm to his former
resolutions. But the Queen, whether from her inclination,
or promise, or dislike of most other People, who were not so
good Courtiers (as sure none was equal to Him in that fun-
ction and mystery) did in truth heartily desire, that he might
receive satisfaction in all things, according to his own desire;
and would have trusted him Her self as much as formerly. Yet
she complied so far with the King's aversion, that she yet for-
bore to press it, or to own the encouragement she had given
him; nor had she a willingness to oppose so great a torrent of
prejudice, as she saw evidently run against him; so that she
appear'd not to wish what without doubt she would have
been very glad of. However the Marquis of *Hertford* was
now come to *Oxford*, and expected the performance of the
King's promise to him, and to be admitted into the Office of
Groom of the Stole; of which the King took not the least
notice to him since his return; which made it the more sus-
pected, that the intention was to readmit the old Officer; and
this apprehension was confirm'd by the Queen's looking less

graciously upon the Marquis, than she had used to do. And it is true, though it may be she did not intend to make any such discovery by her looks, she was not pleased that any such promise was made, both because it was without Her Consent, and as it crossed what she design'd; and much desired that the Marquis could have been perswaded to have released it; towards which the Lord *Jermyn*, with some passion, spoke to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "how unreasonable a thing it was for the Marquis, who was Master of so great a Fortune, to affect such a low preferment (as he term'd it)" and "how generous a thing it would be to quit his pretence: but he quickly discover'd him not to be willing to engage in any such Proposition. All this wonderfully indisposed the other Lords, and the Persons of Quality in the Town, who did not wish to see the Court just fill'd as it had been, or the Queen Her self possessed of so absolute a power, as she had been formerly; though they look'd upon her Person with all Duty and Reverence.

THE Earl of *Holland* did not act his own part with that art and dexterity, which might have been expected from his cunning and experience; nor had ever made the least Apology to the King for any thing he had formerly done; nor appear'd to have the least sense that he had committed any error, as his Majesty himself declared to those, who he knew were his Friends; and said, "that he behaved himself with the same Confidence, and Assurance, as he had done when he was most in his favour; and that he retain'd still the old Artifice at Court, to be seen to whisper in the King's and Queen's ear, by which People thought there was some secret; when the matter of those whispers was nothing but what might be said in the open Court; and that the Earl of *Holland* had several times seem'd to desire to say somewhat in private to him, upon which he had withdrawn from the Company to the end or corner of the Room, and, at first, expected and apprehended, that he would say somewhat in his own excuse; but that he had never then said one word, but what he might have spoke in the Circle; with which, the King said, "he was the better pleased; and that he believ'd, he had not been more particular in his discourse with the Queen, save that he used to entertain Her with the wisdom and power of the Parliament, and what great things they would be able to do, and how much they were respected in Foreign Parts; which, his Majesty said, was a strange discourse for a Man to make, who had so lately left them, because he thought the King's condition to be the better of the two.

THE Earl had a Friend who did heartily desire to do him

all

all the Offices, and Services, that would consist with the King's Honour, and always apprehended the ill consequence of discouraging such conversions, and who spoke often to the Earl of his own Affairs. And when he complain'd of his usage, and repeated, what promises and encouragement he had receiv'd to come to the King, and of what importance his good reception would have been, "that there were many of considerable Reputation, and Interest in the House of Commons (whom he named) "who intended to have follow'd; and "that the Earl of *Northumberland* expected only His advice; his Friend asked him, "whether he had done all things, since "he came to the King, which might reasonably be expected "from him? He said, "he thought he had done all could be "expected from him, in bringing himself to the King; and, "since his coming to him, in venturing his life for him; and "in lieu thereof he had not receiv'd Thanks, or one gracious word; and now, after his Office had been kept unbestow'd "near two years, and a promise made to him, that he should "be restored to it, it was to be bestow'd upon another, to "make his disgrace the more notorious; which he thought "would not prove for his Majesty's Honour or Advantage.

His Friend asked him, "whether he had asked it of the "King, or inform'd him of the promise that was made to him? He said "he Had done neither, nor ever Would; he expected it of the King's Grace, and would not extort it by a "promise, which, it might be, his Majesty was not privy to. The other replied very plainly to him, "that if he thought "he had never committed any fault against the King, he had "no reason to acknowledge it, or make excuse for it; but "if he were conscious of any such, how unwarily soever it "had been done, or how unmaliciously soever it had been intended, he ought to make some confession, and apology to "his Majesty; nor could his Majesty, with the safety of his "Honour, avow the receiving him into any trust without it; "nor was he capable of receiving any Offices from his Friends, "or the Queen's own declared interposition on his behalf, till "he had perform'd that necessary Introduction. He told him, "if he would follow His advice, he believ'd he might receive "some effect of it, which was, "that he should send to desire "a private Audience of his Majesty in some Room, where no "body might be present; which would not be refused him; "and then he should (with all the excuses upon the terror "the Parliament gave to all Men, who had exceeded the common Rules, in their Administration of the trust they had "from his Majesty; as he could not deny He had done in "many particulars for the advancement of his Majesty's Service) confess, that he had not been hardy enough to con-

“temn that power, but had been so much in awe of it, that
 “he chose rather to presume upon his Majesty’s goodness,
 “than to provoke Their jealousy and displeasure; and so had
 “complied with them more, than in his duty and gratitude
 “to his Majesty he ought to have done; for which he begged
 “his pardon upon his knees; and if he might obtain it, he
 “made no doubt, he should wipe out the memory of past Of-
 “fences by some new Services, which should be beneficial to
 “his Majesty; and he added, “that he would do very well,
 “if he would sue out his pardon, as the Earl of *Bedford* had
 “done; who had asked it of the King when he first kissed his
 “hand, and had since wisely taken it out under the Great
 “Seal of *England*.

THE Earl of *Holland* seem’d not at all pleas’d with this ad-
 vice; said, “he did not think, though he would not justify
 “all that he had done, his transgressions were of that magni-
 “tude, that they required such a formality of asking Pardon;
 “that His case was very different from that of the Earl of *Bed-*
 “*ford*, who had been in *Armes*, and a General Officer in the
 “Field against the King; whereas He had only sat in the
 “Parliament, as lawfully he might do; and if he had fail’d in
 “his attendance upon his Majesty, and otherwise deserv’d his
 “displeasure, he had receiv’d so many marks of it before he
 “deserv’d it, that might well transport a very faithful Servant
 “into a discontent. That as soon as he found himself restored
 “to any proportion of his Majesty’s grace and confidence,
 “his own inclination would carry him to as humble Apolo-
 “gies, and as deep acknowledgements of all his transgressions,
 “as could be expected from him, and such as he believ’d
 “would reconcile the King’s goodness to him: but to make
 “the first advance by such a kind of submission, he did not
 “think he could prevail over himself to do it. However,
 he took his advice very kindly, and spoke often with him af-
 ter upon the same Subject.

BEING, upon conference with some other Friends, advis’d
 the same, especially by his Daughter (whom he lov’d, and
 esteem’d exceedingly) he seem’d resolv’d to do it; but whe-
 ther he thought worse of the King’s Affairs, or liked the
 Court the less, because he saw the poverty of it, and that
 whatever place or favour he might obtain, he could not ex-
 pect a support from it to defray his expences (nor could he
 draw it from any other place) he delayed it so long, that the
 King found it reasonable to confer the Office he had before
 promised, upon the Marquis of *Hertford*.

UPON which he withdrew himself, for his convenience,
 to a Neighbour Village, where he had a private Lodging;
 and, after few days, with the help of a dark Night and a good
 Guide,

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*The Earl of
Holland re-
turns into
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Guide, he got himself into the Enemies Quarters, and laid himself at the feet of the Parliament ; which, after a short imprisonment, gave him leave to live in his own House, without farther considering him, than as a Man able to do little good or harm. And yet he did endeavour to render himself as grateful to them as he could, by an Act very unsuitable to his Honour, or his own generous Nature : for he publish'd a Declaration in print of the cause of his going to, and returning from *Oxford* ; in which, he endeavour'd to make it believ'd, "that his compassion, and love to his Country, had only prevail'd with him to go to the King, in hope to have been able, upon the long knowledge his Majesty had of his fidelity, to persuade him to make a Peace with his Parliament ; which, from the time of his coming thither, he had labour'd to do ; but that he found the Court so indisposed to Peace, and that the Papiſts had ſo great a power there (uſing many expreſſions diſhonourable towards the King and his Council) "that he reſolv'd to make what haſt he could back to the Parliament, and to ſpend the remainder of his life in Their Service : which Action, ſo contrary to his own natural diſcretion and generoſity, loſt him the Affection of thoſe few who had preſerv'd ſome kindneſs for him, and got him credit with no body ; and may teach all Men how dangerous it is to ſtep aſide out of the path of Innocence, and Virtue, upon any preſumption to be able to get into it again ; ſince ſuch Men uſually ſatiſfy themſelves in doing any thing to mend the preſent exigent they are in, rather than think of returning to that condition of Innocence from whence they departed with a purpoſe, perhaps, of returning.

HOWEVER, this unhappy ill carriage of the Earl, doth not abſolve the Court from overſight in treating him no better ; which was a great error ; and made the King, and all thoſe about him, looked upon as implacable ; and ſo diverted all Men from farther thoughts of returning to their Duty by ſuch application, and made thoſe who abhorr'd the War, and the violent Counſels in the carrying it on, chooſe rather to acquieſce, and expect a Conjunction when a general Peace might be made, than to expoſe themſelves by unſeaſonable, and unwelcome Addreſſes. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was gone to *Petworth*, as is ſaid before, with a purpoſe of going to the King, If by the Lord *Conway's* Negotiation, and the Earl of *Holland's* reception, he found encouragement, return'd to the Parliament ; where he was receiv'd with great reſpect ; all Men concluding, that he had never intended to do, what he had Not done. And the other Members who had entertain'd the ſame reſolutions, changed their minds with him, and return'd to their former Station : and the two Earls who
yet

yet remain'd at *Oxford*, shortly after found means to make their Peace at *Westminster*; and return'd again to their own Habitation in *London*, without a farther mark of displeasure, than a restraint, for a time, from coming to the House of Peers, or being trusted in their Counsels.

The Trans-
actions of the
Committee of
the two
Houses in
Scotland.

THE Committee from the two Houses of Parliament, which was sent into *Scotland* in *July* before, in the distraction of their Affairs, when *Sr William Waller* was defeated, and the Earl of *Essex's* Army unserviceable, as is remember'd, found that Kingdom in so good and ready a posture for their reception, that they had called an Assembly of their Kirk, and a Convention of their Estates, Without, and expressly Against, the King's Consent; and without any colour of Law; for the time, when, by their late Act of Parliament, they might of right challenge those meetings, was not come by almost a year; and the King had refused to Convene them sooner. That Kingdom was at Unity and Peace amongst themselves, and so at the more leisure to help their Neighbours; and the Government of all Affairs in Their hands who were to be Confided in; and They again ruled, and disposed by a few who were thoroughly engaged in the Counsels and Discomposures in *England*; for all those who were visibly affected to the King's Service, or disaffected eminently to the Persons in Authority there, were fled the Kingdom: and they who stayed behind, either had, or pretended to have, the same affections; of which a full declared Zeal, and good Will to the Parliament of *England*, was a common evidence.

So that the Committee found as good a Welcome, as they could wish, and all Men disposed to gain their good opinion: a Committee was appointed, both out of the Convention of Estates, and the Assembly, "to Treat with them, and to make such conclusions, as might be thought necessary to advance the Peace, and Happiness of both Kingdoms. These Men complied with them, in their full sense of the sad condition of the Affairs of *England*, and in their own concernment in the misfortunes, which should befall them: they said, "they well understood, how much the fate of *Scotland* was involv'd in what should befall the Parliament of *England*; "and that if the King prevailed by force, and, by the power of his Army, oppress'd those Friends, who had express'd a tendernefs formerly towards them, they had reason to expect the same Army should be applied to the revenge of those indignities they would easily persuade his Majesty, "he had suffer'd from that his Native Kingdom: and therefore, they needed no Arguments to persuade them, to commiserate the Estate of their Brethren of *England*; or to convince them, that Their case was their own, and their mu-

"tual

“ual safety bound up together : but that those Politick arguments and considerations, would have no influence upon the People, who had such a natural Affection and Loyalty to their Sovereign, as no Earthly consideration would be able to prevail with them to lessen their Obedience towards his Majesty ; and that, albeit there was no visible Party and Faction, that appear'd in the Kingdom for the King, yet that there were many well wishers to him, and maligners, in their hearts, of the present Reformation ; who, as soon as there should be any preparation for an Army to march into England, would be ready, upon the specious Arguments of Duty to his Majesty, and of Peace to their Country, and might be able, to give great disturbance to the expedition, or to disquiet the Realm, when the most eminently affected were march'd towards the relief of their distressed Neighbours ; except some obligation of Conscience were laid upon the People ; who only preferr'd what they called their Piety to God, before their inclination to their Prince, and the setting up the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, before the vindication of a temporal jurisdiction.

FOR such an expedient therefore, they proposed, “ that a Covenant might be agreed upon between the two Kingdoms, for the utter extirpation of Prelacy, which that Kingdom was satisfied to be a great obstruction to the Reformation of Religion ; and the two Houses of Parliament had discover'd a sufficient aversion from that Government, by having pass'd a Bill for their utter abolition, and in the place thereof to erect such a Government, as should be most agreeable to God's Word, which they doubted not would be their own Presbytery ; and that the People being cemented together by such an obligation, would never be severed and disjoyn'd by any temptation.

THERE was an easy consent, from the Committee of the English, to any expedient that might thoroughly engage the other Nation ; and so a form of words were quickly agreed on between them, for a perfect combination and marriage between the Parliament and the Scots, in all such particulars, as were most like to be unacceptable to the King ; and this form being presently communicated to the Convention of Estates, and the Assembly, as soon found an approbation and concurrence there, with as much solemnity, as was necessary to shew their temper and resolution, and to gain the consent of the two Houses at Westminster, whither it was dispatched with all imaginable celerity, and a signification “ that That People were in such a forwardness to advance, that they would be in England as soon as they could be reasonably expected. And it was indeed apparent enough, that, upon their discipline since

*A Covenant
proposed by
the Scots be-
tween the
two King-
doms, and
agreed to:*

since the late Commotions, and the cunning preface and fore-sight of that People, there was nothing requisite to their March, but the calling them together.

MANY were of opinion, that this engagement was proposed "rather to decline being engaged in the Quarrel, than "out of hope or imagination that the two Houses would con- "cur with them; for though there had been a Bill passed, "before the last Treaty with the King, to that purpose, yet "they well knew that most of the Peers, and Persons of Qua- "lity and Interest in the other House, were willing to depart "from that Overture. Besides, amongst those, who raged "joyntly against Episcopacy, there were so many opinions, "that it would be no less difficult to establish Their Presby- "tery, than to root out the other Government, to which they "intended by their Covenant equally to oblige them: so that "upon this Proposition, which was according to the known "temper of that Nation, they should preserve themselves plau- "sibly, and without seeming to desert their Confederates, "from bearing any part in the present Troubles. However, "it would visibly take up so much time, that if there were "no Ebb in the King's prosperity and success, he might well "finish his work, and this Interposition be interpreted for a "politick Stratagem to amuse the *English*. But if this was their Stratagem, they met with People too frank hearted, and not scrupulous to contribute towards it: for the draught of the Covenant no sooner came to *Westminster*, but they shew'd a mar- vellous inclination to it. Yet as well because it was not yet known, what success the Earl of *Essex* would have in the relief of *Glocester*, which was like to have a shrew'd influence upon Men's Affections and Consciences, as that they might seem to use all necessary deliberation, and caution, for the in- formation of their Judgements in a new case, that concern'd the Religion, and Ecclesiastical Fabrick of the Kingdom, they transmitted it to their Assembly of Divines, to return Their opinion "of the lawfulness of taking it in point of Consci- "ence.

THE Assembly, besides that it was constituted of Members who had all renounced their Obedience to their King, and submission to the Church of *England*, by their appearance and presence in that Convention, had been lately taught how dan- gerous it was to dissent from the current opinion of the House of Commons: for Dr *Featly* (upon whose Reputation in Learning, they had raised great advantages to themselves) having made many Speeches in the Assembly in the behalf of "the order of Bishops, and their Function, and against the "Alienation of Church Lands, as Sacrilege, and especially inveighed against "the liberty that was taken in matter of "Religion,

“Religion, by which so many Sects were grown up to the scandal and reproach of the Protestant Doctrine, if not of Christianity it self, had so far incurred their displeasure, and provoked their jealousy, that an ordinary fellow (so well Confirm’d in Spirit, that they fear’d not his failing or conversion) was directed to make application to him in cases of Conscience, and after he had gotten sufficient credit with him (which was no hard matter) to intimate to him, “that he had a sure and unquestionable conveyance to *Oxford*, or that he was “to go thither himself, and if he had any occasions to use his Service thither, he would faithfully execute his Commands. The Dr believing the Messenger to be sincere, and the King’s Affairs standing then prosperous, gave him Letters for the Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, Primate of *Ireland*, who waited on his Majesty; and by this Artifice, the same Instrument receiv’d two or three Letters from him, pretending they were still sent by infallible hands; and brought them always to those Persons by whom he was entrusted in the work of his imposture.

THE Letters contain’d many Apologies for himself, “for “being engaged in such a Congregation, to which he submitted purely out of Conscience, and for the Service of the “King and Church, in hope that he might be able to prevent “many extravagancies, and to contain those unruly Spirits “within some bounds of regularity, and moderation; of his endeavours that way, he gave many instances; and sent Copies of what he had said in justification of Episcopacy, the Liturgy, and the establish’d Government, and concluded with a desire to his Grace, “to procure a good opinion from the “King towards him, and some Bishoprick or Deanery for his recompence. About the time that this Agitation was in *Scotland*, and very little before this Covenant was transmitted, these Letters were produced, and a charge against that Doctor, “for betraying the trust reposed in him, and adhering to the “Enemy; and thereupon the poor Man was expelled the Assembly of Divines, both his Livings (for he had two within a very small distance of *London*) sequester’d; his Study of Books and Estate seized, and himself committed to a Common Goal, where he continued to his death; which befel him the sooner, through the extreme wants he underwent; so solicitous was that Party to remove any impediment that troubled them, and so implacable to any who were weary of their Journey, though they had accompanied them very far in their way.

THIS fresh example the *Assembly of Godly and Learned Divines*, had before their Eyes when this Covenant was sent to them for their consideration, and speedy resolution; and according to the hast it required, that Clergy return’d within two

two days their full approbation of it; there having been but two Ministers who made any pause or scruple of it, and they again soon confessing "they had receiv'd full satisfaction to "their doubts in the Debate, and that they were fully convinced of the Lawfulness, and Piety of it. Having receiv'd so absolute an approbation and concurrence, and the Battle of *Newbury* being in that time likewise over (which cleared and removed more doubts, than the Assembly had done) it stuck very few hours with both Houses; but being at once judged Convenient, and Lawful, the Lords and Commons, and their Assembly of Divines, met together at the Church, with great solemnity, to take it, on the five and twentieth day of *September*; a double Holyday, by the Earl of *Essex's* return to *London*, and this Religious exercise.

It is taken
and Sub-
scribed by the
Lords and
Commons
and their
Assembly of
Divines,
Sept. 25.

THERE, two or three of their Divines went up into the Pulpit successively, not to Preach, but to Pray; others, according to their several Gifts, to make Orations upon the work of the day. They were by them told, "that this Oath was "Such, and in the matter and consequence of it, of such concernment, as it was truly worthy of them, *Yea* of those Kingdoms, *Yea* of all the Kingdoms of the World: That it could "be no other, but the result and answer of such prayers and "tears, of such sincerity and sufferings, that three Kingdoms "should be thus Born, or rather New born in a day: That "they were entering upon a work of the greatest moment and "concernment to themselves, and to their Posterities after "them, that ever was undertaken by any of Them, or any of "their fore Fathers before them. That it was a duty of the "first Commandment, and therefore of the highest and noblest order and rank of duties; therefore must come forth "attended with choicest graces, fear, humility, and in the "greatest simplicity, and plainness of Spirit, and respect of "those with whom they Covenanted. That it was to advance "the Kingdom of Christ here upon Earth, and make *Jerusalem* once more the praise of the whole Earth, notwithstanding all the contradictions of Men; with many such high expressions, as can hardly be conceiv'd, without the view of the Records, and Registry that is kept of them.

It will be here most necessary, that Posterity may be inform'd of the rare conclusion, in which two Nations, with such wonderful unanimity, did agree, and which was calculated also for the Meridian of a third Kingdom (for *Ireland* is likewise comprehended in it) to insert this League and Covenant in the precise terms in which it was receiv'd, and enter'd into; which was in these words.

A Solemn

A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King; and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

“WE Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all Sorts in the Kingdom of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, by the Providence of God living under one King, and being of one Reform’d Religion, having before our Eyes the Glory of God, and the advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Honour and Happiness of the King’s Majesty, and his Posterity, and the true publick Liberty, Safety, and Peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every ones private condition is included; and calling to mind the treacherous, and bloody Plots, Conspiracies, Attempts, and Practices of the Enemies of God, against the true Religion, and Professors thereof, in all places, especially in these three Kingdoms, ever since the Reformation of Religion, and how much their Rage, Power, and Presumption, are of late, and at this time, encreased and exercised (whereof the deplorable Estate of the Church and Kingdom of *Ireland*, the distressed Estate of the Church and Kingdom of *England*, and the dangerous Estate of the Church and Kingdom of *Scotland*, are present, and publick Testimonies) We have now at last (after other means of Supplication, Remonstrance, Protestations, and Sufferings) for the preservation of our Selves and our Religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these Kingdoms in former times, and the example of God’s People in other Nations, after mature deliberation, resolv’d, and determin’d to enter into a mutual, and solemn League and Covenant, wherein We all Subscribe, and each one of Us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear,

I. “THAT We shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the Grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings the preservation of the Reform’d Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, against our Common Enemies; the Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best Reform’d Churches; and We shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms, to the nearest Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory for Wor-

*A Copy of
the Cove-
nant.*

“ship,

"ship, and Catechising; that we, and our Posterity after Us, may, as Brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of Us.

2. "THAT We shall, in like manner, without respect of Persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that is Church Government by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on that Hierarchy) Superstition, Heresy, Schism, Prophaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine, and the power of Godliness; lest We partake in other Men's Sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of Their Plagues; and that the Lord may be One, and his Name One in the three Kingdoms.

3. "WE shall, with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our several Vocations, endeavour with our Estates, and Lives, mutually to preserve the Rights and Privileges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and to preserve, and defend the King's Majesty's Person, and Authority, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms; that the World may bear Witness, with our Consciences, of our Loyalty; and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power, and greatness.

4. "WE shall also, with all faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any Factions or Parties among the People, contrary to this League and Covenant; that they may be brought to publick Trial, and receive condigne punishment, as the degree of their Offences shall require or deserve; or the supreme Judicatories of both Kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

5. "AND whereas the happiness of a blessed Peace between these Kingdoms, denied in former times to our Progenitors, is by the good Providence of God granted unto Us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments, we shall, each one of Us, according to our places and interest, endeavour, that they may remain conjoyn'd in a firm Peace and Union to all Posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful Opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent Articles.

6. "WE shall also, according to our places and callings, in this Common Cause of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this

"League and Covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer our selves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, perswasion, or terror, to be divided, and withdrawn from this blessed Union and Conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give our selves to a detestable Indifference or Neutrality in this Cause, which so much concerneth the Glory of God, the Good of the Kingdoms, and the Honour of the King; but shall, all the days of our lives, zealously and constantly continue therein, against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power, against all Lets and Impediments whatsoever. And what We are not able our selves to suppress, or overcome, We shall reveal, and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed; all which We shall do as in the sight of God.

"AND because these Kingdoms are guilty of many Sins, and Provocations against God, and his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof; We profess and declare, before God, and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own Sins, and for the Sins of these Kingdoms; especially, that We have not, as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospel, that We have not labour'd for the purity, and power thereof; and that We have not endeavour'd to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the causes of other Sins and Transgressions so much abounding amongst Us: And our true, and unfeign'd purpose, desire, and endeavour for our selves, and all others under our power and charge, both in publick and in private, in all duties We owe to God and Man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real Reformation; that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these Churches and Kingdoms in Truth and Peace. And this Covenant We make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall Answer at that great day, when the Secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord, to strengthen Us by his holy Spirit, for this end; and to bless our desires, and proceedings, with such success, as may be a deliverance and safety to his People, and encouragement to other Christian Churches, groaning under, or in danger of the Yoke of Anti-Christian Tyranny, to joyn in the same, or like Association and Covenant, to the Glory of God, the Enlargement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the Peace, and Tranquillity of Christian Kingdoms and Common-wealths.

AS SOON as this solemnity was over, which was concluded by Mr *Henderson* (the sole Ecclesiastical Commissioner from the Kingdom of *Scotland*) who magnified what they had done, and assured them “ of great success after it, by the experience “ of that Nation, who, from their Union in their first Cove- “ nant, found nothing hard they proposed to themselves ; and told them, “ that were that Covenant now painted upon the “ Wall within the Pope’s Palace, it would doubtless put him “ into *Belshazzar*’s quaking condition ; the Speaker and Com- mons (having first set their hands to the Covenant, after they had taken it) return’d to their House, and observing, that many of their Members were that day absent, the cause where- of was easy to be guessed, they order’d, “ that, as soon as they “ came into the House, the Covenant should be tender’d to “ them, and whosoever refused to take it, should be proceeded “ against, as a disaffected Person, in such manner as the House “ should think fit.

The Cove-
nant order’d
to be taken
by others,
especially by
the City.

THEY farther made a special Order, “ that all the Mini- “ sters of Parish Churches within *London*, and *Westminster*, “ the Suburbs, and the whole line of Communication, should “ read and explain the Covenant to their several Congregati- “ ons, and stir them up, the next Fast day, to the cheerful tak- “ ing of it : and particular care was taken, that all the Stu- “ dents of the Inns of Court should be perswaded to receive it. But over and above these general directions, there was a par- ticular ceremony, and application to recommend this Cove- nant to the City, and Corporation of *London*, and another use to be made of it. The Covenant was not only to bring, but to keep Men together ; and the taking it had only inclined the *Scots* to march to their Assistance ; they were to have one hundred thousand pounds Advanced to them, and paid at *Edenborough*, before they could stir ; and how to advance this great Sum, was not easy to resolve. All their Ordinances for levying of Money were expired ; their Issues and Disbur- sements so vast, that no income was sufficient ; their Exchequer was exhausted, and even their Publick Faith Bankrupt : such Anticipations upon all kind of receipts, for Monies borrow- ed, and already spent, that they had no Capitol for future Security.

THE Judicature of the House of Peers (though their Num- ber was but ten, for there was no more at the Sentence of Jus- tice *Berkley*) had helped them all they could. Justice *Berk- ley*, who had been committed by them to the Tower, shortly after the beginning of the Parliament, upon a Charge of High Treason, and since the beginning of the War, permitted to sit as sole Judge in the King’s Bench, one whole Term, was now brought to Judgement ; and by their Lordships fined the Sum

of

of twenty thousand pounds, and made incapable of any place of Judicature; and upon abatement of half, and his Liberty, he paid the other ten thousand pounds together, to those Persons they appointed to receive it; which, since all fines are due to the King alone, and cannot be disposed but by him, many thought a greater crime than that for which he was sentenced. Baron *Trevor*, who was fined for the same Offence, and suffer'd still to continue the same Office, in which he had committed his misdemeanour, yielded them as much more. But these petty Sums were disposed before they were receiv'd, and were but small drops to quench the great droughth they sustain'd: so that the reputation and security of this Covenant, was, amongst other Uses, to bring in Money too.

To that purpose, a Committee of Lords and Commons, with some of their Divines of the Assembly, was sent to the *Guild-Hall*, where the Mayor had called a Common Council for their reception, to recommend to them, "the wonderful advantage and strength their Party should gain by taking, "and being united in this Covenant, and the desperate condition they were like to be in without it: If the *Scots* came "not to their Assistance, which, without this obligation, they "could not do, they were in danger to be overwhelm'd by "the Enemy; or at least to make a disadvantageous and "dishonourable Peace with them; which yet they could not "tell how it would be observ'd and kept. On the other hand, "by this famous accession of strength of a whole Nation, they "should undoubtedly be able to master the War, and to make "those who had been the Causers of it, defray the Charge; "and so all the Publick debts being discharged out of the "Estates of Delinquents and Malignants, the Kingdom would "not be at all impoverished, and the Peace, which should "hereafter be made with the King, would be sure to be inviolably observ'd by the strength of this Union; and therefore that it could not be purchased at too dear a rate.

"It was, they said, "neither Covetousness, nor want of Affection, and Zeal to their Relief, that the *Scots*, who "took Their Cause to heart as their own, desired an Advance of Money before they drew their Army into *England*, "but pure Necessity, and the Poverty of that Kingdom, already exhausted by their late expeditions, and keeping their "Soldiers together for the good of This. And if there had "been Money enough in that Country to have been procured "upon the publick Stock and Revenue, or the Mortgage of "private Estates, to which all Men were forward for the "Publick Good, their Love to their Brethren here was such, "that they would neither have asked, nor receiv'd Money "for their Assistance, after it had proved effectual; much less,

“before the yielding it. For Evidence of which frank and
 “Brotherly Inclination, they freely offer'd the Engagement
 “of their own Estates, for the repayment of the Money that
 “shou'd be advanced: which was the first time, that ever Land
 in *Scotland* had been offer'd for security of Money borrowed
 in the City of *London*. In the end, they very devoutly ex-
 tolled the Covenant, magnified the *Scottish* Nation, with all
 imaginable Attributes of Esteem and Reverence, “a Nation
 “that had engaged it self to God in a higher way, in a more
 “extraordinary way, than any Nation this day upon the face of
 “the Earth had done; a Nation, that had reform'd their lives
 “for so small a time, more than ever any People, that they
 “knew of, in the world had done; a Nation, that God had
 “honour'd by giving as glorious Success unto, as ever he did
 “unto any: and very earnestly desired the Loan of a hundred
 thousand Pounds. The Rhetorick and the Zeal prevailed; a
 hundred thousand pounds was promised, and shortly provid-
 ed, and sent to *Edenborough*; and the Assurance of the *Scots*
 coming so full, that they were looked upon as Masters of
New-Castle already. With such an alacrity all these things
 were transacted.

THAT Violent Party in the Parliament, which never in-
 tended any Peace with the King, and had more desperate Mu-
 tations in their purposes, than they avow'd, even amongst
 those who concurr'd with them in all they desired, did not
 think themselves secure in the Affection of the People, nor
 in those who had the greatest Trust in their Affairs. They
 had seen the great Changes in the Houses, in the City, and in
 the Country, upon their late ill Successes, the Defeat of *Waller*,
 and the loss of *Bristol*: and though the Earl of *Essex* still ad-
 hered to them, yet they saw he was not pleased, nor fa-
 voured one of those Men upon whom they most depended;
 but, on the contrary, all who were countenanced by Him,
 or in His confidence, were Men of such Principles as they
 liked not, or who desired no other Alterations, in the Court
 or Government, but only of the Persons who Acted in it:
 therefore they had taken an opportunity, in the greatest de-
 jection of Spirit, and when they looked upon themselves as
 near swallow'd up by the King's Power, to move “that they
 “might send into *Scotland* to their Brethren there, to joyn
 “with them, and to assist them with an Army, that they might,
 “by such a Conjunction, have a Support, to make them so
 “considerable, as to be Treated with, and to receive Con-
 “ditions which might preserve them from ruin: which Pro-
 position, being for so Common an Interest and Benefit, had
 receiv'd a General concurrence; and so that Committee of
 both Houses had been sent into *Scotland*, to put them in
 mind

mind "of their joynt concernment, and how impossible it "would be, for the *Scots* long to enjoy the great Concessions "they had obtain'd from the King, when the Parliament of "*England*, by whose Friendship, Power, and Authority they "had obtain'd them, should be oppress'd, and forced to yield "to such Conditions for their particular preservations, as the "King would think fit to give them. But they were not a little startled, when they found this Message had obliged them to a present expence of a hundred thousand pounds, before there was any visible Relief given them; and saw themselves involv'd in new obligations of Guilt, and to purposes they really never intended.

THERE hath been scarce any thing more wonderful throughout the Progress of these Distractions, than that this Covenant did with such extraordinary expedition, pass the two Houses, when all the Leading Persons in those Councils, were at the same time known to be as great Enemies to Presbytery (the Establishment whereof was the main end of this Covenant) as they were to the King or the Church. And He who contributed most to it, and, in truth, was the Principal Contriver of it, and the Man by whom the Committee in *Scotland* was entirely, and stupidly govern'd, *Sr Harry Vane* the Younger, was not afterwards more known to abhor the Covenant, and the Presbyterians, than he was at that very time known to do, and laughed at 'em then, as much as ever he did afterwards.

He was indeed a Man of extraordinary Parts, a pleasant Wit, a great Understanding, which pierc'd into, and discern'd the purposes of other Men with wonderful Sagacity, whilst he had Himself *vultum clausum*, that no Man could make a guess of what he intended. He was of a Temper not be moved, and of rare dissimulation, and could comply when it was not seasonable to contradict, without losing ground by the condescension; and if he were not superior to *Mr Hamlden*, he was inferior to no other Man, in all mysterious Artifices. There need no more be said of his Ability, than that he was chosen to cozen, and deceive a whole Nation which was thought to excel in craft and cunning: which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity, and prevailed with a People, that could not otherwise be prevailed upon than by advancing their Idol Presbytery, to sacrifice their Peace, their Interest, and their Faith, to the erecting a Power and Authority that resolv'd to persecute Presbytery to an Extirpation; and, in process of time, very near brought their purpose to pass.

THE Nation of *Scotland*, in general, had been so fully satisfied in all that they could pretend to desire, that they were very well disposed to be Spectators of what was done in

England, without engaging themselves in the Quarrel; and though there were some powerful Men amongst them, whose Guilt would not suffer them to believe that they could be otherwise secure, than by the King's want of Power to call them to Justice, yet their Number was not thought so great, as to be able to corrupt the People into a bare-faced Act of Rebellion: nor had they any such face of Authority, as to invite them to it. Without a Parliament, they could not propose it; the King had absolutely refused to call a Parliament, and it was yet above a Year to come, before a Parliament could be Assembled without the King's Consent; and in that time, the King might have the better of his Enemies. However, the Commissioners of the Parliament had not been long at *Edenborough*, before they prevailed with the Council to call a Parliament; which Duke *Hamilton*, and others, who pretended great devotion to the King, and were of the Council, had promised the King to oppose, and said "they were powerful enough to prevent it. When it came to the point, Duke *Hamilton*, being, one way or other, perswaded himself, perswaded others, "that the absolute refusal to suffer "a Parliament to be called, would not quiet the Debate, nor "secure the King, but more enflame those who desired it; "who would take some other time, when many of them who "opposed it should be absent, to propose it; and so would "carry it: and that therefore they were better be absent at "first, whereby the others might, without opposition, send "out their Summons for a Parliament to Assemble, at the day "they thought fit; and that, as they who would serve the "King would not be there, so they should prevail with as "many others as they could, not to be there likewise; where- "by the number which appear'd, would be so inconsiderable, "that they would not dare to sit, but perfectly disperse; and "this disappointment would for ever quash that design, and "render those who advised it, odious to the People; as Men "who desired illegally to engage the Nation in unjustifiable "ways, to disturb the publick Peace.

A Parlia-
ment Sum-
mon'd by the
Covenanters
in Scotland.

A SUMMONS was accordingly sent out to call a Parliament, to meet at a day appointed; before which time, those of the Nobility and Gentry, who did really desire to serve the King, applied themselves to Duke *Hamilton* (whose advice and orders, the King himself had required them to observe; unhappily still believing him to be faithful) to know what they should do: many of the principal of them declaring their opinions to him, "that they should take an opportunity to "meet together, and bring their Friends with them, whereby "they might make a good Body of Horse, and so, with their "Armes in their hands, they would declare against the Legi-

"lity

“lity of that Parliament, and the meeting in it : and named a fit opportunity to him for such a meeting at the Funeral of a Lady, which was to be within some days, when, according to the custom of that People, great Numbers of Persons of Quality use to Assemble, to do Honour to the dead in the last obsequies. He told them, “he believ’d, it must come shortly to that remedy, but conceiv’d it not yet time, and that such a meeting would frighten the People, and encrease the Number in Parliament, and make many resort to them for their directions. He likewise said, “he had changed his former opinion, concerning their own being absent at that time of the meeting of the Parliament, since their meer absence would not be discountenance enough, and that they who sat, would carry the Reputation of a Parliament, and the People would be guided by them, if there were nothing but their absence to work upon their inclinations, and affections.

He propos’d therefore to them, “that they would all resolve to be present, and take their places ; and that, when the House should be sat, and any Man should stand up to propose the taking any business into consideration, He [the Duke] would first make his Protestation against proceeding in so illegal a Convention, and then They should all make the same Protestation ; and he did hope, that the Number of the Protesters would be great enough to dissolve the meeting ; and thus they should put the best end to the matter that could be desired : but if it should succeed otherwise, then would be the time to withdraw and put themselves in Armes ; towards which he would make the best preparation he could ; and desired Them to do the like. The Earl of *Kinoul*, and some others, made exception against this Expedient, and press’d the former meeting at the Funeral, till the Duke told them, “the King liked the other way better ; and pulled a Letter out of his Pocket, which he had receiv’d from his Majesty, and read them so much of it, as contain’d his Approbation, “that they should meet in the Parliament ; in which determination they could not but acquiesce, though they thought at the same time, that his Majesty was betrayed.

THE Parliament met at the day ; and Duke *Hamilton*, according to his promise, took an opportunity to say somewhat that seem’d to imply a Protestation against the meeting ; upon which, many of the Lords, who had been always most engaged against the King, were very warm ; and demanded, “that he should declare himself clearly, whether he did Protest against the Parliament ; whereupon his Brother the Earl of *Lanrick*, who was Secretary of State to the King, stood up,

and said, "that he hoped, that Noble Lord's Affection to his Country was better known, than that any Man could imagine he would Protest against the Parliament of the Kingdom; and then the Duke explain'd, and excus'd himself; and said, "he meant no such thing: and so they declared, "that they would Treat with the Commissioners, who were sent from the Parliament of *England*; and appointed Commissioners for that purpose.

SOME are of opinion, that, even at this time, they did not intend to engage in the War against the King; but that, as a few Men cozen'd the Parliament at *Westminster*, by persuading them, "that they desired only a Safe Peace, till, by multiplication of Indignities, they made it impossible to make a Peace that would appear safe; so there was as small a Number in *Scotland*, that overreached the Parliament there, by persuading, "that they never intended to do any thing against the King, but that it would be too ingrateful a thing, and "render them very odious to the whole *English* Nation, if, "after they had receiv'd so many obligations from the Parliament there, to whose protection they ow'd their Religion, "and all that they enjoyed, they should refuse so much as to "Treat with them, and to assist them, by their interposition, "to procure a good Peace for them with the King; which "would be a great Honour to them; and would be as great "an obligation to his Majesty, as to the Parliament. That this was all that was in their thoughts; and that they would avoid any Engagement in a War, not by rejecting the Proposition, but by making such demands, as they knew well would never be accepted by the Parliament at *Westminster*. Thereupon they told the Commissioners from that Parliament, "that it would be impossible to engage their Nation in "a joynt concurrence with them, against the King, but by "the Influence and Authority of their Kirk; and that it would "be as impossible to procure the Consent of their Kirk, except by making it evident to them, that the Government of "the Church in *England*, should be reduced to the same model with Theirs in *Scotland*; and that Episcopacy should be "totally extirpated; and that Deans and Chapters, should be "utterly abolish'd; without which, they said, "they could "never think their own Government securely establish'd; "but if such a promise might be solemnly made, their Kirk "would be thoroughly engaged, and the Nation, to a Man, "would enter into the Quarrel.

St *Harry Vane* was not surpris'd with the Proposition, which he had long foreseen, and came resolv'd to pay their own price for their Friendship. Thereupon, as hath been already said, the Covenant was prepared, and other Propositions

sitions made for the present furnishing a great Sum of Money, to enable them to begin their Levies; and many other extravagant Conditions propos'd on the *Scotish* part, for the payment of the Army, and other vast expences, that they did not believe the Commissioners would yield, or that the Parliament would perform, if they were yielded unto. Nothing of Money, or Honour, made any delay; and they came provided with some Letters of Credit, that as little time might be lost as was possible, in making all necessary preparations. The Covenant was the matter of Difficulty; they knowing well, that many of their greatest Friends, both in the Parliament, and the Army, had not any mind to change the Government of the Church; to which the People of *England* were not generally disaffected.

Sr *Harry Vane* therefore (who equally hated Episcopacy and Presbytery, save that he wish'd the one Abolish'd with much impatience, believing it much easier to keep the other from being Establish'd, whatever they promised, than to be rid of that which was settled in the Kingdom) carefully consider'd the Covenant, and after he had alter'd, and changed many expressions in it, and made them doubtful enough to bear many interpretations, he, and his fellow Commissioners, sign'd the whole Treaty; whereby it was provided, "that the Covenant should be taken throughout all his Majesty's Dominions; that a Committee of the *Scots* should always sit with the Close Committee at *Westminster* for the carrying on of the War, with equal Authority; that there should be no Treaty of Peace with the King, without the joyn't consent of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms; and many other particulars, very derogatory to the Honour of the *English* Nation; and with all possible expedition sent it to the Close Committee at *Westminster*; in the time of their consternation, and before the relief of *Glocester*; which transmitted it presently back to them, allow'd and confirm'd.

The Substance of the Treaty between the English Commissioners and the Scots.

AND thereupon the Parliament at *Edenborough*, resolv'd to raise a great Army, and to invade *England*; and their old General *Lesley*, who had so solemnly promised the King, not only "never to bear Armes against him, but to Serve him, let the Cause be what it would, without any hesitation undertook the Command of it. All this time, Duke *Hamilton* look'd on, and sometimes sat with them; and when the first Proclamation was prepared, in the King's Name, for a General Rendezvous of all Men, from such an Age to such an Age, at such a time and place, that so their Army might be presently form'd, the Earl of *Lanrick* put the King's Signet, with the keeping whereof he was trusted, to the said Proclamation: and all this being done, both the Brothers left *Scotland*,

The Scots raise an Army under Lesley.

land, to give the King an Account at *Oxford* of all the Proceedings: Many of the Nobility of that Kingdom, who did heartily will well to the King, being gone from thence, after the first days meeting of their Parliament (when the Duke had broken his promise to them) and inform'd his Majesty at large of that which They thought foul Infidelity.

Divisions amongst the Councils at Oxford.

THE Discomposures, Jealousies, and Disguits, which reign'd at *Oxford*, produced great Inconveniences; and, as, many times, Men in a Scuffle lose their Weapons, and light upon those which belonged to their Adversaries, who again Arme themselves with those which belonged to the others, such, one would have thought, had been the Fortune of the King's Army in the Encounters with the Enemies: for those under the King's Commanders grew insensibly into all the Licence, Disorder, and Impiety, with which they had reproach'd the Rebels; and They, into great Discipline, Diligence, and Sobriety; which begot Courage and Resolution in them, and notable dexterity in Atchievements and Enterprises. Inasmuch as one side seem'd to Fight for Monarchy, with the Weapons of Confusion, and the other to destroy the King and Government, with all the Principles and Regularity of Monarchy.

IN the beginning of the Troubles, the King had very prudently resolv'd with himself, to confer no Honours, or bestow any Offices or Preferments upon any, till the end and conclusion of the Service; and if that Resolution had continued, He would have found much ease by it, and his Service great Advantage. The Necessity and Exigents of the War, shortly after, made some breach into this reasonable resolution, and, for ready Money to carry on the War, his Majesty was compelled, against his Nature, to dispense some favours, which he would not willingly have suffer'd to be purchased, but by Vertue and high Merit. Then all Men thought Money and Money-worth to be all one; and that whosoever, by his Service, had deserv'd a Reward of Money, had deserv'd any thing that might be had for Money. And when it was apparent, that the War was like to prove a business of time, it was thought unreasonable, that the King should not confer rewards on Some, which he was able to do, because he could not do it on All, which was confessedly out of his power. And so, by importunity, and upon the Title of old Promises, and some conveniences of his Service, he bestow'd Honours upon some principal Officers of his Army, and Offices upon others; to which, though, in the particulars, no just exceptions could be taken, yet many were Angry to see some preferr'd, and not so much extolling their own merit and service, as making it equal to those whom they saw advanced,

every

every Man thought himself neglected and slighted, in that another was better esteem'd.

AND this Poyson of Envy wrought upon many Natures, which had skill enough not to confess it: The Soldiers, albeit they were emulous amongst themselves, and very unsatisfied with one another (there being unhappy Animosities amongst the Principal Officers) yet they were too well united, and reconciled against any other Body of Men; and thinking the King's Crown depended wholly on the fortune of Their Swords, believ'd no other Persons to be considerable, and no Councils fit to be consulted with, but the Martial; and thence proceeded a fatal disrespect and irreverence to the Council of State, to which, by the wholesome Constitution of the Kingdom, the Militia, Garrisons, and all Martial power is purely, and naturally Subordinate; and by the Authority, and prudence whereof, Provision could be only reasonably expected, for the countenance and support of the Army.

THE General, and Prince *Rupert*, were both Strangers to the Government and Custom of the Kingdom, and utterly unacquainted with the Nobility, and the King's Ministers, or with their Rights: and the Prince's heart was so wholly set upon Actions of War, that he not only neglected, but too much contemn'd the peaceable and civil Arts, which were most necessary even to the carrying on of the other. And certainly, somewhat like that which *Plutarch* says of the Roman Auguries, "that *Octavius* lost his Life by trusting to them, "and that *Marius* prosper'd the better, because he did not altogether despise them, may be said of Popularity: though he that too immoderately, and importunately affects it (which was the case of the Earl of *Essex*) will hardly continue innocent; yet he who too affectedly despises, or neglects what is said of him, or what is generally thought of Persons, or Things, and too Stoically contemns the Affections of Men, even of Vulgar (be his other Abilities and Virtues as great as can be imagined) will, in some conjuncture of time, find himself very unfortunate. And it may be, a better reason cannot be assign'd for the misfortunes that hopeful young Prince (who had great parts of mind, as well as Vigour of Body, and an incomparable personal Courage) underwent, and the Kingdom thereby, than that unpolish'd roughness of his Nature; which render'd him less patient to hear, and consequently less skilful to judge of those things, which should have guided him in the discharge of his important Trust: and making an unskilful judgement of the unusefulness of the Councils, by his observation of the infirmities and weakness of some particular Counsellors, he grew to a full disesteem of the Acts of that Board; which must ever be respected, as long as the Regal Power is exercised in *England*.

I CANNOT but, on this occasion, continue this digression thus much farther, to observe, that they who avoid public Debates in Council, or think them of no moment, upon undervaluing the Persons of some Counsellors, and from the particular infirmities of the Men, the heaviness of this Man, the Levity of another, the weakness and simplicity of a third, conclude, that the advice and opinions of Many are not requisite to any great design, are exceedingly deceiv'd; and will perniciously deceive others who are misled by those conclusions. For it is in Wisdom, as it is in Beauty, a face that, being taken in pieces, affords scarce one exact feature, an eye, or a nose, ora tooth, or a brow, or a mouth, against which a visible just exception may not be taken, yet altogether, by a gracefulness and vivacity in the whole, may constitute an excellent Beauty, and be more charming than another, whose Symmetry is more faultless; so there are many Men, who in one particular Argument, may be unskilful, in another affected, who may seem to have some Levity, and Vanity, or Formality, in ordinary and cursory Conversation (a very crooked Rule to measure any Man's Abilities, as giving a better Measure of the Humour, than of the Understanding) and yet in form'd Counsels, Deliberations, and Transactions, are Men of great Insight, and Wisdom, and from whom excellent Assistance may be contributed.

No Question, all great Enterprises, and Designs, that are to be executed, have many parts, even in the projection, fit for the Survey and Disquisition of several Faculties and Abilities, equally for the decision of sharper, and more phlegmatick Understandings. And We often hear, in Debates of great Moment, Animadversions of more weight, and consequence, from those whose ordinary conversation may not be so delightful, than from Men of more sublime parts. Certainly *Solomon* well understood himself, when he said, *In the Multitude of Counsellors there is safety*. And though it be confess'd, that reason would be better discover'd, and stated, and right conclusions easier made by a few, than by a greater Number, yet when the Execution depends on many, and the general interpretation so much depends on the Success, and the Success on the Interpretation, We see those Counsels usually most prosperous, whereof the considerations, and deliberations, have been measured by that Standard which is most publickly acknowledged, and receiv'd. He has had but small Experience in the managing Affairs, who is not able experimentally to name to himself, some very good and useful conclusions, which have therefore only miscarried, because they were not communicated to those, who thought they had reason to believe themselves competent parties to the Secret.

There

There was seldom ever yet that publick-heartedness sunk into the breasts of Men, as to be long willing to be left out in those transactions, to the privacy whereof they had a right. And therefore Men have been often willing enough, any single Advice should miscarry, of whatsoever general Concernment, rather than contribute to the fame of some One man, who has thought Their Approbation not worth the providing for. And though the Advantage of secrecy and dispatch, seems to favour a small Number of Counsellors, yet (except in some few cases, which in their own Nature are to be both consulted, and acted together, and the full Execution whereof may be by a few) I am not sure that the inconveniency will be greater by the necessary delays, occasion'd by the Number, or even by such a discovery, as may be supposed to proceed from the Levity of any of them, than by wanting the Approbation, and Concurrence of those, who will unavoidably know it soon enough to add to, or take from the Success, at least the Reputation, of any publick business. Much of the Negligence, and Disrespect towards the Civil Councils, proceeded from these unhappy Causes. For as all Corporations, Tribes, and Fraternities, suffer most by the malignity of some of their own Members; so the Jealousy, and Indisposition of some Counsellors, contributed much to the disregard which fell upon the Order; and in Them, upon the King.

AMONG those who were next the King's Trust, and to whom he communicated the greatest Secrets in his Affairs, there were some, who from private, though very good, conditions of life, without such an application to Court as usually ushered in those promotions, were ascended to that preferment; and were believ'd to have an equal Interest with any, in their Master's estimation. These were sure to find no more Charity from the Court, than from the Army; and they having had lately so many equals, it was thought no presumption, freely to censure all they did, or spoke; what effect soever such freedom had upon the publick Policy and Transactions. It were to be wish'd, that Persons of the greatest Birth, Honour, and Fortune, would take that care of themselves by Education, Industry, Literature, and a love of Virtue, to surpass all other Men in Knowledge, and all other Qualifications, necessary for great Actions, as far as they do in Quality and Titles; that Princes, out of Them, might always choose Men fit for all Employments, and high Trusts; which would exceedingly advance their Service; when the reputation and respect of the Person carries somewhat with it, that facilitates the business. And it cannot easily be expressed, nor comprehended by any who have not felt the weight, and burthen of the Envy, which naturally attends upon those promotions, which
seem

seem to be *per Saltum*, how great streights and difficulties such Ministers are forced to wrestle with, and by which the Charges, with which they are entrusted, must proportionably suffer, let the Integrity and Wisdom of the Men, be what it can be supposed to be. Neither is the patience, and dexterity, to carry a Man through those streights, easily attained; it being very hard, in the morning of preferment, to keep an even temper of mind, between the care to preserve the dignity of the place committed to him (without which he shall expose himself to a thousand rude attempts, and dishonour the judgement that promoted him, by appearing too mean for such a Trust) and between the caution, that his Nature be not really exalted to an overweening pride and folly, upon the privilege of his great place; which will expose him to much more contempt, than the former; and therefore is, with a more exact Guard, to be avoided: the Errors of gentleness and civility, being much more easily reform'd as well as endured, than the other of arrogance and ostentation.

THE best provision that such Men can make for their Voyage, besides a lasting stock of Innocency, and a firm Confidence in God Almighty, that he will never suffer that Innocency to be utterly oppressed, or notoriously defamed, is, an expectation of those Gusts and Storms of Rumour, Detraction, and Envy; and a Resolution not to be over sensible of all Calumnies, Unkindness, or Injustice; but to believe, that, by being Prefer'd before other Men, they have an obligation upon them, to Suffer more than other Men would do; and that the best way to convince Scandals, and Misreports, is, by neglecting them, to appear not to have deserv'd them. There is not a more troublesome passion, or that offends draws more inconveniences with it, than that which proceeds from the indignation of being unjustly calumniated, and from the pride of an upright Conscience; when Men cannot endure to be spoken ill of, if they have not deserv'd it: in which distemper, though they should free themselves from the Errors, or Infirmities, with which they were traduced, they commonly discover others, of which they had never been suspected. In a word, let no honest Man that is once enter'd into the list, think, he can by any skill, or comportment, prevent these Conflicts and Assaults; or that he can, by any stubborn or impetuous Humour, suppress, and prevail over them: but let him look upon it as Purgatory he is unavoidably to pass through, and depend upon Providence, and time, for a Vindication; and by constantly performing all the duties of his place, with Justice, Integrity, and Uprightness, give all Men cause to believe, he was worthy of the first Hour; which is a Triumph very Lawfully to be affected.

As

As these distempers, indispositions, and infirmities of particular Men, had a great influence upon the publick Affairs, and disturbed and weaken'd the whole frame and fabrick of the King's designs; so no particular Man was more disquieted by them, than the King himself; who, in his Person, as well as in his Business, suffer'd all the Vexation of the rude, petulant, and discontented Humours of Court, and Army. His Majesty now paid Interest for all the benefit and advantage, he had receiv'd in the beginning of the War, by his gentleness, and Princely affability to all Men, and by descending somewhat from the forms of Majesty, which he had, in his former Life, observ'd with all punctuality. He vouchsafed then himself to receive any Addresses, and Overtures for his Service, and to hold discourse with all Men who brought devotion to him; and he must be now troubled with the complaints, and murmurs, and humours of all; and how frivolous, and unreasonable soever, the cause was, his Majesty was put both to inform, and temper their Understandings. No Man would receive an Answer but from Himself, and expected a better from him, than he must have been contented to have receiv'd from any Body else. Every Man magnified the Service he had done, and his Ability, and Interest to do greater, and propos'd Honour and Reward equal to both in his own sense. And if he receiv'd not an Answer to his mind, he grew fullen, complain'd, "he was neglected, and resolv'd, or pretended so, "to quit the Service, and to Travel into "some Forreign Kingdom. He is deceiv'd that believes the ordinary Carriage, and State of a King, to be matters of indifference, and of no relation to his Greatness: They are the Outworks, which preserve Majesty it self from approaches and surprisal. We find that the Queen of *Sheba* was amazed at the meat of *Solomon's* Table, and the sitting of his Servants, and the attendance of his Ministers, and their Apparel, and his Cup-bearers &c. as so great instances of *Solomon's* Wisdom, that *there was no more Spirit in her*. And no doubt, what Prince soever inconsiderately departs from those forms, and Trappings, and Ornaments of his Dignity, and Preeminence, will hardly, at some time, be able to preserve the body it self of Majesty, from intrusion, invasion, and violation.

AND let no Man think, that the King had now no hard task to master these Troubles, and that a short and sharp blast of Royal Severity, would easily have dispersed these Clouds. The Disease was too violent and catching, and the Contagion too Universal, to be cured by that Remedy; neither were the symptoms, or effects, the same in all constitutions. It cannot be imagined, into how many several Shapes Mens indispositions

sitions were put, and how many Artifices were used to get Honours, Offices, Preferments, and the waywardness and perverseness, which attended the being disappointed of their own hopes. One Man had been named for such a place, that is, Himself and his Friends had given it out, that he should have it, when, it may be, he was too modest to pretend to it; and upon this Vogue he had a Title, and if it should be conferr'd upon another, it would be a mark of the King's disfavour to him; and thereby he should lose the Ability, and Credit, without which he could do no farther Service. Another suggested, that his Friends and Companions in comfort, had all receiv'd some obligation, and if he alone should remain without some testimony of Favour, it would be a brand upon him of some signal unworthiness. No Man was so hard hearted to himself, as not to be able to give a reason for any thing he desired; and He commonly had best success, who prosecuted his own wishes with most boldness, and importunity; neither was there a better, or another reason for some Men's Preferment, than that they had set their hearts upon it, and would have it. And it was a great temptation to modest Natures, to find forward Men had so good Fortune, that the want of Success begun to be imputed to want of Wit.

I REMEMBER about this time, a Person of good Quality, and of a good Name in Action, came to me very pensive, and told me, "how conscientiously he had serv'd the King, without any private designs, or other thoughts, than the discharge of his own Duty, and rendering the performance of that Duty acceptable to his Majesty; yet that, to his unspeakable discomfort, he found, he had been misrepresented to the King, and that his Majesty had entertain'd a sinister opinion of him, and desired me to learn, what the ground of the prejudice was, and by my good testimony to endeavour to remove it. I had a very good opinion of the Person, and believ'd the King had so, and therefore perswaded him, that the Jealousy was groundless, and press'd to know, from whence he receiv'd those impressions; he excused himself in the particular, and assured me, "that he had his Advertisement from a sure hand, which was to be concealed and not doubted; that, upon my Enquiry, I would find it true, though he could not imagine the cause. I promised him, "I would press the King very heartily in it, and if there were any thing that stuck with him, I presumed his Majesty would be so gracious to let me know it; and accordingly, having shortly after an opportunity to wait on his Majesty, I told him the true Narrative of what had pass'd, with my observation of the general comportment of that Gentleman, and

besought his Majesty, "if any ill Offices had been done him, "or that any prejudice towards him was lodged in his "Royal breast, that he would graciously vouchsafe to tell "me what it was, and that he would allow him an Access, "to clear himself from any imputations. The King very cheerfully assured me, "that he had not only a very good "opinion of that Gentleman, but that he was most assured, "he had no real suspicion to the contrary; and therefore, bid me, "proceed to the other part of my business. I told him, "I had no more, and that I was sure, I should make a "very happy Man by satisfying him of what I found. Then, said the King, "you are not thoroughly instructed, for the "other half of this business must be a Suite. I replied, "if "that were so, I was yet more ignorant than I suspected my "self. The Gentleman shortly after came to me, in pain, as I thought, with the jealousy of being in Umbrage; and when I gave him pregnant Assurance to the contrary, with the mention of some Expressions the King had used, which were indeed very gracious, he seem'd to receive it with such a countenance and gusto, that I verily believ'd he had Had his hearts desire. But, the next morning, he came to me again, and told me, "that I had made him abundantly happy; and "that he doubted not, there was no just ground for the other "reports, but only the Malice of those who wish'd them "true; yet, that they had lessen'd his credit abroad, even "with his Friends, and that he found, there was no way to "keep up his Reputation, and Interest in the world, whereby "he might be able to do the King Service (which was all he "look'd after) but the receiving some testimony of the King's "good opinion, which would be a publick evidence that the "other discourses were false. I was surpris'd, and as much out of countenance, as He should have been; and advis'd him "to patience, and to expect the King's own time, and method, rather than to quicken him by any importunity, which "would give an ill relish to any obligation. He would not understand that Philosophy, but shortly after found some other means to press the King very roundly for a place, upon the title of that good opinion he had declared to me to hold of him; not without some implication, "that, without some "such earnest of his Majesty's goodness, he should not be able "to continue in his Service; which probably was one of the modestest Addresses, which were made to him at that time. And it cannot be denied, this way the King's Trouble was so great, that he many times suffer'd more Vexation from the indisposition, and humours of his own People, than from the Enemy, or the apprehension of their Counsels: which hath made me enlarge this digression so much; conceiving it no

less to be a part of History, and more useful to Posterity, to leave a Character of the times, than of the Persons, or the Narrative of the matters of Fact, which cannot be so well understood, as by knowing the Genius that prevailed when they were transacted.

THE best Expedient his Majesty could find to dispel these fumes, was Motion and Action; and therefore, though the Season of the Year was too far spent, and too many Officers hurt, for the taking the Field again, besides that many Regiments were return'd to their old Posts (as the *Welsh* to defend their own Country from the Incursions from *Glocester*, and to reduce some Towns in *Pembroke-shire*, which, lying on the Sea, by the help of the Parliament Ships, begun to fortify, and gather strength) yet he resolv'd his Forces about *Oxford* should not lie still.

IN the beginning of *October*, Prince *Rupert*, with a strong Party of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, march'd into *Bedford-shire*, and took the Town of *Bedford*, and in it a Party of the Enemy, who used it only as a strong Quarter. This expedition was principally to countenance *Sr Lewis Dives*, whilst he Fortified *Newport Pannel*, where he hoped to fix a Garrison; which would have made a more direct line of communication with the Northern Parts, and restrain'd the Commerce between *London* and their Associated Counties; which they well understood; and therefore, upon the first News of it, the Earl of *Essex* removed his head Quarters from *Windfor* to *St Albans*, and the Train'd-bands of *London*, and their Auxiliary Regiments, marched again to him for his Recruit; upon the advancement whereof, and a mistake of Orders from *Oxford*, *Sr Lewis Dives* drew off his Forces from *Newport Pannel*; and the Enemy presently possessed themselves of it, and made it a very useful Garrison. Upon which, Prince *Rupert* Fortified *Tossiter*, a Town in *Northampton-shire*, and left a strong Garrison there; which, though it infested the Enemy somewhat, and took great Revenge upon those Counties which had expressed a violent Affection to the Parliament, in truth, added little strength to the King; for he lost many Horse by the labour of duty, the greatest part of the Body of his Horse being forced to Quarter near that place, for the security of the Foot, till the Works about the Town were in such a forwardness, that they needed not fear their Neighbours at *St Albans*.

The King's
Affairs in
the West.

IN the mean time, the power of the Parliament was least Manifest in the West, where their Party was reduced to a lowness, and confin'd within narrow limits after the taking of *Exeter*; the Gentlemen of that County having been generally well devoted to the King's Service, though never able

safely

safely to declare it, at least to appear in a posture of opposing the violence of the other Party. Prince *Maurice* found a general concurrence to advance the great work, by Levies of Money, Men, and all Offices that could be expected; inso-much as, within very few days after the Surrender of that Town, his Army of Foot, by the new Levies, contained no fewer than seven thousand Men (which was a Body the West had not before seen) besides a Body of Horse, at least proportionable to the other; and all in excellent Equipage for Action. And at the same time, Colonel *John Digby* was before *Plymouth*, with above three thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse, and had taken a work from the Enemy of great Importance, called *Mount-Stamford* in honour of that Earl during the time of his abode there, within half a mile of the Town, and which Commanded some part of the River; the loss whereof gave the Town a marvellous discouragement.

THE first Error the Prince committed after the reducing of *Exeter*, was staying too long there before he Advanced; for Victorious Armies carry great Terror with them, whilst the memory and fame of the Victory is fresh. The next; that he moved not directly towards *Plymouth*, when he did move; which, in all probability, would have yielded upon his Approach: for the Town was full of distraction, and jealousy amongst themselves, as well as unprovided for the reception of an Enemy. It was a rich and populous Corporation, being, in time of Peace, the greatest Port for Trade in the West; and, except *Bristol*, then more considerable than all the rest. There was in it a Castle very strong towards the Sea, with good Platforms and Ordnance; and little more than Musquet-shot from the Town, was an Island with a Fort in it, much stronger than the Castle; both which were, before the Troubles, under the Command of a Captain, with a Garrison of about fifty Men at the most; and were only intended for a security, and defence of the Town, against a Foreign Invasion; the Castle and the Island together, having a good Command of the entrance into the Harbour, but towards the Land there was very little strength. This Command was in the hands of *Sr Jacob Ashley*, and as unprovided to expect, or resist an Enemy, as the other Castles and Forts of the Kingdom; less for the receiving a Recruit; there being only Ordnance, and Ammunition, without any other Provisions for the support of the Soldiers within the Walls; and the Garrison it self being by time, Marriages, and Trade, Incorporated into the Town, and rather Citizens than Soldiers: So that *Sr Jacob Ashley* being sent for to the King, before his setting up his Standard, as soon as there was any

apprehension of a Party for the King in *Cornwal*, after the appearing of *Sr Ralph Hopton*, and those other Gentlemen there, the Mayor, and Corporation of *Plymouth*, quickly got both the Castle and Island into their own Power.

It will be wonder'd at by many hereafter, that those, and the like places of Strength in *England*, being under the Command of Persons entirely of his Majesty's Nomination, were not put into a good Posture of Defence, when it grew first Evident, that there would be shortly occasion to use them; for according to the old story in *Ælian*, that when in one of the States of *Greece*, *Micippus's* Sheep brought forth a Lyon, it was generally, and justly concluded, that That portended a Tyranny, and change of the State from a Peaceable to a Bloody Government; so when the two Houses of Parliament first produced a Sovereign Power, to make, and alter, and suspend Laws, before they raised an Army, or made a General, or declared War; when that mild and innocent Sheep, that Legal regular Convention of a sober and modest Council, had once brought forth that Lyon which fought whom he might devour, it might be easily, and naturally concluded by all wise and sober Men, that the blessed calm, and temperate State of Government, by which every Man eat the fruit of his own Vine, was at an end; and Rapine, Blood, and Desolation, to succeed; and therefore that those Holds should, in reason, have been then provided for.

BUT I shall say here once for all, that from the time that there was any reasonable jealousy of a War, it was never in the King's Power to mend the condition of any of those places; and if he had attempted it, with what caution or secrecy soever, the inconvenience he must have sustained by it, besides the failing of his end, would have been much greater than the Advantage which could have accrued, if he had done what he desired. I have very ill described the times We have passed through, if That be not apparent; and that it was rather an Error of the former times, that those places needed any Supply, than that it was not apply'd to them in the succeeding.

THE Parliament was very glad *Plymouth* was thus secured; and, as well to put an obligation upon all Corporations, by shewing they thought them capable of the greatest Trusts, as because they could not, in truth, more reasonably Confide in any other, they committed the Government thereof to that Mayor; who was well enough instructed, what respect to pay to their Committee; which was appointed to reside there for his Assistance, and to conduct the Affairs in those parts. Of that Committee, *Sr Alexander Carew* was one; a Gentleman of a good Fortune in *Cornwal*, who serv'd in Parliamēt

liament as Knight for that County, and had, from the beginning of the Parliament, concurr'd in all conclusions with the most Violent, with as full a Testimony of that Zeal and Fury, to which their Confidence was apply'd, as any Man. To Him the Custody and Government of that Fort, and Island, which was looked upon as the Security of the Town, was committed; and a sufficient Garrison put into it. The Mayor Commanded the Castle, and the Town, about which a Line was cast up of Earth, weak, and irregular.

AFTER the Battle of *Stratton*, and the King's Forces prevailing so far over the West, that *Bristol* was taken by them, and *Exeter* closely Besieged, *Sr Alexander Carew* begun to think, his Island and Fort would hardly secure his Estate in *Cornwal*; and understood the Law so well (for he had had a good Education) to know, that the side he had chosen, would be no longer the Better, than it should continue the Stronger; and having originally follow'd no other Motives, than of Popularity and Interests, resolv'd now to redeem his Errors; and found means to correspond with some of his old Friends and Neighbours in *Cornwal*, and by them, to make a direct Overture to Surrender that Fort and Island to the King, upon an Assurance of his Majesty's Pardon, and a full remission of his Offences. *Sr John Berkley*, who then lay before *Exeter*, was the next supreme Officer, qualified to entertain such a Treaty; and He, instantly, by the same Conveyance, return'd him as ample Assurance of his own Conditions as could be; with advice, "that he should not, upon any defect of forms" (which, upon his engagement, should be supplied with all possible expedition, to his own satisfaction) deter the consummating the work; which hereafter, possibly, might not be in his power to effect: designs of that Nature being to be consulted and executed together; for in those cases, according to *Mutianus in Tacitus*, *Qui deliberant, deservierunt*; and the greatest danger attends the not going on. But he was so fortitiously, and dangerously wary of his own Security (having neither Courage enough to obey his Conscience, nor Wickedness enough to be prosperous against it) that he would not proceed, till he was sufficiently assured, that his Pardon was passed the Great Seal of *England*; before which time, though all imaginable hast was made, by the Treachery of a Servant whom he trusted, his Treaty and Design was discover'd to the Mayor, and the rest of the Committee; and, according to the diligence used by that Party, in cases of such concernment, he was suddainly, and without resistance, surpris'd in his Fort, and carried Prisoner into *Plymouth*; and from thence, by Sea, sent to *London*; where what became of him, will be remember'd in it's place.

Sr Alexander Carew
Treats to
Surrender
the Fort of
Plymouth
to the King's
Forces, but is
surpris'd.

SHORTLY after this accident, Colonel *Digby* came before the Town; and though the great damage was by this means prevented, yet it cannot be imagined, but the People were in great distraction, with the apprehension of the danger they had escaped; and those discoveries bring always that Melancholy with them, that Men are not quickly again brought to a confidence in one another. For no Man had, to common understanding, better deserv'd to be trusted, or given less Argument for Suspicion: And upon such a defection, who could hope to stand free from jealousy? Besides he could not but have had much familiarity with many in the Town, which must subject them to some Suspicion, or, at least, make them suspect that they were suspected; and without doubt, it awaken'd many to apprehend the immediate hand of God in the Judgement, that he would not suffer a Man to recover the Security, and Comfort of his Allegiance, who had so signally departed from it against the light of his own Conscience; and that a Man, who had been before precipitate against all reason, should perish by considering too much, when precipitation was only reasonable.

THE fame of the winning of *Exeter*, by which a Victorious Army was at liberty to visit them, and then the loss of *Mount-Stamford*, which was their only considerable Fortification to the Land, with those other discomposures, wrought a wonderful consternation amongst them; and made them consider, that if they could hold out, and defend their Town, the Country being all lost, they must lose all their Trade, and so from Merchants become only Soldiers; which was not the condition they contended for. Insomuch as the Mayor himself was not without a propensity to send for a Treaty, upon which the Town might be deliver'd to the King: and it was by many then believ'd, that if Prince *Maurice* had then march'd from *Exeter* before it, that Treaty would infallibly have ensued. But, when I say it was an error that he did Not, I intend it rather as a Misfortune than a Fault; for his Highness was an utter stranger in those parts; and therefore was not, without great appearance of reason, perswaded first to bend his course to *Dartmouth*; which was look'd upon "as an easy work, and a Harbour, which, being got, would draw a very good Trade: and that short work being perform'd, *Phymouth* would have the less Courage to make resistance; and "if it should, it were much fitter for the Winter, which was "now drawing on (for it was more than the middle of *September*) "than the other, by reason of the conveniency of good "accommodation for the Soldiers, near about it; which could "not be had about *Dartmouth*.

UPON these reasons, he march'd directly to *Dartmouth*; which,

which, how unfit soever to make a Defence against such an Army, by the disadvantage of Situation, and the want of all those helps which use to make a Garrison confident, he found in no temper and disposition to yield; so that he sat down before it. And shortly after, there came so violent a Season of Rain, and foul Weather, that very many of his Men, with lying on the ground, fell sick, and died; and more, run away. Yet, after near a Months Siege, and the loss of many good Men (whereof the same Colonel *Chudleigh*, of whom We spoke before, was one, a Gallant young Gentleman, who receiv'd a shot with a Musquet in the Body, of which he died within few days, and was a wonderful loss to the King's Service) it was given up on fair conditions; and then the Prince, having placed a Garrison there, under the Command of Colonel *Seymour*, a Gentleman of principal account and interest in *Devon-shire*, lost no more time, but with all convenient expedition, marched to *Plymouth*; which was not now in the State it had been; for the Parliament being quickly inform'd, how terrible an impression the loss of almost all other Parts of the West, had made upon the Spirits of that People, had before this time sent a recruit of five hundred Men, and a Scotch Officer to be Governour; who eased the Mayor of that unequal Charge, and quickly made it evident, that nothing but a peremptory defence was thought of. So the Prince sat down before it with an Army much inferior, after he had joyn'd with Colonel *Digby*, to that with which he had marched from *Exeter* to *Dartmouth*; yet with much confidence to reduce that Town, before the Winter should be over.

THOUGH the King's Success, and good Fortune, had met with a check in the relief of *Glocester*, and the Battle of *Newbury*, yet his condition seem'd mightily improved by the whole Summers Service. For whereas he seem'd before confined, upon the matter, within *Oxford-shire*, and half *Berk-shire*, (which half was lost too upon the loss of *Reading* in the Spring) and the Parties which appeared for him in other Counties, seem'd rather sufficient to hinder a general Union against him, than that they were like to reduce them to his devotion; he was now, upon the matter, Master of the whole West; *Cornwal* was his own without a Rival; *Plymouth* was the only place, in all *Devon-shire*, unreduced; and those Forces shut within their own Walls: the large, rich County of *Somerset*, with *Bristol*, entirely His: In *Dorset-shire*, the Enemy had only too little fisher Towns, *Poole* and *Lyme*; all the rest was declared for the King. And in every of these Counties, he had plenty of Harbours and Ports, to supply him with Ammunition, and the Country with Trade. In *Wilt-shire* the Enemy had not the least footing, and rather a Town or two in

Prince Maurice sits down before Dartmouth; and takes it:

Sits down before Plymouth too late.

Hampshire than any possession of the County; that People being generally undevoted to them: The whole Principality of *Wales*, except a Sea Town or two in *Pembroke-shire*, was at his devotion; and that unfortunately obstinate Town of *Glocester* only kept him from commanding the whole *Severn*. The Parliament was nothing stronger in *Shropshire*, *Cheeshire*, and *Lancashire*, than they were in the beginning of the year. And albeit the Marquis of *New-Castle* had been forced to rise as unfortunately from *Hull*, as the King had been from *Glocester*, yet he had still a full power over *York-shire*, and a greater in *Nottingham-shire*, and *Lincoln-shire*, than the Parliament had. So that he might be thought to be now strong enough to make War; the contrary opinion whereof had been one of the greatest reasons that there was no Peace. And therefore Many believ'd, that, what appearance soever there was of obstinacy, the Winter would produce some Overtures of Accommodation; and that all the noise of preparation from *Scotland*, was only to incline the King to the greater condescensions; and that, in truth, they who had pretended the concurrent desire of the People, as the best reason for whatsoever they had proposed, and traduced the King with a purpose of bringing Foreign Forces to awe, and impose upon his own Subjects, would not now have the hardiness to bring in a stranger Nation to invade their Country, and to compel that People, by whose Affections they would be thought to be guided, to submit to Changes they had no mind to receive. And the Arrival of the Count of *Harcourt*, as Extraordinary Embassadour from the Crown of *France*, was looked upon as an expedient to usher in some Treaty, and to remove those ceremonies, and preliminary Propositions, which, by reason of the mutual Declarations, and Protections against each other, might be thought of greater difficulty, than any real differences between them.

The Count
d'Harcourt
arrives Em-
bassadour
from France

THE King himself was not without expectation of notable Effects from this Embassy; for the State of *France* seem'd to be much alter'd from what it was at the beginning of these Troubles. Cardinal *Richelieu*, who, the King well knew, had more than fomented the Troubles both in *England*, and *Scotland*, was now dead; and the King of *France* himself likewise; and those old Ministers of State who had been long in the *Bastile*, or Banished, were now set at liberty, and recalled, and in favour; the Queen Mother made Regent; who professed great personal kindness to the Queen of *England*, and so great a sense of the indignities the King and She suffer'd, that she seem'd sensible, that *France* had contributed too much to them, and to think, that the Interest, as well as Honour of that Crown, was concern'd to buoy up the Monarchy of *England*;

land; with intimations, "that the King himself should direct, "what way he would be serv'd by that Crown. The first Evidence they gave of meaning as they said, was the revocation of Monsieur *la Ferte Senneterre*, the Embassadour then Resident in *England*; who had contracted a wonderful familiarity with the fiercest Managers of the Parliament, and done the King all imaginable disservice; insomuch as he had industriously perswaded some *English* Priests, and Jesuits, to engage those of the Romish periwasion, by no means to assist the King; with a full assurance, "that the Parliament would allow them Liberty of Conscience. This Minister his Majesty desired might be recalled; which was not only suddainly done, but a private intimation likewise given to Our Queen, "that She should nominate, what Person was to be employed "in his place; who should wholly guide himself by Her Instructions: and her Majesty was led to make choice of Monsieur *le Conte d' Harcourt*, one of the principal Persons of that Kingdom, being a Prince of the House of *Lorraine*, and so allied to the King, and Grand Escuier; and had been their late fortunate General in *Catalonia*, where he had given the *Spaniards* the greatest Defeat they had receiv'd; which was not thought an unseasonable Qualification in an Embassadour whose business was to mediate a Peace.

HIS Reception at *London* was with much solemnity, that he might not find there was any absence of Ceremony or State, by the absence of the King; yet when he had a safe Conduct for *Oxford*, his Carriages were stopped at the going out of *London*, and his own Coach, as well as all other places, searched with great and unusual rudeness, upon suspicion that he carried Letters; and though he expostulated the Affront, as a high violation of his Honour, and Privilege, he receiv'd no manner of reparation, or the Officer, that did it, any reprehension; which made many believe, that he would have been very keen in the resentment. The King expected that, by this Embassadour, the Crown of *France* would have made a brisk Declaration on his Majesty's behalf; and if the Parliament should not return to their regular Obedience, that they should have found no correspondence, or reception in that Kingdom; and that they would really assist his Majesty, in such a manner as he should propose; which Declaration, he thought, would prove of moment with the City of *London*, in respect of their Trade; but more with the *Scots*, who were understood to have an especial dependence upon *France*.

WHEN the Embassadour return'd from his Audience at *Oxford*, where he stayed not many days, he sent a paper to the Earl of *Northumberland*, by which he desired his Lordship,
"to

“to impart to the Messieurs of Parliament, that he had made
 “known to their Majesties, the Affectionate desire the King
 “his Master, and the Queen his Mistress, had to contribute
 “all good Offices, in the procurement of Peace, and Tran-
 “quillity in this Kingdom; to which he found the desires of
 “their Majesties well disposed; and therefore he desired to
 “know, whether his Lordship thought the two Houses did
 “correspond in the same intention; if they did, after they
 “should make him understand the Subject that had obliged
 “them to take up Armes, he would interpose to pacify the
 “differences, by such expedients, as should be most confor-
 “mable to the ancient Laws, and Customs of the Realm.

AFTER the Earl of *Northumberland* had inform'd the House of Peers of this representation, it was, at a Conference, imparted to the House of Commons, and an Answer was framed by joyn't agreement, to be return'd by the Earl of *Northumberland* to the Embassadour. In the form of it, they gave him the Title of *Prince of Harcourt*, and *Grand Escuyer of France*; but omitted that of *Extraordinary Embassadour in England*, because it did not appear to the Parliament, by Letters of Credence, or the sight of his Instructions from the King, or Queen Regent of *France*, that he was by them employed Extraordinary Embassadour into *England*.

THE Answer it self was, “that the Lords and Commons
 “in Parliament did, with all due Respects, accept of the Affectionate desires of the King, and Queen Regent of *France*,
 “to contribute good Offices, towards the procuring a happy
 “Peace; and that, when the said Monsieur *le Prince d'Harcourt* should make any such Propositions to the Parliament,
 “by Authority from their Majesties of *France*, they would
 “give then such an Answer to the same, as might stand with
 “the Interest of both Kingdoms, and their late solemn League
 “and Covenant. The Lords propos'd, “that there might
 “be a Committee appointed to Treat with the Embassadour:
 “But the Commons would by no means consent to it, “till he
 “should make it manifest, that he had Authority from his
 “Master to Treat with the Parliament; and withal they declared,
 “that if he had, at any time, any thing farther to offer to them,
 “they would not receive it from any particular
 “Member of either House; but that he should apply himself
 “by writing, or otherwise, to the Speaker of either, or both
 “Houses of Parliament; otherwise, they would hold no correspondence
 “with him. The ground of this resolution was, that they might draw from the Embassadour (which they presumed could not be without the Privy, and Approbation of the King) an Address, and Acknowledgement that they were a Parliament, against the Freedom whereof, and consequently
 the

the present Being, his Majesty had, by his late Proclamation, declared. So the Embassadour, after a Journey or two to Oxford, and some perfunctory Addresses to the Houses, return'd to *France* *infesta*, and without the least expression of dislike, on his Master's behalf, of their proceedings.

Returns into France without any good effect to the King.

SOME were scrupulous in believing that *France* really intended to repair the mischief it had done; and observ'd, that though there were some plausible compliances, in point of Ceremony, with particular Persons, after the death of the former Cardinal; yet, that the main Counsels were carried on upon the Rules and Directions he had left; and that the Cardinal *Mazarin*, a Person who had been of the highest trust with the other, wholly now presidid over those Counsels; and consider'd, how much *France* might imagine it would conduce to their Interest, that the King of *England* should not have all his Subjects in perfect Obedience, lest he might offer to be an Arbiter of their great differences: I say, these Men believ'd Count *Harcourt's* Instructions privately were no other, than the last Embassadour's; whom the King had caused to be recalled. And it cannot be denied, that they who were inclined to that jealousy, had arguments enough to encrease it.

WHEN this Extraordinary Embassadour was appointed to come for *England*, Mr *Mountague* was in the Court of *France*, very much trusted by both their Majesties, and by his Quality, and near relation to so great a Trust, his long conversation in that Court, and a singular dexterity in his Nature, adorn'd with excellent Parts, was thought to have a very good place in the favour, and particular estimation of that Queen Regent, and in the opinion of the Cardinal; to whom he had been useful. With this Gentleman most of the conclusions had been transacted, which were preparatory to the Embassadour's Journey; and it was thought fit, that He should at the same time come into *England*; and, in such a disguise, as might easily conceal a Man better known in *France* than in his own Country, in the Embassadour's Train find a safe passage to Oxford; which was carried with so much secrecy, that, besides the Embassadour himself, he was known to very few of his Retinue. The Count of *Harcourt* was not Landed four and twenty hours, but in his Journey towards *London*, a Messenger from the Parliament apprehended Mr *Mountague*, and carried him a Prisoner to the Houses; by whom he was committed to the Tower; and though the Embassadour made a great shew of resenting it, he never claimed him in such a manner as to procure his Enlargement; which made Men believe, the Cardinal liked well his confinement, and desired not he should be either at Oxford or *Paris*.

AT

AT the Embassadour's first coming to *Oxford*, after general Overtures, and Declarations of the resolution of that Crown, "to give his Majesty all possible Assistance for his reestablishment, he proposed a League Offensive and Defensive with the King. His Majesty, that knew well such an Offer was not to be rejected, lest they should from thence take an occasion to refuse those things he should propose, appointed a Committee of his Council (according to the usual Course) to Treat with the Embassadour, upon all necessary Articles, which should attend such a Treaty; declaring an Inclination to enter into such a League as was proposed; and thereupon desired "a present Loan of Money, and a supply of a good proportion of Armes, and Ammunition; and likewise that "the Crown of *France* would declare against the Subjects of *England*, and *Scotland*, who should persist in Rebellion; "according to an Article ratified in the last Treaty now in "force.

THE Embassadour, who, it seems, expected that there should have been more pauses in the Overture of the League Offensive and Defensive, for the present declined the Treating with the Committee; alledging, "that he was, upon the "matter, a Minister of both their Majesties; and was to receive Command from them, and wholly to attend their Service; and therefore that he desired wholly to communicate "with their Majesties themselves: and shortly after waved any further mention of the League, with an affected complement, "that it would not appear a generous thing, to press "the King to any Act in this his distrels, which he had made "scruple of consenting to heretofore, when the Fortune of "both Crowns were equally Prosperous: but that his Master "and Mistress, would frankly contribute all that could be "reasonably expected from them, towards his Majesty's Restoration, and Establishment; and afterwards expect such a "return of Affection from his Majesty, as the greatness of the "obligation should merit in his Princely estimation. And at the same time, the Queen Regent and Cardinal positively denied to the Lord *Goring*, Embassadour Extraordinary then from his Majesty in *France*, that ever the Count of *Harcourt* had any Instruction to mention a League Offensive and Defensive. These particular carriages, and his not resenting the Indignities, offer'd to him by the Parliament, made many Men believe, that this Embassadour, notwithstanding all the specious professions, was sent rather to foment, than extinguish the fire that was kindled. Certain it is, during his stay in *England*, he did not, in the least degree, advance the King's Service; and at his return, left the Parliament more united amongst themselves against the King, and the *Scots* more advanced

vanced towards their coming in, than he found them; there being at the same time likewise a *French* Agent in *Scotland*; who produced no alteration in the Affections of that People, to the King's Advantage.

THE return of the three Earls, formerly mention'd, to *London* in the Winter, who so solemnly applied themselves to the King in the Spring, contributed exceedingly to the Union of the two Houses at *Westminster*. The other two stay'd longer; and retired with much more decency, if not with a tacit permission. But the Earl of *Holland*, when he saw his place in the Bed-Chamber conferr'd upon the Marquis of *Hertford*, in much discontent, found an opportunity, which was not difficult, to remove out of the King's Quarters; and before he was mis'd at *Oxford*, Intelligence was brought that he had render'd himself to the Parliament at *London*; and to make his return the more conscientious, he declared, as hath been said, "that the ground of his deserting them formerly, and going to the King, was a hope to incline his Majesty to a Treaty of Peace; but that he found he was mistaken in the temper of the *Oxford* Counsels; and that the King had still about him some Counsellors, who would never consent to a safe, and well grounded Peace; and that he heard they had perswaded the King, to make a Cessation with the Rebels in *Ireland*; which affected his Conscience so much, that, though he had been sure to have lost his Life by it, he would return to the Parliament; professing exemplary Fidelity to them, if they would again receive him into their Favour."

It may be, his discourse of *Ireland*, or the King's averness to Peace, wrought upon very few; but the Evidence of the King's aversion so far to forgive, and forget former Trespases, as to receive them into Favour and Trust again, made a deep impression upon many. For it is undoubtedly true, that many of the principal and governing Members of both Houses, that is, of them who had govern'd, and done as much mischief as any, either out of apprehension that the King would prevail, or that They should not prevail soon enough, or the animosity against those who had outgrown their Government, and followed new Leaders of their own, and to other ends than had been originally proposed, or out of some motions of Conscience, were quite weary of the Parliament, and desirous to obtain a fair admission to the King; and looked only upon the footing which those Doves, which went first out of the Ark, should find; and surely, if that expedient had been dextrously managed, it had been the most probable way to have drawn the Parliament into such contempt, that it must have fallen of it self: A way, that in no
Civil

Civil War, which is arrived to any vigour and power of contending, ought to be declined. For a Body, that is not form'd by Policy, with any avowed and fixed Principles of Government, but by the distemper'd Affections, Ambition, and Discontent of particular Persons, who rather agree against a common Adversary, than are united to one just Interest, cannot so easily be dissolved, as by Treating with particular Persons, and rending those Branches from the Trunk, whose beauty and advantage consists only in the spreading.

THE reasons were unanswerable, which the old Consul *Fabius* in *Livy Lib. 24* gave, in the Case of *Cassius Altinius*, who, after the Defeat of *Cannæ*, deserted the *Romans* and fled to *Hannibal*, by which he got the City of *Arpos*; and when the Condition of the *Romans* was again recover'd and flourishing, came again to the *Roman* Army, and offer'd to betray that City into their hands. Many were of opinion, "that he should be look'd upon as a Common Enemy; and bound, and sent to *Hannibal*, as a perfidious Person, who knew neither how to be a Friend, nor an Enemy. *Fabius* reprehended the unseasonable severity of those who consider'd, and judged *in medio ardore belli, tanquam in pace libera*, and told them, "that their principal care must be, that none of their Friends and Allies might forsake them; the next, that they who had forsaken them, might return again into their Obedience, and Protection: For, *si abire à Romanis liceat, redire ad eos non liceat*, it could not be, but the State of *Rome*, from which, in the late misfortunes, many had revolted, must become very desperate.

SUCH was the King's condition, the Number of the Guilty being so much superior to the Innocent, that the latter could reasonably expect only to be preserv'd by the conversion and reduction of the former. Neither did the King not foresee, or abhor this expedient; but the temper and spirit of the time was so averse from the Stratagem, that it was evident his present loss would be as great, by practising it, as his future advantage was like to improve by it. Whatsoever damage his Majesty sustain'd, that unfortunate Earl receiv'd no acknowledgement, or encouragement from the other Party, who had the benefit of his return; but as his Estate was sequester'd as soon as he left them, so he was now committed to Prison, and that sequestration continued; neither was it, in a long time after, taken off, nor himself ever after admitted to his place in their Council, notwithstanding all the intercession of very powerful Friends, or to any reputation of doing farther good or hurt.

CERTAINLY, there must be thought to be some extraordinary dislike, in the very primary Law of Nature, of such

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tergiversation and inconstancy; since we scarce find, in any Story, a Defserter of a Trust, or Party, he once adhered to, to be long prosperous, or in any eminent Estimation with those to whom he resorts; though, in the change, there may appear evident Arguments of reason and justice: neither hath it been in the power, or prerogative of any Authority, to preserve such Men from the reproach, and jealousy, and scandal, that naturally attends upon any Defection: *I have not found evil in thee, since the day of thy coming unto me, unto this day; nevertheless, the Lords favour thee not*, was the profession of King Achish, when he dismiss'd David himself from marching with the Army of the Philistines; and that expostulation of those Lords, *wherewith should he reconcile himself unto his Master? should it not be with the Heads of these Men?* will be always an Argument to raise a distrust of those who have eminently quitted their Party: And the judgement of Fabius himself, which We touch'd before, of Cassius Albinus, was not much in their favour; for, though he reprehended the Proposition of sending him to Hannibal, yet he concluded, "that he would have no trust reposed in him, but that he should be kept in safe custody, with Liberty to do any thing but go away, till the War was ended; *tum consultandum, utrum defensio prior plus merita sit pœnæ, an hic reditus veniæ*. As it falls out thus in Civil Affairs, and the breach of Moral obligations, so it happens in Spiritual defections, and alterations in Religion: for as, among the Jews, the Profelytes were civilly and charitably treated, without upbraidings or reproaches; yet it was provided, "that no Profelyte should be eligible into the Court of their Sanhedrim; and in their very conversation, they had a caution of them; *Vel ad decimam usque generationem à Profelytis cave*, was an Aphorism amongst them. And our own observation and experience, can give Us few examples of Men who have changed their Religion, and not fallen into jealousy and distrust, or disreputation, even with those with whom they side; that have made their future life less pleasant, and delightful; which, it may be, happens only because We have rare instances of Men of extraordinary parts, or great minds, who have entertain'd those Conversions.

THE Lords and Commons were all now of a mind, and no other contention amongst them, than who should most advance the power which was to suppress the King's: new and stricter Orders were made for the general taking the Covenant; and an Ordinance, "that no Man should be in any Office, or Trust in their Armies, or the Kingdom, or of the Common Council of London, or should have a Voice in the Election of those Officers, but such who had taken the Covenant;

"nant; nor even they who had taken the Covenant, if they
 "had been formerly imprison'd, or sequester'd for suspicion
 "of Malignancy, or adhering to the King. And that they
 might as well provide for their Sovereign Jurisdiction in Ci-
 vil matters, as their security in Martial, they again resumed
 the consideration of the Great Seal of *England*. The Com-
 mons had often pressed the House of Peers to concur with
 them, "in the making a New Great Seal; as the proper Re-
 "medy against the mischiefs, which, by the absence of it,
 "had befallen the Common-wealth; declaring, "that the
 "Great Seal of *England*, of right, ought to attend upon the
 "Parliament; in which the Peers as often refused to joyn
 with them, being startled at the Statute of the 25th of *Edw.*
 the III. by which, the counterfeiting the Great Seal of *England*
 is, in exprefs terms, declared to be High Treason; and it
 had been in all times before understood to be the sole pro-
 perty of the King, and not of the Kingdom, and absolutely in
 the King's own disposal, where it should be kept, or where it
 should attend.

*The Commons
 Vote a new
 Broad Seal:
 The Lords
 concurr'd
 with them.*

THIS dissent of the Lords hinder'd not the business; the
 Commons frankly Voted, "that a Seal should be provided,
 and accordingly took Order that one was Engraven, and
 brought into their House, according to the same Size and
 Effigies, and nothing differing from that which the King
 used at *Oxford*. Being in this readiness, and observing the
 Lords to be less scrupulous than they had been, about the
 middle of *November* they sent again to them, to let them
 know, "they had a Great Seal ready, which should be put
 "into the Custody of such Persons, as the two Houses should
 "appoint, and if they would name some Peers, a proporti-
 "onable Number of the other Body should joyn in the exe-
 "cuting that Trust. All objections were now passed over,
 and without any hesitation their Lordships not only concurr'd
 with them to have a Seal in their own disposal, but in a
 Declaration and Ordinance; by which they declared, "all
 "Letters Patents, and Grants made by the King, and passed
 "the Great Seal of *England*, after the 22^d of *May* in the year
 "1642 (which was the day the Lord Keeper left the House,
 "and went with the Great Seal to *York* to the King) to be
 "invalid, and void in Law; and henceforward, that their
 "own Great Seal should be of the like force, power, and va-
 "lidity, to all intents and purposes, as any Great Seal of
 "*England* had been, or ought to be; and that whosoever,
 "after publication of that Ordinance, should pass any thing
 "under any other Great Seal, or should claim any thing
 "thereby, should be held and adjudged a publick Enemy to
 "the State.

At the same time, the Earls of *Rutland* and *Bullingbrook*, of the Peers, Mr *Saint-Johns* (whom they still intitled the King's Solicitor General, though his Majesty had revoked his Patent, and conferr'd that Office upon Sr *Thomas Gardner*; who had serv'd him faithfully, and been put out of his Recorder's place of *London*, for having so done) Serjeant *Wild* (who, being a Serjeant at Law, had with most confidence averr'd their legal power to make a Seal) Mr *Brown*, and Mr *Prideaux*, two private Practisers of the Law, were nominated "to have the keeping, ordering, and disposing of it, "and all such, and the like Power and Authority, as any "Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, or Commissioner of the "Great Seal, for the time being, had Had, used, or ought to "have. The Earl of *Rutland* was so modest, as to think himself not sufficiently qualified for such a Trust; and therefore excused himself in point of Conscience: Whereupon they nominated, in his Room, the Earl of *Kent*, a Man of far meaner parts, who readily accepted the place.

THE Seal then was deliver'd, in the House of Commons, to their Speaker; and by Him, with much solemnity, the House attending him, to the Speaker of the Peers, at the Bar in that House. The six Commissioners were then, in the presence of both Houses, solemnly sworn "to execute the "Office of Keepers of the Great Seal of *England*, in all things "according to the Orders, and Directions of both Houses of "Parliament. And thereupon the Seal was deliver'd by the two Speakers to them, who carried it, according to Order, to the House of the Clerk of the Parliament, in the old Palace; where it was kept lock'd up in a Chest; which could not be open'd but in the presence of three of them, and with three several Keys. This work being over, they appointed, for the first exercise of this kind of Sovereignty, a Patent to be sealed to the Earl of *Warwick*, of Lord High Admiral of *England*; which was done accordingly; by which many concluded, that the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been put out of that great Office, for Their sakes, was not restored to their full confidence; others, that he desired not to wear Their Livery.

The Seal deliver'd to six Commissioners.

ABOUT the same time, to shew that they would be Absolute, and not joynt Sharers in the Sovereign Power, they gave an Instance of boldness mingled with cruelty, that made them appear very terrible. The King had published several Proclamations, for the Adjournment of the Term from *London* to *Oxford*, which had been hitherto fruitless, for want of the necessary Legal form of having the Writs read in Court; so that the Judges at *Oxford*, who were ready to perform their Duty, could not regularly keep the Courts there; which else

they would have done, notwithstanding the Order and Declarations publish'd by the two Houses to the contrary; they who were learned in the Law, believing that Assumption to be unquestionably out of their jurisdiction. These Writs of Adjournment had never yet been deliver'd seasonably, to be read in Court, or into the hands of either of the sworn Judges who yet attended at *Westminster*: of which there were three in Number, Justice *Bacon* in the King's Bench, Justice *Reeve* in the Common Pleas, and Baron *Trevor* in the Exchequer; who, how timorous soever, and apprehensive of the power and severity of the Parliament, knowing the Law and their Duties, Men believ'd, would not have barefaced declined the execution of those Commands they were sworn to observe. Several Messengers were therefore sent from *Oxford* with those Writs; and appointed, on, or before such a day (for that circumstance was penal) "to find an opportunity, to deliver the Writs into the hands of the several Judges. Two of them perform'd their Charges, and deliver'd the Writs to Justice *Reeve*, and Baron *Trevor*; who immediately caused the Messengers to be apprehended.

THE Houses, being inform'd of it, gave direction, "that they should be tried by a Council of War, as Spies; which was done at *Essex-House*. The Messengers alledg'd, "that they were sworn Servants to his Majesty for the transaction of those Services, for which they were now accused; and "that they had been legally punishable, if they had refused to do their duties; the Term being to be adjourn'd by no other way. Notwithstanding all which, they were both condemn'd to be hanged as Spies; and that such a Sentence might not be thought to be only *in terrorem*, the two poor Men were, within few days after, carried to the old *Exchange*, where a Gallows was purposely set up; and there one of them, one *Daniel Kniveton*, was without mercy executed; dying with another kind of Courage than could be expected from a Man of such condition and education, did not the Conscience of being Innocent beget a marvellous satisfaction in Any condition. The other, after he had stood some time upon, or under the Gallows, looking for the same conclusion, was reprieved, and sent to *Bridewell*; where he was kept long after, till he made an Escape, and return'd again to *Oxford*. This Example begot great terror in all the well affected about *London*, and so much the more, because, about the same time, an Ordinance was made, "that whosoever went to *Oxford*, or "into any of the King's Quarters, without leave from one of "the Houses, or a Pass from their General, or whosoever had "any correspondence with any Person in the King's Quarters, "by writing Letters, or receiving Letters, from thence, should

"be proceeded against as a Person disaffected to the State;
 "and his Person committed, and his Estate sequester'd; and
 "should be liable, according to the circumstances (of which
 "themselves would be only Judges) to be tried as Spies.

As this made them exceeding terrible to those who lov'd them not, so, about the same time, they gave another Instance of Severity, which render'd their Government no less revered amongst their Friends, and Associates. The brave Defence of *Glocester*, and the great Success that attended it, made the loss of *Bristol* the more felt by the Parliament; and consequently the delivery, and yielding it up, the more liberally spoken of, and censur'd. The which Colonel *Fiennes* having not patience to bear, he desired, being a Member of the House of Commons, and of a swaying Interest there, "that he might be put to give an Account of it, at a Court "of War, which was the proper Judicature upon trespasses of "that Nature. And in the mean time, he was powerful enough, upon some collateral, and circumstantial passages, to procure some of the Chief who inveigh'd against him, to be imprison'd, and reprehended. This begot greater Passion and Animosity in the Persons, that thought they suffer'd unjustly, and only by the Authority, and Interest of the Colonel and his Father; which, by degrees, brought Faction into the House of Commons, and the Army, according to the several Affections and Tempers of Men.

*Coll. Fiennes
 tried for sur-
 rendering
 Bristol, and
 condemn'd;
 but pardon'd
 by the Gene-
 ral.*

THERE were but two Prosecutors appear'd, one Mr *Walker*, a Gentleman of *Somerſet-shire*, of a good Fortune, and, by the loss of that, the more provok'd; who had been in the Town when it was lost, and had strictly observ'd all that was done, or said; and the famous Mr *Pryn*, who had at first let himself into the disquisition of that business, out of the Activity, and restlessness of his Nature, and was afterwards sharpen'd by contempt. These two, under pretence of Zeal to the Kingdom, and that such an irreparable damage to it might not pass away without due punishment, undertook the prosecution; and boldly charged the Colonel with Cowardise, and Treachery; and gave several Instances of great and high professions, and performances faint, and not answerable; with some mixtures of pride, and love of Money, throughout the Course of his Government. Colonel *Fiennes*, besides the credit and reputation of his Father, had a very good stock of estimation in the House of Commons upon his own score; for truly he had very good parts of Learning, and Nature, and was privy to, and a great Manager in, the most secret designs from the beginning; and if he had not incumber'd himself with Command in the Army, to which Men thought his Nature not so well disposed, he had sure been second to

none in those Councils, after Mr *Hambden's* death. This made him too much despise those who appear'd his Adversaries, and others whom he knew to be such, though they appear'd not (for he looked upon *St William Waller* as an Enemy, who, by his misfortune at *Roundway-Down*, having brought that storm upon *Bristol*, was industrious to make the second loss to be apprehended only as the effect of the other's want of Courage, and Conduct) and being sure, that he was very free from wishing well to the King, he thought no defect would be farther imputed to him, than might well be answer'd by the having done his Best; and that the eminency of his perfect Zeal against his Majesty, would weigh down all Objections of disservice to the Parliament.

BUT notwithstanding all this, after a long and solemn hearing before the Court of War, at *St Albans*, where the Earl of *Essex* then lay, which took up many days, he was condemn'd to lose his head, "for not having defended *Bristol* so well, and so long, as he ought to have done. And though he had afterwards a pardon for his life, granted to him by the Prerogative of the General, under his Hand and Seal, yet the infamy of the judgement could not be taken off; by which he became unfit to continue an Officer of the Army; and the shame of it perswaded him to quit the Kingdom; so that he went for some time into Foreign Parts, retaining still the same full disaffection to the Government of the Church and State, and only griev'd that he had a less capacity left to do hurt to either. Many looked upon this Example, as a foundation of great awe, and reverence in the Army, that the Officers might see, that no Titles or Relations should be able to break through the strict discipline of War. For this Gentleman was a Person of singular merit, and fidelity to the Party that he served, and of extraordinary use to them in those Counsels that required the best understandings. Others thought it an Act of unadvised severity, to expose so eminent a Person, who knew all their Intrigues, upon the importunity of usefess and inconsiderable Persons, to infamy; whilst others consider'd it, as a judgement of Heaven upon a Man who had been so forward in promoting the publick Calamities: and no doubt, it increased much the Factions and Animosities, both in the Parliament, and the Army; and might have done them farther mischief, if it had not fallen on a Man so thoroughly engaged, that no Provocations could make him less of their Party, or less concern'd in their Confederacy.

AT this time, nothing troubled the King so much, as the Intelligence he receiv'd from *Scotland*, that they had already formed their Army, and resolv'd to enter *England* in the Winter season. All his confidence, which he had founded there upon

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upon the Faith, and most solemn Professions of particular Men, without whom the Nation could not have been corrupted, had deceiv'd him to a Man : and he found the same Men most engaged against him, who had, with most solemnity, vowed all obedience to him. The circumstance of the time made the danger of the Invasion the more formidable ; for the Earl of *New-Castle*, lately created a Marquis, had been compelled with his Army, as much by the murmurs and indisposition of the Officers, as by the Season of the Year, to quit his design upon *Hull*, and to retire to *York* ; and the Garrison of *Hull* had made many strong infalls into the County, and Defeated some of his Troops ; so that the *Scots* were like to find a strong Party in that large County. However, the Marquis sent a good Body of Horse towards the Borders, to wait their motion ; and no sooner heard of their march, which begun in *January*, in a great Frost and Snow, than himself *The Scots enter Eng-* marched into the Bishoprick of *Durham* to attend them. The particulars of all that Affair, and the whole Transaction of *land in Jan. 1645.* the Northern parts, where the Writer of this History was never present, nor had any part in those Counsels, are fit for a relation apart ; which a more proper Person will employ himself in.

IN these Streights, the King consider'd two Expedients which were propos'd to him, and which his Majesty directed should be both consulted in the Council. The one was, "that all the Peers who were then in *Oxford*, or in the King's Service, might subscribe a Letter to the Council of State in *Scotland* ; whereby it would appear, by the subscription, that above five parts of six of the whole Nobility, and House of Peers, were in the King's Service, and disavowed all those Actions which were done against him, by the pretended Authority of the two Houses ; which possibly might make some impression upon the Nation of *Scotland*, though it was well enough known before to their Seducers. A Letter was prepared accordingly, expressing "the foulness of the Rebellion in *England*, under the reputation of the Houses of Parliament, and the carrying on the same, when they had driven away, by force, much the Major part of the Members of both Houses, and expressly against all the Laws of the Land : it put them in mind of "their obligation to the King, and pathetically concluded "with conjuring them to desist from their unjust, and unwarrantable purpose ; since they could have no excuse for prosecuting the same, from the Authority of Parliament. The Letter was perused, and debated in the Council, and afterwards in the presence of all the Peers ; and being generally approv'd, without any dissenting Voice, it was order'd to be engrossed, and signed by all those

A Letter from the Peers on the King's side to the Council in Scotland.

those Peers, and Privy Counsellors, who were then in *Oxford*, and to be sent to those who were absent in any of the Armies, or in the King's Quarters, and to be then sent to the Marquis of *New-Castle*; who, after he had signed it, with those Peers who were in those parts, was to transmit it into *Scotland* by a Trumpet; all which was done accordingly.

OF all the Peers who follow'd the King, there was only one who refused to sign this Letter, the Earl of *Leicester*; who, after many pauses and delays, whether he had not yet digested his late deposal from the Lieutenantcy of *Ireland*, to which the Marquis of *Ormond* was deputed, and thought the disobligation of it not capable of a reparation, or whether he thought the King's Fortune desperate, and resolv'd not to sacrifice himself to any popular displeasure, and not to provoke the Parliament farther than by not concurring with them; or whether he had it then in his purpose to be found in their Quarters, as shortly after he was, did in the end positively refuse to subscribe the Letter; and thereby was the occasion of a mischief he did not intend. For both their Majesties, in their secret purpose, had design'd him to succeed the Marquis of *Hertford* in the Government of the Prince; for which he would have been very proper; but upon this so affected a discovery of a nature, and mind, liable to no kind of compliance, the King could not prosecute his purpose; and so the Government of that hopeful and excellent Prince, was committed to the Earl of *Berkshire*, for no other reason but because he had a mind to it, and his importunity was very troublesome: a Man of any who bore the Name of a Gentleman, the most unfit for That Province, or any other that required any proportion of Wisdom and Understanding for the discharge of it.

BUT it was the unhappy distemper of the Court at that time, to think that it was no matter Who was employed in that Office; for the King nor Queen were not all deceiv'd, nor was the Earl less fit than they thought him to be; but they thought his want of parts (his Fidelity there was no cause to suspect) to be of little importance: and a Counsellor, much trusted, speaking at that time with the Lord *Fermyn*, "how astonishing a thing it was to all the Nation, to see the Prince committed to such a Governour, he smiled, according to his custom, when he could not answer; and said, "it was of no moment, Who had the name and style of Governour, since the King and Queen meant to be his Governour, and firmly resolv'd that he should never be out of Their presence, or one of them: when, within a little more than a year after, the King found it necessary to sever the Prince from himself, and liv'd not to see him again: and his Majesty then found, and lamented, that he had deputed such a Governour over him.

THE

THE other Expedient proposed, was, "that since the whole Kingdom was misled by the reverence they had to Parliaments, and believ'd that the Laws and Liberties of the People, could not be otherwise preserved, than by their sole Authority, and that it appear'd to be no purpose to perswade Men that what they did was against Law, when they were perswaded that their very doing it made it Lawful, it would be therefore necessary, and could be only effectual, to convince them, that they who did those monstrous things, were not the Parliament, but a handful of desperate Persons, who, by the help of the Tumults raised in the City of *London*, had driven away the Major part of the Parliament, and called themselves the Parliament, whilst they were, in truth, much the less, and the least considerable part of it; which would appear manifestly, if the King would issue out a Proclamation, to require all the Members who had left the Parliament at *Westminster*, to repair to *Oxford*, by such a day; where his Majesty would be willing to advise with them in matters of the greatest importance, concerning the Peace, and Distractions of the Kingdom: by this means, he might, in many things, serve himself by their Assistance, and it would evidently appear by the number of both Houses, whose names would be quickly known, and published, how few remained at *Westminster*, who carried on the devouring War, so grievous to the whole Kingdom.

THE King was at first in some apprehension, that such a conflux of Persons together of the Parliament, who would look to enjoy the Privileges of it in their Debates, might, instead of doing him Service, do many things contrary to it, and exceedingly apprehended, that they would immediately enter upon some Treaty of Peace, which would have no effect; yet, whilst it was in suspense, would hinder his preparation for the War; and though no body more desired Peace, yet he had no mind, that a Multitude should be consulted upon the conditions of it: imagining, that things of the greatest importance, as the giving up Persons, and other particulars of Honour, would not seem to them of moment enough to continue a War in the Kingdom; which would have been true, if, as hath been said before, the Governours of the Parliament had not themselves been too fearful of a Peace, to trust any to make politick Propositions, which, upon refusal, might have done good, but being consented to had undone them, and frustrated all their designs.

THE Council seem'd much inclined to the Expedient, and many conveniences were in View; and it might be reasonably hoped, and presumed "that Persons, who had that Duty

“to obey his Majesty’s Summons, in coming thither, which
 “would be none but such as had already abiented themselves
 “from *Westminster*, and thereby incensed those who remain’d
 “there, would not bring ill and troublesome humours with
 “them, to disturb that Service which could only preserve
 “them: but on the contrary, would unite, and conspire to-
 “ther, to make the King Superior to His and Their Enemies.
 “And as to the advancing any Propositions of Peace, which
 “there could be no doubt but they would be inclined to, nor
 “would it be fit for his Majesty to oppose, there could be
 “no inconvenience; since their appearing in it would but
 “draw reproach from those at *Westminster*, who would never
 “give them any Answer, or look upon them under any No-
 “tion, but as private Persons, and Deserters of the Parlia-
 “ment, without any Qualification to Treat, or to be Treated
 “with: which would more provoke those at *Oxford*, and, by
 “degrees, stir up more Animosities between them. The
 King discover’d more of hope than fear from such a Conven-
 tion; and so, with a very unanimous Consent and Approba-
 tion, a Proclamation was issued out, containing the true
 grounds and motives, and mentioning the League of *Scotland*
 to Invade the Kingdom; which was the most universally odi-
 ous, and detestable; and Summon’d all the Members of both
 Houses of Parliament, except only such, as, having Com-
 mand in his Majesty’s Armies in the North, and in the West,
 could not be dispensed with, to be absent from their Charges,
 to attend upon his Majesty in *Oxford*, upon a day fixed in *Ja-
 nuary* next.

*The King’s
 Proclamation
 for As-
 sembling the
 Members of
 Parliament
 at Oxford.*

THE King was not all this while without a due sense of
 the dangers that threaten’d him in the growth, and improve-
 ment of the power and strength of the Enemy, and how im-
 possible it would be for him, without some more extraordi-
 nary Assistance, to resist that Torrent, which, he foresaw, by
 the next Spring, would be ready to overwhelm him, if he
 made not provision accordingly. And finding, by degrees,
 that it was not in his power to compose the disturbances of
England, or to prevent those of *Scotland*, and abhorring the
 thought of introducing a Foreign Nation to Subdue his own
 Subjects, he begun to think of Expedients which might allay
 the distempers in *Ireland*; that so, having one of his King-
 doms in Peace, he might apply the Power of that, towards
 the procuring it in his other Dominions. He was not igno-
 rant, how tender an Argument that business of *Ireland* was,
 and how prepared Men were to pervert whatsoever he said,
 or did in it; and therefore he resolv’d to proceed with that
 Caution, that whatsoever was done in it, should be by the
 Counsel of that State, who were understood to be most skill-
 ful in those Affairs.

THE

THE Lords Justices, and Council, had sent a short Petition to his Majesty, which was presented to them, in the name of his Catholick Subjects, then in Armes against him; by which they only desired, with full expressions of Duty, and Submission to his Majesty, "that he would appoint some Persons to hear what they could say for themselves; and to present the same to his Majesty. Hereupon the King Authorised by his Commission the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, and some others, to receive what they were ready to offer, but without the least Authority to conclude any thing with them upon it. And after the receipt of this Commission, the Marquis, finding that this Petition was prosecuted with less ingenuity than it seem'd to have been presented, was so far from being indulgent to them under that Notion, that he even then advanced against them with his Army, and gave them a very signal Defeat; which reform'd their Application, and made it more submissive.

IN the mean time (though in all Actions and Counsels, the Lords Justices, and Council there, had yielded punctual obedience to all directions from the Parliament) the Affairs of that Kingdom suffer'd exceedingly for want of Provisions, Money, and Ammunition, out of *England*; which the two Houses of Parliament were obliged, and were, to that purpose, enabled by his Majesty to send. Infomuch as that Board, by their Letters of the fourth of *April*, this present year, advertised the Speaker of the House of Commons, "that they had been compelled, for the preservation of the Army, to take Money from all who had it, and to wrest their Commodities from the poor Merchants, whom they had now, by the Law of necessity, utterly undone, and disabled from being hereafter helpful to them, in bringing them in Victuals, or other needful Commodities: And that there were few of themselves, or others, that had not felt their parts in the enforced rigour of their proceedings, so as, what with such hard dealing, no less grievous to Them to do, than it was heavy to Others to suffer, and by their descending, against their hearts, far below the Honour and Dignity of that Power they represented under his Royal Majesty, they had, with unspeakable difficulties, prevailed so as to be able to find Bread for the Soldiers for the space of one Month: That they were then expelling thence all Strangers, and must instantly send away for *England* thousands of poor dispos'd *English*, whose very eating was now insupportable to that place; and therefore, they said, they did again earnestly, and finally desire (for their Confusions would not now admit the writing of many more Letters, if any) some Supplies of Victual and Munition might, in present, be
"hasten'd

“hasten’d thither to keep Life, until the rest might follow;
 “there being no Victuals in store; nor one hundred Bar-
 “rels of Powder; which, according to the usual necessary
 “Expences, besides extraordinary Accidents, would not last
 “above a Month.

A COPY of this Letter they likewise sent to Mr Secretary
Nicholas, that his Majesty might be inform’d of the sadness
 of their Condition, and, with it, a Copy of a paper that
 Morning presented to the Board (which was likewise sent in
 their Letter to the Speaker) from the Officers of the Army;
 who, after sharp expressions of the miseries they sustain’d, and
 expostulations thereupon, concluded, “that if their Lordships
 “would take them into their timely considerations, before
 “their urgent wants made them desperate, they would serve
 “them readily and faithfully; but if their Lordships would
 “not find a way for their preservations there, they humbly
 “desired they might have leave to go where they might have
 “a better being; and if they refused to grant That, they
 “themselves must then take leave to have recourse to that
 “first and primary Law, which God had endued all Men
 “with, the Law of Nature, which taught all Men to preserve
 “themselves.

THE King was exceedingly perplexed at the receipt of
 this Advertisement; apprehending the State of his Protestant
 Subjects in that Kingdom to be almost desperate, the Rebels
 receiving daily encouragement and assistance from Foreign
 parts; and thereupon growing strong and bold; yet he for-
 bore to interpose his own Sovereign Power, hoping this last
 clear representation would have made so deep an impression
 in the two Houses of Parliament, that they would have sent
 such a full Supply, that at least the Rebels might make no
 farther Progress in Victory, against his Protestant Subjects.
 About the end of *May*, the Lords Justices and Council, hav-
 ing receiv’d no probable hope of Assistance from the Parlia-
 ment, sent an Address immediately to his Majesty, that Him-
 self might conclude, in that exigent, what was to be done
 for preservation of one of his three Kingdoms. This Letter,
 Subscribed by the Lords Justices, and every Member of the
 Council-Board, being the ground and foundation of the Reso-
 lutions which his Majesty afterwards took, I think necessary to
 insert in the terms of which it consisted; which were these:

*An Address
 of the Lords
 Justices and
 the Council
 in Ireland
 to the King.*

May it please your most excellent Majesty.

“AS SOON as We your Majesty’s Justices enter’d into the
 “Charge of this Government, We took into our considera-
 “tions, at the Board, the State of your Army here; which
 “We find suffering under unspeakable Extremity of want of
 “all

"all things necessary to the Support of their Persons, or
 "Maintenance of the War, here being no Victuals, Cloaths,
 "or other Provisions requisite towards their Sustenance; no
 "Money to provide them of any thing they want; no
 "Armes in your Majesty's Stores to supply their many de-
 "fective Armes; not above forty Barrels of Powder in your
 "Stores; no strength of serviceable Horses being now left
 "here; and those few that are, their Armes for the most
 "part lost, or unserviceable; no Ships arriv'd here to guard
 "the Coast, and consequently no security render'd to any
 "that might, on their private Adventures, bring in Provi-
 "sions of Victuals, or other necessaries towards our Subsi-
 "stence; and finally, no visible means, by Sea or Land, of
 "being able to preserve for you this Kingdom, and to render
 "deliverance from utter destruction to the remnant of your
 "good Subjects yet left here.

"We find, that your Majesty's late Justices, and this Board,
 "have often, and fully, by very many Letters, advertised the
 "Parliament in *England* of the extremities of Affairs here,
 "and besought Relief with all possible importunity; which
 "also have been fully represented to your Majesty, and to
 "the Lord Lieutenant, and Mr Secretary *Nicholas*, to be made
 "known to your Majesty: And although the winds have of
 "late for many days, and often formerly, stood very fair for
 "accessions of Supply forth of *England* hither, and that We
 "have still, with longing Expectations, hoped to find Pro-
 "visions arrive here, in some degree Answerable to the ne-
 "cessities of your Affairs; yet now, to our unspeakable grief,
 "after full six Months waiting, and much longer patience,
 "and long suffering, We find all our great expectations an-
 "swer'd in a mean and inconsiderable quantity of Provisions,
 "viz. three score and fifteen Barrels of Butter, and fourteen
 "Tun of Cheese; being but the fourth part of a small Ves-
 "sel's Lading, which was sent from *London*, and arrived
 "Here the fifth day of this Month, which is not above seven
 "or eight days Provision, for that part of the Army which
 "lies in *Dublin*, and the out Garrisons thereof; no Money
 "or Victual (other than that inconsiderable proportion of
 "Victual) having arriv'd in this place, as sent from the
 "Parliament of *England*, or from any other Fort of *Eng-
 "land*, for the use of the Army, since the beginning of No-
 "vember last.

"We have, by the blessing of God, been hitherto prospe-
 "rous and successful in your Majesties Affairs here, and should
 "be still hopeful, by the mercy of God, under the Royal di-
 "rections of your sacred Majesty, to vindicate your Majesties
 "Honour, to recover your Rights here, and take due Venge-
 "ance

"ance on those Traytors, for the Innocent Blood they have
 "spill'd, if We might be strengthen'd, and supported there-
 "in, by needful Supplies forth of *England*: but these Supplies
 "having been hitherto expected to come from the Parliament
 "of *England* (on which if your Majesty had not relied, We
 "are assured you would, in your high Wisdom, have found
 "out some other means to preserve this your Kingdom) and
 "so great and apparent a failure having happen'd therein, and
 "all the former, and late, long continuing Easterly Winds,
 "bringing us no other Provisions, than those few Cheeses and
 "Butter, and no advertisements being brought Us of any fu-
 "ture Supply to be so much as in the way hither, whereby
 "there might be any likelihood that considerable means of
 "support for your Majesty's Army might arrive here, in any
 "reasonable time, before We be totally swallowed up by the
 "Rebels, and your Kingdom by them wrested from you : We
 "find our selves so disappointed of our hopes from the Parlia-
 "ment, as must needs trench to the utter loss of the Kingdom,
 "if your Majesty in your high Wisdom, ordain not some pre-
 "sent means of preservation for Us. And considering that if
 "now, by occasion of that unhappy, and unexpected failing
 "of Support from thence, We shall be less successful in your
 "Services here against the Rebels, than hitherto, whilst We
 "were enabled with some means to serve you, We have been,
 "the shame and dishonour may, in common construction of
 "those that know not the inwards of the Cause, be imputed
 "to Us, and not to the Failings that disabled Us : And con-
 "sidering principally, and above all things, the high and emi-
 "nent trust of your Affairs here, deposited with Us by your
 "sacred Majesty, We may not forbear, in discharge of our
 "Duty, thus freely and plainly to declare our humble appre-
 "hensions, to the end your Majesty, thus truly understanding
 "the terribleness of our condition, may find out some such
 "means of Support, to preserve to your Majesty and your
 "Royal Posterity this your Ancient, and Rightful Crown,
 "and Kingdom : and derive deliverance and safety to the rem-
 "nant of your good Subjects yet left here, as in your excel-
 "lent Judgement you shall find to be most for your Honour,
 "and Advantage. And so praying the King of Kings to guide,
 "and direct you for the best, in this high and important
 "Cause, and in all other your Counsels and Actions, We hum-
 "bly remain :

From your Majesty's Castle of Dublin the 11th of May 1643.

THERE was no sober Man in *Ireland* or *England*, who be-
 liev'd it to be in the King's Power to enable this People to
 carry on the War ; for all Men too well knew, that he had
 neither

neither Money, Victual, Ammunition, or Shipping, to supply them : and therefore his Majesty could not but conclude, that by this application of that State to him, they hoped he would endeavour to extinguish that War which he could not maintain. And it is very true, that, at the same time with this Letter, he receiv'd Advice and Information, from some of his prime Ministers of that Kingdom, who were well known, and acknowledged, perfectly to abhor the Rebellion, "that there was no reasonable hope of preserving his Protestant Subjects, and his own Interest in that Kingdom, but "by Treating with the Rebels, and making a Peace, or Truce "with them. The King well foresaw to what reproaches he should object himself, by entering into such a Treaty with those Rebels; and that they who had perswaded many to believe, that he had given countenance to, if not fomented the Rebellion, against all humane Evidence that can be imagin'd, would more easily gain credit, when they should be able to say, that he had made a Peace with them : Besides that he had bound himself not to make a Peace with the Rebels in *Ireland*, without the consent of his two Houses of Parliament in *England*. On the other side, nothing was more demonstrable, than that his Protestant Subjects there, could not defend the little they had left, without extraordinary aid and assistance out of *England*; that it was impossible for him to send any to them, and as visible, that the Parliament Would not, or Could not; so that it seem'd only in his Election, whether he would preserve the remainder of his Protestant Subjects there, and that whole Kingdom, in dependence upon his Crown, with the inconvenience of some perverse and unreasonable scandal; or suffer them to be rooted out; and undergo the perpetual obloquy of having lost a Kingdom, when it was in his own power to have retained it within his Subjection : and whatever he had obliged himself to, in those Acts of Parliament which he had pass'd for relief of *Ireland*, before any Rebellion in *England*, was not, that there might never be a Peace in *Ireland*, but that the two Houses might cooperate with him, whereby the Rebels might be reduced to those Streights, that they might be compelled to submit to the performance of their Duties : and that, instead of any such cooperation, the two Houses refused to concur with him in any thing, and had employed those Monies, which had been rais'd by those very Acts, for the relief of *Ireland*, in the maintenance of the Armies which had given his Majesty Battle in *England*, expressly contrary to the words of those Acts; and therefore that his Majesty might be reasonably disengaged from those Covenants on His part.

UPON these considerations, after two Months delay, to see whether

whether yet the Parliament would take care of them, and having receiv'd fresh importunities, and advices from thence, about the end of *July*, the King writ to the Lords Justices in *Ireland*, "that they should issue out a Commission, under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, to the Marquis of *Ormond*, to Treat and Conclude a Cessation of Armes with the Rebels, upon such Articles and Conditions as he should judge most reasonable; and during that Cessation, that such Agents as they should make choice of, should have access to his Royal Person, to present their own Propositions for Peace: so careful was the King not to infringe that Act of Parliament, which many understood to be dissolved by themselves: there being no colourable clause in it, by which it was not in his Majesty's own power to make a Cessation; and the Peace it self he respit in such a manner, that he might receive advice and concurrence from the Parliament, if they would not decline any farther consideration or care of that Kingdom.

HEREUPON the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, being then only General of the Horse there, enter'd upon a Treaty with Commissioners authorised by the Council at *Kilkenny*; to whose jurisdiction the Rebels had committed the whole Government of their Affairs; and Articles of Cessation being prepared for a Year, and perused, and approv'd by the Lords Justices and Council, without whose advice the Marquis would not proceed, and all the principal Officers of the Army having given it under their hands, being present likewise at the Treaty, "that it was most necessary for the preservation of that Kingdom, that a Cessation should be made for a Year, upon those Articles and Conditions; and the Rebels undertaking "to pay to his Majesty's use, thirty thousand and eight hundred pounds sterling, within a short time; whereof fifteen thousand eight hundred pounds in ready Money, and the other fifteen thousand pounds, one half in Money, and the other half in good Beefs, at thirty pounds the Score; a Cessation of Armes was concluded by the Marquis; and publish'd, with the Articles and Conditions, by the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*, to begin on the fifteenth day of *September*, and to continue for the space of a whole year.

A Cessation of Armes concluded for a year in Ireland, Sept. 7. disowned by the two Houses at Westminster:

THIS Cessation was no sooner known in *England*, but the two Houses declared against it, with all the sharp glosses upon it to his Majesty's dishonour that can be imagined; perswading the People, "that the Rebels were now brought to their last Gasp, and reduced to so terrible a Famine, that, like *Canibals*, they eat one another, and must have been destroyed immediately, and utterly rooted out, if, by the Popish Counsels at Court, the King had not been perswaded "to consent to this Cessation. It is one of the Instances of the

the

the strange, fatal misunderstanding, which possessed this time, that, notwithstanding all the caution the King used in meddling at all with the business of that Kingdom from the time of the Rebellion, and the clear discovery of all particular reasons, grounds, and Counsels, when he found it necessary to interpose in it, the calumnies and slanders raised to his Majesty's disservice and dishonour, made a more than ordinary impression upon the minds of Men, and not only of Vulgar-spirited People, but of those who resisted all other infusions, and infection. And posterity, no question, will enquire, from what rise or spring this disadvantage flowed; to which Enquiry I can apply no other satisfaction, besides the disease of the time; which imputed all designs to designs upon Religion, and whatsoever was done by Papists, to the Zeal of the Queen on the behalf of her own Religion; then that the chief Managers, and Conducters of Their Counsels, found it necessary to aver many things of Fact upon their own knowledge (by which they found the understanding of Men liable to be captivated) which in truth were not so: As I myself found by some sober Men, at such times as there was occasion of intercourse, and conference with them, that they did, upon such Assurance, believe that the King had done somewhat in that business of Ireland (some having avow'd, that they had seen his hand to such and such Letters, and Instructions) which, upon as much knowledge, as any Man can morally have of a Negative, I am sure he never did.

I SHALL here insert, as the most natural and proper Evidence of the State of Ireland, at the time of the Cessation, and of the unanswerable Motives which prevailed with the King to consent to it, two Letters; the one, of Expostulation from the two Houses to the Lords Justices and Council, which was received by them after the Cessation agreed on, though seeming to be sent before; and the Answer of that Board thereunto; with the Contents whereof, the King, nor any of his Council attending on him, was not at all acquainted, till long after their delivery. The Letters were in these words.

*To Our very good Lords, the Lords Justices, and Council,
for the Kingdom of Ireland.*

"Our very good Lords,

"THE Lords and Commons in Parliament, have Com-
manded Us to let you know, they have seen your Letter of
the tenth of June, directed to the Speaker of the House of
Commons, accompanied with an Act of State, in the Pream-
ble whereof is an expression to this effect, that your present
difficulties are occasion'd through the failure of the Houses
of

*A Letter concerning
is, from the
two Houses
to the Lords
Justices Ju-
ly 4. 1643.*

" of Parliament in *England*, who undertook the charge of this
 " War. This Letter, and Act of Council, were sent by his
 " Majesty from *Oxford*; to whom they believe you have sent
 " Copies of both, and have just cause to suspect, that there is
 " an impious design now on foot, to sell for nought the cry-
 " ing Blood of many hundred thousands of *British* Protestants,
 " by a dishonourable, unsufferable Peace with the Rebels;
 " and then to lay the blame and shame of this, upon the Par-
 " liament; a Plot suitable to those Counsels that have both
 " projected, and fomented this unparallel'd Rebellion: for
 " those who contriv'd the Powder Treason, intended to lay
 " it on the Puritans. And although they cannot think your
 " Lordships intended to further this design by this expression,
 " yet they have cause to believe, you have forgotten the pre-
 " sent condition of this Kingdom; the Supplies they have sent
 " thither of all sorts, even in the midst of their own wants;
 " what relief going thither hath been taken away by Sea, and
 " Land, and by whom; and what discouragements have been
 " given them in return: so that, as your Lordships do truly
 " observe the Protestant Party in that City desirous to contri-
 " bute, in all things, towards preservation of that Kingdom,
 " and that all the opposition therein is from those of the Popish
 " Party, so ought you justly to conclude, that the Protestant
 " Party in this Kingdom have contributed, and are still en-
 " deavouring to contribute, Monies, Ammunition, Victuals,
 " and other Necessaries, for the saving of that Kingdom:
 " And that the Popish, and Malignant Party here, now in
 " Armes against the Parliament and Kingdom, have not as-
 " sisted, in the least measure, this pious work; but, on the
 " contrary, do hinder, and oppose the same: Neither should
 " your Lordships conceive, that only the charge of that War
 " was referr'd to, and undertaken by the Parliament, as if
 " Their part was to be Your Bankers, only to provide Money
 " for You to spend, and were not to advise and direct the
 " managing of the War; although an Act of Parliament hath
 " invested them with that Power; which they must assume
 " and vindicate as the means to save that Kingdom; and shall
 " bring to condigne punishment those there, who, in this
 " conjuncture of Affairs, have advised the Commission to hear
 " what the Rebels can say, or propound, for their own Ad-
 " vantage; the Letters to divest their Committee of an Au-
 " thority given them by both Houses; and that advised the
 " late alteration of Government there; as Enemies to the
 " Weale of both Kingdoms, and Fautors of that Rebellion.
 " In the last place, We are forbidden to tell you, what Sup-
 " plies of Money, Victuals, Ammunition, and other Necess-
 " saries, are in good forwardness to be sent over, for the sup-

"port of the Officers and Soldiers there, and by whose incessant care; lest they should seem to Answer that scandal by excuse, which deserves an high resentment. This being all We have in command for the present, We bid your Lordships farewell, and remain,

"Your Lordships Friends to serve you,

Grey of Warke

Speaker of the House of Lords pro tempore ;

William Lentball

Speaker of the Commons House in Parliament.

“THE Lords and Commons will examine the demeanour of
“the Ships appointed to guard those Coasts; and might have
“expected a Copy of *Montrose's* Letter to Colonel *Crawford*,
“which came to your hands before the 10th of *June*; and, hap-
“pily, would discover the Treason of the Rebels, sent by your
“Enemies to destroy you; as well as a complaint of those Sea
“Captains sent by your Friends to defend you; whose neg-
“lects and misdeeds are notwithstanding to be punish'd, ac-
“cording as their demerits shall appear.

Westminster the 4th of July 1643.

To our very good Lord, the Lord Speaker of the Right Honourable the Lords House of Parliament, in the Kingdom of England; and to our very loving Friend, William Lenthall Esq; Speaker of the Honourable Commons House in Parliament, in the said Kingdom.

"Our very good Lord, and Mr Speaker of the Commons
"House in Parliament,

“YOUR joyn't Letters, of the fourth of *July* last, directed
 “to Us, were so long in coming, as they came not to our
 “hands until the sixth of *October*. By those your Letters,
 “you signify, that the Lords and Commons in Parliament,
 “have commanded you to let us know, that they have seen
 “our Letters of the tenth of *June*, directed to the Speaker
 “of the House of Commons, accompanied with an Act of
 “State, in the preamble whereof, there is an expresseion to
 “this effect, that our present difficulties were occasion'd
 “through the failure of the Houses of Parliament in *England*,
 “who undertook the charge of this War; to which expressei-
 “on, it seems, exception is taken, and interpretations made
 “thereof,

The Lords
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Answer.

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The Lords

Justices

ANSWER.

" thereof, far otherwise we are sure than was intended by Us;
 " and, as We conceive, otherwise than the true sense of those
 " words can bear. It is true, that when We were necessitated
 " to set on foot the new imposition, raised here in nature of
 " an Excise, towards keeping this Army from perishing by
 " Famine, it became necessary to express, in the Act of Coun-
 " cil whereby We order'd it, the reasons inducing Us to set
 " on foot here a thing so unknown to his Majesty's Laws,
 " and gracious Government, and the difficulties wherewith
 " We contended, which did necessitate that resolution; and
 " in expressing those difficulties, We used that expression, to
 " shew whence our difficulties were occasion'd; and that We
 " have therein declared the truth, We crave leave to mind you
 " of some particulars.

" IF We should look so far back as to repeat the Substance
 " of many dispatches sent from this Board, since the begin-
 " ning of this Rebellion; some, to our very good Lord, the
 " Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom; some to the Lords, and
 " others, Members of both Houses, his Majesty's Commis-
 " sioners for the Affairs of this Kingdom, and some to the
 " Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament there; it
 " would prove a voluminous work; and therefore We forbear
 " to look farther back into those dispatches, than to the time
 " when the Committee sent thence hither, were here; who,
 " at their Arrival here, in the end of *October* 1642, brought
 " with them some Money and Provisions, but far short of that,
 " which the Necessities of this Army required; and indeed so
 " inconsiderable, in respect of those Necessities, as even be-
 " fore that Committee departed, they saw the Money they
 " had brought, wholly issued; and the high and unavoidable
 " necessity of a farther, speedy, and plentiful supply of Mo-
 " ney, and other Provisions. By Letters from this Board of the
 " 20th of *January* 1642, and directed to the Speaker of the
 " Commons House of Parliament there, it was signified thi-
 " ther, that the Provisions of Victuals here, were then at the
 " very bottom; that that Committee then here, had certified
 " thither those Wants; that if a personal supply of Victual ar-
 " rived not here very speedily, the Army could not subsist, but
 " must have been constrain'd to disband, to the loss of this
 " Kingdom, and utter destruction of the few Subjects here:
 " that the want of Treasure here, to pay the Army, enforced
 " this Board to issue Victual to the Common Soldier, and
 " others, towards their pay, which did the sooner exhaust the
 " Magazine of Victual; that the Captains, and other Offi-
 " cers, not having relief that way, were reduced to great ex-
 " tremities, as had been formerly often represented thither;

" and

"and therefore this Board, by the said Letters, then moved,
"that Treasure might be sent us speedily, so to redeem
"the Officers from the Calamities they suffer'd, and this
"Board from their unsupportable Clamours; and to enable
"the payment, in some part, in Money to the Common Sol-
"dier; so to make the Victual We then expected, to hold out
"the longer.

"It was also by those Letters then advertised thither, that
"the extremities of the Officers of the Army had begotten so
"much discontent amongst them, as divers Colonels, and
"others of them, presented at this Board a Remonstrance,
"whereof a Copy was then sent inclosed in the said Letters;
"which Remonstrance did exceedingly trouble, and perplex
"Us, lest it might beget such distractions amongst Us, as
"might give too much advantage to the Rebels. But, after
"full Debate thereof at this Board, it was here directed, that
"in present, to render some Subsistence to the Officers un-
"til Treasure arrived forth of *England*, every Man in this
"City should bring in half of his Plate, to be paid for it when
"Treasure arrived; whereupon some Plate was brought in,
"and applied towards the Army. This Board did also signify
"by those Letters, that without some speedy relief forth of
"*England*, the Burthen here was become too heavy to be
"borne; and therefore, in discharge of our Duty to God, to
"our Gracious Sovereign, to that Kingdom, and to This,
"We held our selves bound clearly to make known, that un-
"less We were speedily supplied from thence, with Money,
"Armes, and Victual, it would be impossible for Us any far-
"ther to prosecute this War, or to preserve from suddain
"confusion this State and Government: so highly did the
"discontent of the Officers, and the disorder of the Soldiers,
"threaten Us, that it might be easily apprehended, what, in
"all humane probability, must become of Us, when it was
"then evident, that here was no Money, nor any possibility
"of procuring any in this City; when our Victuals were spent;
"when a great part of the Army had no Armes; upon which
"We doubted, and feared, for the reasons in those Letters
"express'd, that the Soldiers would make Prey of Us and
"this City at last; and when We saw that the destruction,
"then threaten'd against Us, must then go farther, even to
"the loss of this Crown, and Kingdom; and to the highly
"endangering of that Kingdom also; which, for the Honour
"of his Majesty, and the *English* Nation, We by our said
"Letters desired might, by the Wisdom of that Honourable
"House, be speedily prevented, by hastening away, with
"all possible speed, Supply of Money, Armes, and Victuals.

" BY other Letters of this Board, directed to Mr Speaker,
 " and dated the said twentieth of *January* 1642, it was adver-
 " tised thither, that it was become of absolute necessity, that
 " there should be sent Us from thence, speedily, six hundred
 " light Geldings for Recruits, to be default'd out of the en-
 " tertainments of those who should receive them. By other
 " Letters from this Board, of the same date, directed to Mr
 " Speaker, it was signified thither, that We had contracted
 " an Agreement here with *Theodore Schout*, and *Jacob Ablin*,
 " Merchants, that *Anthony Tyrenes*, in *London*, or *Daniel Wi-*
 " *brant*, in *Amsterdam*, should receive seven thousand eight
 " hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings; for
 " which the said *Theodore* and *Jacob*, had undertaken, by
 " their agreement with Us, to buy in *Holland*, and to Trans-
 " port from thence hither, at their own charge and adventure,
 " several proportions of Armes mention'd in a Docquet, then
 " sent inclosed in our said Letters; and they undertook so to
 " secure it by insurance, and provide such a Ship of force, as
 " We might be assured to have all those Armes arrive here
 " by the tenth of *March* now last past. And We, by our said
 " Letters, earnestly besought that the said Sum of seven thou-
 " sand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shil-
 " lings might, by order of that Honourable House, be speedi-
 " ly paid to the said *Tyrenes*, or *Wibrant*, that those Pro-
 " visions might arrive here by the tenth of *March*; that
 " we might not lose the advantage of the then next Spring, for
 " recovering of such of the Sea Ports, and other places of im-
 " portance, as the Rebels had gotten; and for proceeding effe-
 " ctually in this War. Those Letters also moved for other pro-
 " visions of War, which We conceiv'd might be had in *Eng-*
 " *land* in reasonable time. And We then sent a Docquet of
 " those also; desiring earnestly they might be sent us speedi-
 " ly. And although there was an Agent sent from hence in
 " *November* 1641, to sollicite the dispatches sent from hence,
 " who attended at *London*, when those our Letters were sent
 " hence; yet of so great importance was that dispatch, requiring
 " instant and speedy Answer and supply from thence, as We
 " adjudged it necessary to give special Instructions to the Lord
 " *Conway*, and others (besides that Agent then there attend-
 " ing) to move his Majesty, and sollicite the Houses of Parlia-
 " ment, to hasten unto Us, with all possible Speed, the Provi-
 " sions in those Letters contain'd: And that there might no-
 " thing be omitted, that by solicitation could be obtain'd,
 " there were Agents also sent thither from the Army to solli-
 " cite for them. By Letters from this Board of the twentieth
 " of *February* 1642, directed to Mr Speaker, We again de-
 " fired,

“fired, with all possible earnestness, that the Provisions of all
 “sorts, expressed in those three Letters of the twentieth of
 “January, and the Docquers therewith sent, might be hasten’d
 “to Us; and that the said seven thousand eight hundred four-
 “score and thirteen pounds three shillings, for Armes to be
 “provided in *Holland*, might be speedily paid. And in those
 “last Letters We again signified our miserable, and unspeak-
 “able want of Victuals, Armes, Munition, Money, Shooes,
 “and other Necessaries; and that if the Supplies We moved
 “for, came not speedily, We were unavoidably in danger to
 “be as much devour’d by our own wants, as by the Sword of
 “the Rebels; and that our want of Corn was so much the
 “more, in regard that, in confidence to be plentifully suppli-
 “ed forth of *England*, We caused great destruction to be
 “made of Corn; there being indeed nothing conducing more
 “to the destruction of Rebels, than the burning of all Corn.

“We also then signified the necessity of sending a farther
 “supply of Powder, and Match; and We declared, that no
 “words could sufficiently express the greatness of the danger
 “We should incur, if our Supplies came not speedily: that
 “the Plate brought in, amounted not to one thousand two
 “hundred pounds; a Sum very inconsiderable towards Relief
 “of the Officers. By Letters of this Board of the 25th of Fe-
 “bruary 1642, directed to Mr Speaker, We signified, that
 “when our means from thence failed, and our credits could
 “hold out no longer, We were constrain’d, towards Relief of
 “the Army, to force from the Protestant Merchants here, as
 “well *English* as Strangers, not only the Commodities they
 “had brought hither, but the Native Commodities also; un-
 “dertaking to them that they should receive Payment at
 “*London*; which failing, that those that would supply Us,
 “were dishearten’d, and durst not come hither with Com-
 “modities; wherefore We again, by those Letters, besought
 “speedy supply from thence; declaring that otherwise, the
 “Army, and We, must perish; and so far we were transported
 “with grief, in the consideration of the high extremities of
 “this Kingdom, and Army, as we did, by those Letters, la-
 “ment for the shame and dishonour, which We then foresaw
 “would reflect upon the *English* Nation, if then, after so
 “long and often forewarnings, given by Us to that Honour-
 “able House, this Kingdom were lost, and that for want of
 “Supplies from thence; wherein We then declared, that all
 “the comfort left Us, was, that We had done Our parts, and
 “discharged our duties to God, to his Majesty, and to all his
 “Kingdoms, who must have borne their parts with Us in so
 “heavy a loss.

“By Letters from this Board dated the 23^d of *March* 1642, directed to Mr Speaker, We signified that our wants enforced Us to distribute the Soldiers, for their Victuals, in and throughout this City and Suburbs; which, We signified, could not long hold, considering the poverty of this place; and therefore, to avoid utter Confusion, We did again and again beseech most earnestly, that, above all things, Victuals and Munition might be sent Us speedily; and that Money, Armes, Cloaths, Shooes, and other Provisions might also be sent; declaring, that if they yet came speedily, the Kingdom, and his Majesty's Forces here, might be thereby redeem'd out of part of their distresses; and We enabled, by the blessing of God, to give his Majesty such an account of this Kingdom, as would be for the Glory of the King our Master, and the Honour of the *English* Nation, in the subduing this horrid Rebellion; which, by reason of our wants, and in no other respect, was then grown very terrible: and We did again call for the Provisions, moved for by our several former Letters of the twentieth of *January*, and twentieth of *February*, and for the payment of the seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings, for Armes to be provided in *Holland*, and those also which We expect from *London*; declaring, that unless those Supplies came, We should be disabled from doing Service on the Rebels the then next Spring, or the then succeeding Summer; and must undoubtedly put the Rebels into a condition of prevailing against Us, which We well believ'd, the Kingdom of *England* would never have permitted against so faithful Servants and valiant Soldiers, as his Majesty yet had here.

“By those Letters also We signified, that it was necessary that there should be here, at this Harbour of *Dublin*, by the middle of *April*, at least two Ships of good Strength; and that the Ships design'd for guarding the other parts of the Coasts of this Kingdom, should be hasten'd away with all possible speed. By Letters from this Board directed to Mr Speaker, dated the fourth of *April* 1643, We represented again the unspeakable miseries of the Officers and Soldiers, for want of all things; and all those made the more insupportable, in the want of Food; and that this City was then apparently found to be unable to help Us, as it had formerly done; and repeated again, in as lively terms as We could, the high extremities fallen, and encreasing upon Us; declaring, that We were enforced to see, who had any thing yet left him not taken from him, to help Us; and that although there were but few such, and some poor Merchants, whom

"whom We had formerly, by the Law of necessity, utterly
 "undone; yet, that We were forced to wrest their Commo-
 "dities from them: That there were few here, of our selves
 "or others, that had not felt their parts in the inforced ri-
 "gour of our proceedings towards preserving the Army; and
 "We earnestly desired, that his Majesty, and the *English*
 "Nation, might not suffer so great, if not irrecoverable pre-
 "judice and dishonour, as must unavoidably be the conse-
 "quence of our not being Reliev'd suddainly; but that Yet,
 "although it were then even almost at the point to be too
 "late, Supplies of Victuals, and Munition, in present might
 "be hasten'd hither, to keep Life, until the rest might fol-
 "low: declaring also, that there was no Victual in the Store,
 "and that there would not be an hundred Barrels of Powder
 "left, when the out Garrisons, as they must then instantly
 "have been, were supplied; and that the residue of our Pro-
 "visions must also come speedily after, or otherwise that *Eng-*
 "*land* could not hope to secure *Ireland*, or secure Themselves
 "against *Ireland*; but in the loss of it, must look for such
 "Enemies from hence, as would perpetually disturb the Peace
 "of his Majesty, and his Kingdom of *England*; and among
 "them, by Sea and Land, as We had often formerly repre-
 "sented thither; which mischiefs We signified might yet be
 "prevented, if We were but then forthwith enabled from
 "thence, with means to overcome this Rebellion.

"WE then also again renewed our requests for the Provi-
 "sions, mention'd in our Letters of the twentieth of *January*,
 "and for the payment of the seven thousand eight hundred
 "fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings, for Armes to
 "be provided in *Holland*, besides those We expected from
 "*London*: We then also sent, inclosed in our Letters to Mr
 "Speaker, a Copy of writing, sign'd by sundry Officers of
 "the Army, which was in a Style threatening much danger;
 "whereby appear'd the high necessity of hastning Treasure
 "hither to pay them, and the rest of the Officers, and pro-
 "vide Victual for the Soldiers. On the 10th of *April* 1643,
 "We receiv'd Letters from Mr Speaker, of the seventeenth
 "of *March*, in Answer to our Letters of the 20th and 25th of
 "*February*. Those Letters from Mr Speaker, advis'd free
 "Trade and Truck to be given to Merchants, by taking our
 "Native Commodities, that cannot be Manufactur'd here,
 "for their Corn, and other Victuals, and carrying them into
 "*England*, or other places not prohibited. And by our Let-
 "ters directed to Mr Speaker, dated the 22^d of *April*, in An-
 "swer to his said Letters of the seventeenth of *March*, We
 "made it appear, that That design could not hold to derive

"benefit to this Army. By those our Letters we signified
 "also, that the necessities of the Army still pressed Us, by
 "degrees, to break the Merchants here, by wresting their
 "Commodities from them, upon promise of satisfaction in
 "*England*: that the failing of that satisfaction in *England*, as
 "it had undone Them, so had it infinitely prejudiced the
 "Service here: that We engaged the word of this State, to
 "procure payment to many others, out of the next Treasure
 "that shall arrive forth of *England* (which Courses though
 "very hard, did help us for a time) that when those failed,
 "We begun at our selves, then at Others, then at all Frater-
 "nities, and Corporations, as Bakers, Brewers, Butchers,
 "Vintners, and the like; then at all particular Persons ob-
 "serv'd to have any visible substance, not being able to spare
 "poor Men, who (to gain a poor living) made profes-
 "sion, some of selling Hot Waters, and some of Cutting
 "Tobacco: that in the end, all other means failing, We had
 "recourse to the only Native Commodity, Hydes; seising on
 "all that could be found, either on Ship-board, ready to be
 "exported hence (with purpose in some of the owners of
 "them to return Victuals hither; which We were not able
 "to wait for) or on Shore, prepared for Ship-board; and
 "made use of them to get the Army in a few days Bread,
 "still hoping Provisions of Victual might come to keep them
 "alive; which did draw upon Us infinite Clamour.

"AND by the said Letters we earnestly besought, that be-
 "fore We should be utterly swallow'd up in the confusion
 "of Affairs, wherewith We were beset, the destruction of
 "this State, and Army, and Kingdom, being then no less
 "feared to arise from the Army, though sent hither for their
 "preservation, than from the fury of the Rebels, if that Ho-
 "nourable House would not look back into all our several
 "Letters sent thither, which We then declared should for-
 "ever acquit Us before God, and the World; as having
 "discharged our Duties to God, to his Majesty, and to this
 "his Kingdom, in fully, and timely, and often representing
 "thither the evils then ready to seize upon this State, the Ar-
 "my, and the Kingdom, and the means of preventing them;
 "yet at last they would be pleased to review our said several
 "Letters of the 20th and 25th of *February*, of the 20th of *Ja-*
 "*nuary*, 23^d of *March*, and 4th of *April*. We then also
 "signified that the Soldiers, pressed through wants, attempted
 "Tumults, and Mutiny, plunder'd divers of the Inhabitants
 "of this City, as well *English*, and Protestants, as others:
 "that We apprehended those disorders but beginnings of
 "what, We doubted, would then shortly ensue, even the
 "Ransack

"Ransack of this City, if by Supplies forth of *England* it
"were not prevented: that then there would be no refuge
"left, either for the Army, or other *English* here: that We
"were not able to send out the Soldiers, for want of Money
"to furnish ordinary necessities, and of Ammunition: where-
"fore We then again earnestly moved, that some means
"might be found for complying with our desires, in those
"our several Letters expressed; certifying, that the State of
"Affairs here, could not possibly admit the least deferring;
"and that no help was to be expected from hence; as We
"had often, and fully, in former Letters, signified thither:
"that if it were not immediately supplied forth of *England*
"with Powder, we should not be able to defend our selves,
"or offend the Rebels; and that, above all things, Munition,
"Money, and Victuals, were, of necessity, to be sent in the
"first place; and the other Provisions to be sent after, which
"also We certified most needful to be done with all possible
"speed.

"By our Letters of the sixth of *May* 1643, directed to
"Mr Speaker, We signified how necessary it was, that the
"intended Establishment should be consider'd there, and put
"into such a way as to be made perfect, and, receiving his
"Majesty's gracious Approbation, might be sent hither;
"which We desired to be hasten'd, that the Officers, who
"daily labour in the publick Services, might the better know
"what they are to have; of which Establishment We have
"not yet had any return. By our Letters to Mr Speaker of
"the 11th of *May* 1643, We signified, that although by
"Letters from Mr Speaker dated the 17th day of *March*, it
"was Advertised hither, that six weeks Provision of Victuals,
"for each Province, was in preparing, yet that it was not
"come, or if it was come, that it was a Supply far below
"that which was necessary to be then sent hither. And We
"then again repeated the miserable Condition of this Army,
"through want of all things, especially Money, Victuals,
"Cloaths, Armes, and Munition: that there was not above
"forty Barrells of Powder in the Store (a mean and inconfi-
"derable quantity for this Army, on whom depends the pre-
"servation of the Kingdom) and We again desired, in case
"of so high and eminent danger, and that with all possible
"importunity, that a course might be then instantly taken
"for hastning away Powder with all speed, and that the
"other Provisions also of all sorts, mention'd in our former
"several Letters of the 20th of *January*, 20th, and 25th of
"*February*, the 23^d of *March*, and the 4th, and 22^d of *April*,
"might be also hasten'd away; and that the seven thousand
"eight

"eight hundred and fourscore and thirteen Pounds three shillings, for Armes to be provided in *Holland*, besides those We expected from *London*, might be paid.

"By those Letters also We signified, that We could not but lament our misfortune, and the dishonour reflecting on the *English* Nation, that the Season of the year should be so far enter'd into, and yet (notwithstanding all the representations, often, and timely enough made thither of Affairs here) no means put into our Power to make Use thereof, in a vigorous prosecution of the War; but instead thereof, notwithstanding all the endeavour and industry here used to prevent it, We then beheld our selves sunk deeply into a Gulph of Confusion, and distress of Affairs, being equally in danger to be devour'd through our wants, or to be destroy'd by the Rebels, for want of needful Habiliments of War to enable our Defence, as had been formerly often and fully declared thither; and therefore We again pressed to be redeem'd from the terrible-ness of our Condition, by such timely accessions of Supplies forth of *England*, as were contain'd in our said former dispatches.

"By our Letters to Mr Speaker, dated the sixteenth of *May* 1643, We desired that 320^l might be paid there, as we had formerly desired, for sundry particulars necessary for the Chirurgeons of this Army; there being a great want thereof for the Cures of wounded Men. And then We sent, and employed *St Thomas Wharton* Knight, a Member of this Army, purposely to sollicite the means of our Relief, that so We might omit nothing that We conceiv'd might conduce to the hastning of our expected Supplies. And by our Letters of the sixteenth of *May*, then sent to Mr Speaker, We signified, that the Kingdom was then in more danger than ever to be forced out of our hands, for want of timely Supplies out of *England*; and We desired most earnestly, that his dispatch might be hasten'd for our preservation, that, if it were possible, the King, and Kingdom of *England*, might yet then be preserv'd from that irrecoverable prejudice and dishonour, which must necessarily accompany, and follow the loss of this Kingdom.

"AND here We may not omit to mention, that We prevailed with divers Persons to advance Provisions to Us, at several times, to answer the crying necessities of this Army; and to some, We gave our Bills, in nature of Bills of exchange, and to others, our own Bonds, undertaking repayment at *London* by the Parliament there; which We did in confidence to find ready Payment there accordingly:
"and

"and We do not yet hear that those Bills of exchange, or
 "Bonds, are yet paid there; but We find some of the Parties
 "ready to sue, and implead Us here, for those Debts, though
 "contracted only for the publick Service.

"WHICH proceeding of this Board, from time to time,
 "We thus at large deduce, that so it may appear fully that
 "We have discharged those duties which We owe to his Ma-
 "jesty, and to the trust of his Majesty's Affairs here, in re-
 "presenting thither fully, and timely, and often, the wants
 "and extremities to which this Kingdom and Army were re-
 "duced, and the means requisite to be sent for relief and pre-
 "servation of both; and yet in all that time, namely from
 "the said twentieth day of *January* 1642, to the tenth of *June*
 "1643, which is the day of the date of our Letters, to which
 "yours of the fourth of *July* is an Answer, or from that time
 "to this, there arrived here, as sent from the Parliament of
 "*England*, towards the Relief of this Army, and for mainte-
 "nance of this War, but the particulars following *viz.* forty
 "nine thousand two hundred forty eight pounds of Butter;
 "forty nine thousand six hundred forty nine pounds of Cheese;
 "four hundred forty seven Barrels and a half of Wheat, and
 "Rye; three hundred threescore and seven Barrels of Pease;
 "and three hundred fifty six Barrels of Oates; also five hun-
 "dred Sutes of Cloaths, one thousand Cassocks, two thou-
 "sand eight hundred and eighteen Caps, also eight and
 "twenty hundred three quarters and one pound of Match;
 "thirty eight hundred two quarters and nine pound of Shot,
 "and three hundred threescore and fourteen Barrels of Pow-
 "der; of which Provisions of Munition, there were three
 "hundred and one and forty Barrels of Powder, and five hun-
 "dred fifty five pound two quarters and four and twenty
 "pound of Match, which was the Munition We had con-
 "tracted for here, and in the way, coming from *Holland*,
 "was intercepted at Sea, and carried to *Calais*, and afterwards
 "set free there by the mediation of his Majesty, and the
 "Houses of Parliament in *England*; but the price thereof stands
 "charged on the said Houses of Parliament.

"THIS was not above a weeks Provision, or thereabouts,
 "of Victuals, for the Army in *Lemster*, being fifteen Regi-
 "ments of Foot, and twenty two Troops of Horse, and four
 "Troops of Dragoons, besides Train of Artillery, and four
 "hundred Firelocks; so as certainly there was a failure in
 "supplying Us, and that failure was not occasion'd through
 "any neglect on Our parts, in not representing thither the
 "wants and extremities endured by this Army; and the
 "means of their Supply is, as We conceive, very clear by
 "those

“those several dispatches sent from Us to Mr Speaker. And
 “seeing, that the charge of this War was referred to, and
 “undertaken by the Houses of Parliament of *England*, and
 “that by those dispatches they fully understood the Condi-
 “tion of Affairs here, We offer it to any Man’s considera-
 “tion, whether or no We had not just cause to conceive,
 “and accordingly to express in that Act of Council, that our
 “difficulties, which were necessary to be mention’d in that
 “Act, were occasion’d through the failure of the Houses of
 “Parliament in *England*.

“AND whereas you write, that the Lords and Commons
 “in Parliament do believe We have sent Copies of our said
 “Letters, and Act of Council to his Majesty, it is true, that
 “We have so done; and therein acquitted our selves towards
 “that Duty which We owe Him; and had failed in our Du-
 “ties, if We had done otherwise. But how from that, as
 “We conceive, necessary and true expression of Ours in the
 “said Act of Council, or from our sending a Copy thereof,
 “and of our said Letters to his Majesty, there can be any
 “just cause to suspect (as your Letters seem to infer) there
 “is such an impious design now on foot, as your Letters
 “mention, We confess We do not understand, or any de-
 “sign at all other than the needful settling here of the impo-
 “sition, in Nature of an Excise, in those our Letters and
 “Act of Council mention’d; without which this Army
 “could not have subsisted to this time; and was press’d by
 “the Committee from the Parliament here, but then avoided;
 “Our hopes being then more, and our necessities not so great
 “as they were when We laid it. And as We find by your
 “Letters, that the Lords and Commons in Parliament there
 “have done Us the right, by your said Letters, to signify that
 “they cannot think We intended by that expression, to far-
 “ther the design in your Letters mention’d, so We hold it
 “necessary to declare, that We neither have forgotten, nor
 “can forget, the present Condition of that Kingdom; but
 “We have a long time beheld, and still behold, and lament
 “with bleeding Hearts, the woful Condition of that King-
 “dom, and how God’s hand is still stretched out against Us,
 “in those heavy Distractions there; yet We comfort our
 “selves with hope, that God, in mercy to his Majesty, and to
 “all his Kingdoms and People, will at length, in his own
 “good time, answer the Prayers and Tears of Us his Ma-
 “jesty’s Servants, and many thousands of others his good Sub-
 “jects there, and here, continually pour’d out for his Ma-
 “jesty, and his Kingdom, in removing that heavy judgement,
 “and settling Peace and Tranquillity there, to the Glory of
 “God,

"God, the Honour of his Majesty, and the joynt Happines
"of all his Subjects, in all his Kingdoms and Dominions.

"NOR have We forgotten the Supplies of all sorts sent hi-
"ther by the Parliament, but do very well remember them.
"But We confesse We know not, what relief coming hither
"hath been taken away, either by Sea or Land, or by whom,
"or what discouragement hath been given them in return :
"Only We have heard, that the Shipping, employed by the
"Rebels at *Wexford*, did give them some interruption at Sea ;
"and that was occasion'd by neglect of duty in those who
"Commanded the Ships design'd for the Guard of the Coasts
"of this Kingdom: And the said Ship bound hither from
"*Holland* with Munition, which We had contracted for here,
"was intercepted at Sea, and carried to *Calais*, and afterwards
"set free there, by the mediation of his Majesty and the
"Houses of Parliament in *England*. And We find that some
"Ships, sent hither it seems at first with Provisions from *Lon-*
"*don*, and other Ships bound hither with Provisions on pri-
"vate Mens Adventures, were taken away even from this
"Harbour, a few days before the Cessation of Armes here, as
"they were coming in, and carried to *Liverpool*, by one Cap-
"tain *Dausk*, a Person employed by the two Houses of Parlia-
"ment there, in the Command of a Ship, and that Ship com-
"manded by *Dausk*, and other Ships employed at *Liverpool*, do
"now, and have a long time stay'd on that side, laden with Pro-
"vision of Victuals, Coals, and other necessary relief bound from
"thence hither to be sold ; which, if they had arrived here,
"would have brought great relief to this Army, and the In-
"habitants in this City, though on the Adventure of the
"Bringers ; which We hold necessary to represent thither, to
"the end that their uncharitableness towards these poor Men
"that would Adventure hither to relieve us, and their inhu-
"manity towards this distressed Army, and City, and many
"of his Majesty's Protestant Subjects therein, might appear so,
"as they, or others, may not presume hereafter to offend in
"that kind.

AND whereas you write, that We should not conceive that
"only the Charge of this War was referr'd to, and under-
"taken by the Parliament, as if Their part were to be our
"Bankers, only to provide Monies for Us to spend, and were
"not to advise, and direct the managing of the War ; We
"confesse We neither did, nor do conceive the Parliament
"there to be Bankers for Us ; but did esteem them, as those
"to whom the King our Master referr'd the Charge of this
"War, and to whom, as so entrusted by his Majesty, this
"Board, from time to time, made application ; and if any ad-
"vice

"vice had come from them, concerning the managing of the
 "War, We should have endeavour'd to have made the best
 "use thereof, for the furtherance of his Majesty's Service here.
 "And here We hold it necessary to declare, that when We under-
 "stood, that his Majesty, at the humble desire of the Lords
 "and Commons of Parliament in *England*, had, in *April* 1642,
 "granted a Commission to some Members of both Houses,
 "for ordering and disposing all matters there, for the defence,
 "relief, and recovery of this Kingdom; and that his Majesty
 "Commanded all his Officers, Ministers, and Subjects of his
 "Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, to be obedient, aiding,
 "and assisting to the said Commissioners in the due execution
 "of the said Commission; and that by his Majesty's instructions,
 "annexed to the said Commission, his Majesty gave it in
 "charge to those Commissioners, to advertise his Lieutenant of
 "*Ireland*, the Council, and other Governours and Command-
 "ers here, what they conceiv'd to be needful for the pro-
 "secution of the War in the best manner, for the defence of
 "this his Kingdom, and ease of the great Charges and Expences,
 "which, by occasion of this Rebellion, lay upon his
 "loving Subjects of his Kingdom of *England*: We therefore,
 "by our Letters of the seventh of *June* 1642, directed to those
 "his Majesty's Commissioners, besought, among other things,
 "present and particular direction for the prosecution of the
 "War; which yet We have not receiv'd: only We had ad-
 "vice from thence, to send some Forces into *Connaught*; which
 "was done; and for sending some Forces into *Munster*,
 "which, by Our Letters of the thirteenth of *September* 1642
 "to the Commissioners there, We signified was not possible
 "for Us to do, unless We were plentifully supplied of those
 "things, whereof the wants then certified thither did then
 "disable Us.

"CONCERNING the Commission in your Letters men-
 "tion'd, it was not to hear what the Rebels would say, or
 "propound for their own advantage, as your Letters mention;
 "but his Majesty having receiv'd an humble Petition, in the
 "name of the Recusants of *Ireland*, desiring to be heard, his
 "Majesty thought it not unjust, or inconvenient for him, to
 "receive from them what they could say unto him; to whom
 "they insinuated that they would yet yield due obedience.
 "And therefore his Majesty, by his Commission under the
 "Great Seal of *England* (wherein he declared his extreme de-
 "testation of the odious Rebellion, which the Recusants of
 "*Ireland* have, without any ground or colour, rais'd against
 "Him, his Crown, and Dignity) Authorized some of his Mi-
 "nisters here, to hear at large what the Petitioners should

"say,

"say, or propound; which his Majesty, by the said Commis-
 "sion, directed that the Petitioners, or the principal of them,
 "Authorised by the rest, should set down in writing under
 "their hands; and the Commissioners to send the same to his
 "Majesty; whereupon his Majesty by the said Commission
 "declared, he would take such farther consideration, as should
 "be just, honourable, and fit for his Majesty: And that that
 "Course gave not the least interruption to the proceeding of
 "the War, appears by this, that on the eighteenth of *March*
 "(being in the time the Commissioners, Authorised by his
 "Majesty, gave meeting to those of the other side, upon that
 "Commission) the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, though one of
 "those Commissioners, in his return from *Rosse* with about
 "two thousand five hundred Foot, and five hundred Horse
 "of his Majesty's Army, fought with the Army of the Re-
 "bels, consisting of about six thousand Foot, and six hundred
 "and fifty Horse, and obtain'd a happy and glorious Victory
 "against them; and the Rebel's Army being Defeated, and
 "wholly Routed, and their Baggage and Munition seized
 "on, his Majesty's Forces lodged that night where they had
 "gained the Victory, as by former Letters of this Board, of
 "the fourth of *April* 1643, directed to Mr Speaker, We for-
 "merly signified thither: which We thus repeat, to manifest
 "that that Commission; or the Meeting thereupon, gave not
 "any manner of interruption to the proceeding of the War.

"CONCERNING the Letters you mention, to devest the
 "Committee of both Houses there of an Authority given them
 "by both Houses, We remember that his Majesty, by his
 "Letters of the third of *February* 1642, understanding that the
 "then Justices and Council had admitted, without His order
 "or knowledge, to sit in Council with them in this his King-
 "dom, Mr *Robert Goodwin* and Mr *Reynolds*, and that thereby
 "they were become so bold, as to take upon them to hear,
 "and debate of matters Treated of in Council, his Majesty,
 "by his said Letters, signified by his express Command, that
 "they should not be permitted to sit, or be present any more
 "at his Majesty's Council Table here; but if they had any
 "business, his Majesty willed, that they should attend as others
 "of their Quality: which his Majesty's pleasure was humbly
 "obeyed by his said Justices, and Council, with that Duty
 "and Submission, which was due from them to his Roy-
 "al Commands. And as his Majesty, by his said Letters re-
 "quired, that, if those Persons had any business, they should
 "attend, as others of their Quality; so, if they had afterwards
 "offer'd any business at this Board, they should have been
 "heard therein; which was also signified to them before their
 "departure

“departure hence. And now, upon this occasion, We having per-
 “uted the Copies they deliver’d at this Board, of the Order
 “of both Houses dated the sixth of *October* 1642, and of their
 “Instructions, do find indeed, that, by the said Order, the said
 “*Robert Reynolds*, and *Robert Goodwin*, were to have the Cre-
 “dence, Power, and Esteem of a Committee sent hither by the
 “Advice, and Authority of both Houses of Parliament; and
 “that, by the said Instructions, they were to be admitted to
 “be present, and Vote at all Consultations concerning the War;
 “yet there is nothing in the said Order, or Instructions, for
 “admitting them to sit, or be present at his Majesty’s Coun-
 “cil Table; which is that which his Majesty, by his said
 “Letters, required, should not be permitted; which cannot be
 “conceiv’d to be a devesting them of any Authority given
 “them by both Houses.

“AND as to the late Alteration of Government here, ex-
 “pressed in your Letters, although his Majesty in his high
 “wisdom adjudged it fit to alter one of those Governours,
 “which he had placed here, which was no more than He,
 “and his Royal Predecessors had usually done in all Ages, as
 “often as they thought fit, yet that made no alteration in the
 “Government; but it in all times continued, and still conti-
 “nues the same, though in other Persons.

“THAT part of your Letters which declares, that you are
 “forbidden to tell Us what Supplies of Money, Victual, Am-
 “munition, and other Necessaries, were then in a good for-
 “wardness to be sent hither for the support of the Officers,
 “and Soldiers here, requires no Answer on Our parts, other
 “than this truth, that they are not yet arriv’d here. Con-
 “cerning *Mountrose’s* Letters to Colonel *Crawford*, We know
 “of no Treason to be discover’d thereby; but for the Sea
 “Captains in your Letters mention’d, it is certain that their
 “neglects and misdeeds deserve punishment, which We de-
 “fire they may find rather to their correction, than to their
 “ruin.

“THUS We have given Answer to those parts of your
 “Letters, which, We conceiv’d, concern’d Us; whereby, We
 “hope, both Houses of Parliament there will now remain sa-
 “tisfied, as in the necessity and justice of our Actions, so in
 “the truth and candour of our Intentions, in those particulars
 “to which your said Letters seem to take exception. And so
 “We remain,

From his Majesty’s Castle of Dublin 28th of Oct. 1643.

“Your Lordships very loving Friends,

<i>Ja. Borlase.</i>	<i>Hen. Tichborne.</i>	<i>Rich. Bolton, Cant.</i>
<i>La. Dublin.</i>	<i>Ormond.</i>	<i>Roscommon.</i>
<i>Ant. Midenfis.</i>	<i>Ed. Brabazon.</i>	<i>Char. Lambert.</i>
<i>Geo. Skurley.</i>	<i>Ger. Lowther.</i>	<i>Tho. Rotherham.</i>
<i>Fr. Willoughby.</i>	<i>Tho. Lucas.</i>	<i>Ja. Ware.</i>
	<i>G. Wentworth.</i>	

THE distractions in *Ireland* being, by means of the Cessation, in some degree allayed, and both Parties having time to breath, the King, in the next place, consider'd how he might apply that Cessation to the Advancement of his Affairs in *England*. One of the principal Motives that induced that Cessation, was the miserable State of the Army there, ready, through extreme wants, to disband; so that there being now less use of them there, and an impossibility to keep them, his Majesty had it only in his Election, whether he should suffer them there to disband, and dispose of themselves as they thought fit, which could not be without infinite disorder, and might probably prove as much to his particular disservice; or whether he should draw over such a Number as might be safely spared, to his own Assistance in *England*; to which he was assured, that the devotion, and affection of most of the principal or considerable Officers there, chearfully inclined; and of this latter he made little scruple to make choice, when he was not only inform'd of the preparations and readiness in *Scotland*, to invade this Kingdom; but that they had called over their old General, the Earl of *Leven*, who Commanded the *Scotch* Forces in *Ireland*, and many other Officers and Soldiers out of that Kingdom, to form and conduct their Army into This; and that there were also Arts and Industry used, by some Agents for the Parliament, to perswade the *English* Officers likewise to bring over their Men for their Service.

So that the King directed the Marquis of *Ormond*, to make ^{The King sends for part of the English Army out of Ireland.} choice of such Regiments, and Troops, as were necessary for the Defence of the several Garrisons, or as could be provided for, and supported in that Kingdom, and that the rest should be sent for *England*. To which purpose, Shipping was sent; with direction that those from, and about *Dublin*, should be Shipp'd for *Chester*, to be joyn'd to those Forces under the Command of the Lord *Capel*; whereby he might be able to resist the growing power of *St. William Bruerton*; who, by an addition of Forces from *London*, and with the Assistance of *St. Thomas Middleton*, and *St. John Gell*, was grown very strong; being backed by *Lancashire*, which upon the matter was wholly reduced to the obedience of the Parliament:

and that the other Forces out of *Munster* should be landed at *Bristol*, to be disposed by the Lord *Hepton*; who was forming a new Army, to oppose *Sr William Waller*; who threaten'd an Inroad into the West; or rather to seek him out by visiting *Hampshire*, and *Sussex*, if the other were not ready to advance.

THE Court at *Oxford* was much encreased by the Queen's Presence, and the necessities were encreased with the expence. All correspondence was absolutely broken with *London*, in so much as a sworn Messenger of the Chamber, sent to *London* with a Writ, and Proclamation for the Adjournment of the Term to *Oxford*, was apprehended as a Spy (as hath been said before) and executed by Martial Law; and the two Houses had caused a Great Seal to be made with the King's Image, and Inscription, and put the same into the hands of Commissioners; and so the Courts were continued in *Westminster-Hall*, for the dispatch of Justice (as they call'd it) as had been formerly, notwithstanding the King's Proclamation. The Money, which by the particular Persons of all conditions had been very plentifully supplied in the beginning of the War, now near spent, and the stopping the intercourse with *London*, had shut the door against farther Supply; so that all Men were weary of the condition they were in, and expressed it as weary Men used to do, in Murmurs and Complaints. And now all the hope was in the Convention of the Members of Parliament; which being a new thing, suspended the present indisposition, and administer'd some expectation, what they, who came from all Quarters of the Kingdom, would do.

The Members of both Houses met at Oxford.

ACCORDING to the King's Proclamation, the Members of both Houses of Parliament, who had withdrawn out of Conscience and Duty from those at *Westminster*, appear'd at *Oxford* at the day appointed; except such as could not reasonably be absent from their Commands in the Counties, where the Armies were. They were graciously, and solemnly welcom'd by his Majesty, with that Ceremony which is used at the opening of a Parliament; when his Majesty told them:

The Substance of the King's Speech to them.

"THAT he had called them to be Witnesses of his Actions, and privy to his Intentions; and that he desired to receive any Advice from them, which they thought would be suitable to the miserable and distracted condition of the Kingdom; in presenting whereof, they should use all that Parliamentary freedom which would be due to them if they were with him at *Westminster*, and which, with all their other Privileges, they should enjoy at *Oxford*, though they could

"could not in the other place; with many expressions of grace towards them, and confidence in them. As soon as they had withdrawn to those places which were assign'd to their Counsels, both Lords and Commons enter'd upon the deliberation of all possible expedients, in order to Peace; most Men believing, according to the reason and conscience of their own hearts, that the difficulty was greater, to dispose those at *London* to the honesty and confidence of a Treaty, than, in that Treaty, to agree on such Conclusions as might be satisfactory to all Parties; judging it impossible, that Men could desire to bring ruin and desolation upon their Country, if they were once perswaded that it might be prevented with their own preservation. But how to advance to any formality, which probably might produce a disposition to intercourse, appear'd very hard. When they thought of advising the King to send a gracious Message and Overture to the two Houses, they presently remember'd, and consider'd, what his Majesty had already done that way, and how ill returns of Reverence and Duty, he had receiv'd from them: That to the two last Messages he had sent (it being not possible now to send any more gracious and obliging) they had never return'd Answer, and that they still detain'd his last Messenger in strict durance, after having expos'd him to a Trial for his Life at a Court of War: That they had prohibited any kind of Address to be made to them from his Majesty, except through the hands of the Earl of *Essex* their General. From thence those at *Oxford* enter'd upon the disquisition, how they might engage his Lordship to the same thoughts and desires with them; to the which they easily believ'd, Experience, Observation, and Interest, would engage him. They perswaded themselves, that the principal ground which had hitherto frustrated all Overtures from his Majesty towards Peace, was the Conscience those at *Westminster* had of their own guilt, and the jealousy, that proceeded from thence, that no Peace could secure them, whilst there was power left in his Majesty; but that they could not possibly suspect the performance and exact observation of any agreement, which should be concluded upon the intercession of all the King's Party; which must be security for the accomplishment of it. From the reasonableness of this Assertion, they entertain'd an Assurance, that the Earl of *Essex* would as greedily embrace the opportunity, and concur with them in promoting the Overture; which was all they desired: for that would remove those forms, which, as so many Rocks, were in the way. Hereupon the Lords and Commons, the Members of both Houses, resolv'd to write a Letter to the Earl of *Essex*, in

their own Names, which, with the King's Consent, was by Trumpet sent to him, within four days after their meeting. The Letter was in these very terms.

My Lord,

*They send a
Letter to the
Earl of Es-
sex.*

"HIS Majesty having, by his Proclamation of the 22^d of
December (upon the occasion of the Invasion threaten'd,
and in part begun, by some of his Subjects of *Scotland*) sum-
mon'd all the Members of both Houses of Parliament, to at-
tend him here at *Oxford*, We whose Names are underwrit-
ten, are here met and assembled, in obedience to those his
Majesty's Commands. His Majesty was pleas'd to invite Us,
in the said Proclamation, by these gracious Expressions, that
his Subjects should see, how willing he was to receive Ad-
vice, for the preservation of the Religion, Laws, and Safety
of the Kingdom, and as far as in him lay, to restore it to it's
former Peace and Security (his chief and only end) from
those whom they had trusted; though he could not receive
it in the place where he appointed. This most gracious In-
vitation hath not only been made good unto Us, but se-
conded, and heighen'd by such unquestionable Demonstra-
tions of the deep and Princely sense, which possesses his
Royal heart, of the Miseries, and Calamities of his poor
Subjects in this unnatural War, and of his most entire and
passionate Affections to redeem them from that sad and de-
plorable condition, by all ways possible, consistent either
with his Honour, or with the future Safety of the Kingdom,
that as it were impiety to question the sincerity of them, so
were it great want of duty and faithfulness in Us (his Ma-
jesty having vouchsafed to declare, that he did call Us to be
Witnesses of his Actions, and Privy to his Intentions) should
We not Testify, and Witness to all the world, the Assurance
We have of the piety and sincerity of both. We being most
entirely satisfied of this truth, We cannot but confess, that
amidst our highest Afflictions, in the deep and piercing sense
of the present miseries and desolations of our Country, and
those farther dangers threaten'd from *Scotland*, We are at
length erected to some chearful and comfortable thoughts,
that possibly We may yet (by Gods mercy, if his justice
have not determin'd this Nation, for it's Sins, to total ruin
and desolation) hope to be happy Instruments of our Coun-
tries redemption, from the miseries of War, and restitution
to the blessing of Peace,

"AND We being desirous to believe your Lordship, how-
ever engaged, a Person likely to be sensibly touched with
these

"these considerations, have thought fit to invite you to that
 "part in this blessed work, which is only capable to repair all
 "our misfortunes, and to buoy up the Kingdom from ruin;
 "that is, by conjuring you by all the obligations that have
 "power upon Honour, Conscience, or publick Piety, that lay-
 "ing to heart, as We do, the inward bleeding condition of
 "your Country, and the outward more menacing destructi-
 "on by a Foreign Nation, upon the very point of invading it,
 "you will cooperate with Us to it's preservation, by truly
 "representing to, and faithfully and industriously promoting
 "with those by whom you are trusted, this following most sin-
 "cere, and most earnest desire of ours; that they joyning with
 "Us in a right sense of the past, present, and more threatening
 "Calamities of this deplorable Kingdom, some Persons be ap-
 "pointed on either part, and a place agreed on, to Treat of
 "such a Peace, as may yet redeem it from the Brink of Deso-
 "lation.

"THIS Address We should not have made, but that his
 "Majesty's Summons, by which We are met, most graciously
 "proclaiming Pardon to all without exception, is evidence
 "enough, that his mercy and clemency can transcend all for-
 "mer provocations; and that he hath not only made Us Wit-
 "nesses of his Princely Intentions, but honoured Us also with
 "the Name of being security for them. God Almighty direct
 "your Lordship, and those to whom you shall present these
 "our most real desires, in such a Course as may produce that
 "happy Peace, and Settlement of the present distractions;
 "which is so heartily desired, and pray'd for, by Us, and
 "which may make Us,

"Your &c.

From Oxford 29th of Jan. 1643.

THIS Letter was Subscribed by his Highness the Prince,
 the Duke of York, and three and forty Dukes, Marquisses,
 Earls, Viscounts, and Barons, and one hundred and eighteen
 Members of the House of Commons; there being such expe-
 dition used in the dispatch, that it was not thought fit to be
 deferr'd for a greater Subscription: Albeit it was known that
 many Lords and Commoners were upon the way, who came
 within few days; and there were, at that time, near twenty
 Peers absent with his Majesty's leave, and employed in his
 Affairs, and Armies, in the Kingdom; and ten at the same
 time in the Parts beyond the Seas. So that the Numbers at
 London were very thin; for there were not above two and
 twenty Peers, who either sat in the Parliament, or were en-

gaged in their Party; that is to say, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Essex*, *Kent*, *Lincoln*, *Rutland*, *Salisbury*, *Suffolk*, *Warwick*, *Manchester*, *Mulgrave*, *Denbigh*, *Stamford*, *Bullingbrook*; the Lords *Say*, *Dacres*, *Wharton*, *Grey of Wark*, *Willoughby of Parham*, *Howard of Esrick*, *Rockfort*, and *Robarts*; who were present, or had Proxies there.

THE Trumpeter found the Earl of *Essex* at his House in *London*, where he was detain'd three or four days; during which time, the Committee of both Houses, that Committee which they called the Committee of Safety for the two Kingdoms (the *Scottish* Commissioners being a part of it) resorted to the Earl for his Advice: and in the end, the Trumpeter return'd with this short Letter to the Earl of *Forth*, the King's General.

My Lord,

The Earl of Essex's Answer directed to the Earl of Forth, with the two following Declarations.

"I RECEIV'D this day a Letter, of the 29th of this instant, from your Lordship, and a Parchment Subscribed by the Prince, Duke of *York*, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen; but it neither having Address to the two Houses of Parliament, nor therein, therebeing any acknowledgmen^t of them, I could not communicate it to them. My Lord, the maintenance of the Parliament of *England*, and of the Privileges thereof, is that for which We are resolv'd to spend our Blood; as being the foundation whereupon all our Laws, and Liberties are built. I send your Lordship herewith a National Covenant, solemnly enter'd into by both the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; and a Declaration pass'd by them both together, with another Declaration of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, I rest

Your Lordships &c.

WHAT the Covenant was, being the same particularly set down before, I need not mention; and the Declarations are as publick, and would be thought too large to be in this place inserted, to the interruption of the thread of this discourse; yet it cannot be amiss to make a short Extract of some particular heads, or conclusions of them; that the world may see what kind of reasoning this time had introduced, and that they were as bold with God as with the King.

An Extract of the Declaration of the Kingdom of Scotland.

THAT Declaration of the Kingdom of *Scotland* alone, was, to justify their present expedition into *England*; in which they said, "It was most necessary, that every one, against all doubting, should be perswaded in his mind of the lawfulness of his

"his Undertaking, and of the goodness of the Cause maintain'd by him; which they said was no other, than the good
"of Religion in *England*, and the deliverance of their Brethren
"out of the depths of Affliction; the preservation of their own
"Religion, and of Themselves from the extremity of Misery,
"and the Safety of their Native King, and his Kingdoms,
"from destruction and desolation. Any one of which (they
"said) by all Law divine, and humane, was too just cause of
"taking of Armes; how much more, when all of them were
"joyn'd in one? And therefore, they wish'd any Man, who
"did withdraw, and hide himself in such a Debate and Controversy,
"to consider, whether he were not a hater of his Brethren,
"against Christian and common Charity; an hater of Himself
"and his Posterity, against the law and light of Nature; an hater
"of the King, and his Kingdoms, against Loyalty, and common
"Duty; and a hater of God, against all Religion, and Peace.

THEY said, "the Question was not, nor need they dispute,
"whether they might propagate their Religion by Armes; but
"whether, according to their power, they ought to assist their
"Brethren in *England*, who were calling for their help, and
"were shedding their Blood in defence of that power without
"which Religion could neither be defended, nor reform'd;
"nor unity of Religion with them, and other Reform'd
"Kirks, be attained. So that, they said, the Question was
"no sooner rightly stated, but it was almost resolv'd; and
"concluded, *that the Lord would save them from the curse of
"Meroz, who came not to help the Lord against the Mighty.*
"They said, the Question could not be, as their Enemies would
"make it, whether they should enter into *England*, and lift
"Armes against their own King, who had promised and done
"as much, as might secure them in their own Religion, and
"Liberties: but whether against the Popish, Prelatical, and
"Malignant Party, their Adherents prevailing in *England*
"and *Ireland*, they were not bound to provide for their own
"preservation. That they might well have known, from their
"continual experience, ever since the time of their first
"Reformation, especially after the two Kingdoms were united
"under one Head and Monarch, and from the Principles of
"their own Declarations, in the time of their late Troubles
"and Dangers, that they could not long, like *Goshen*, enjoy
"their light, if darkness should cover the face of other
"Reform'd Kirks: that *Juda* could not long continue in
"Liberty, if *Israel* were led away in Captivity; and that the
"condition of the one Kirk and Kingdom, whether in Religion
"or Peace, must be common to both.

“THEY said the Question was not, whether they should presume to be Arbitrators in the matter, now debated by Fire and Sword, betwixt his Majesty and the Houses of Parliament; which might seem to be forreign and extrinsecal to that Nation, and wherein they might be conceiv’d to have no Interest; but whether, their Mediation and Intercession being rejected by the one Side, upon hope of Victory, or suppose by both Sides, upon confidence of their own strength and several Successes, it were not their duty, it being in their power, to stop or prevent the Effusion of Christian Blood; or whether they ought not to endeavour to rescue their Native King, his Crown, and Posterity, out of the midst of so many dangers, and to preserve his People and Kingdom from Ruin and Destruction. If every private Man were bound in duty to interpose himself as a Reconciler, and Sequestrator between his Neighbours, arm’d to their mutual Destruction; if the Son ought to hazard his own Life for the preservation of his Father and Brother, at Variance one against the other, should a Kingdom sit still, and suffer their King and Neighbouring Kingdom to perish in an unnatural War? In the time of Animosity, and appetite of Revenge, such an Interposing might be an irritation; but afterwards, when the Eyes of the mind, no more Blood-run with Passion, did discern things right, it would be no grief or offence of Heart, but matter of Thanksgiving to God, and to the Instruments which had kept from shedding Blood, and from Revenge.

WITH this kind of Divinity, and this kind of Logic, to shew that they had a clear prospect of whatever could be said against them, they resolv’d to Invade their Neighbour Nation, and to interpose themselves as Reconcilers, by joyn- ing against their Native and Natural King, with his Rebellious Subjects, in all the Acts of Animosity and Blood, which have been ever practiced in the most raging, and furious Civil War.

*An Extract
of the De-
claration of
England
and Scot-
land.*

THE other Declaration, mention’d in the Earl’s Letter, was a Declaration pass’d, and published in the Name of both Kingdoms, *England* and *Scotland*, after their Marriage by their new League and Covenant, and about the very time that this very Overture for Peace came from *Oxford*. They were now both equally inspired with the *Scotch* Dialect and Spirit; talk’d, “how clearly the light of the Gospel shined amongst them; that they placed not their confidence in their own Counsels and Strength; but their confidence was in God Almighty, the Lord of Hosts, who would not
“leave

"leave nor forsake his People. It was his own Truth and
 "Cause, which they maintain'd against the Heresy, Super-
 "stition, and Tyranny of Anti-Christ: the Glory of his
 "Name, the exaltation of the Kingdom of his Son, and the
 "preservation of his Church was their aime, and the end
 "which they had before their Eyes. It was His Covenant,
 "which they had solemnly in both Nations Sworn, and Sub-
 "scribed; which he would not have put in their hearts to
 "do, if he had been minded to destroy them. Upon these
 "and the like grounds, and considerations, being confident
 "that this War, wherein both Nations were so firmly united,
 "and deeply engaged, was of God, they resolve with Cou-
 "rage and Constancy to the end to do their part; and the
 "Lord who had stirred up their Spirits, displayed his Banner
 "before them, and given the Alarm, do that which seemeth
 "him good.

THEY gave now "Publick warning to all Men to rest no
 "longer upon their Neutrality, or to please themselves with
 "the naughty and slothful pretext of indifferency; but that
 "they address themselves speedily to take the Covenant, and
 "joyn with all their power, in the Defence of this Cause
 "against the Common Enemy; and by their Zeal, and for-
 "wardness hereafter, to make up what had been wanting
 "through their Lukewarmness; this they would find to be
 "their greatest Wisdom, and Safety; otherwise they did declare
 "them to be Publick Enemies to their Religion, and Country;
 "and that they were to be censur'd and punish'd, as professed
 "Adversaries, and Malignants.

THEN they proclaim'd "a Pardon to all those who would
 "before such a day desert the King, and adhere to them, and
 "take the Covenant; and concluded, "that they made not
 "that Declaration, from any presumption, or vain glorying
 "in the strength of their Armies and Forces, but from the
 "sense of their Duty, which was required and expected from
 "the high Places, and publick Relations, wherein they stood;
 "and from the Assurance they had of the Assistance of God,
 "by whose Providence, the trust and safety of those King-
 "doms was put into their hands at this time; having, after
 "long and grave Consultation, resolv'd and decreed never to
 "lay down Arms, till Truth and Peace, by the blessing of
 "God, be settled in this Island, upon a firm foundation for the
 "present, and future Generations; which, they said, should be
 "esteem'd of them an abundant reward of all that they could
 "do, or suffer in that Cause.

THESE were the Declarations which the Earl of *Essex*,
 together with the Covenant, sent, as an Answer to that Let-
 ter

ter from the Prince of *Wales*, and those Lords and Gentlemen; which might have been the foundation of an Honest, and Honourable Peace to all the King's Dominions. And I cannot but observe, that after this time that the Earl declin'd this opportunity of declaring himself, he never did prosperous Act in the remainder of his Life; but whereas before, he had throughout the Course of his Command, how unwarrantably soever undertaken, behaved himself with very signal Courage and Conduct, and at this time was adorn'd with the Testimony of Friends and Enemies, of a right good General, upon the conclusion of the business of *Glocester*; he never, after his taking this Covenant, and writing this Letter, did one Successful thing; but prov'd Unfortunate in all he went about, even to his Death; of which We shall say more in it's place.

WE the rather extracted these short Clauses of those two Declarations, that Posterity may observe the Divine hand of Almighty God upon the People of these miserable Kingdoms; that after they had broken loose from that excellent Form and Practice of Religion, which their Ancestors, and Themselves had observ'd, and enjoy'd, with a greater measure of Happiness, than almost any Nation liv'd under, so long a time; and after they had cancelled, and thrown off those admirable incomparable Laws of Government, which was compounded of so much exact reason, that all possible Mischiefs were foreseen, and provided against by it; they should be now Captivated by a Prophane and Presumptuous entitling themselves to God's Favour, and using his holy Name in that manner, that all sober Christians must stand scandalized, and amazed at; and should be deluded by such a kind of reasoning and debate, as, one would think, could only impose upon Men unnurtur'd, and unacquainted with any Knowledge or Science.

THERE wanted not a just indignation at the return of this Trumpet; and yet the Answer being so much in that Popular road, of saying something plausibly to the People, it was thought fit again to make an attempt, that at least the World might see, that they did, in plain *English*, refuse to admit of any Peace. So the Earl of *Forth* was advised to write again to the other General, for a Safe Conduct for two Gentlemen then named, against whom no imaginable exception could be taken, to and from *Westminster*, to be sent by his Majesty concerning a Treaty of Peace. To this the Earl of *Essex* return'd Answer, "that whensoever he should receive any directions to those who had intrusted him, he should use his best Endeavours; and when a Safe Conduct should

"should be desired for those Gentlemen, mention'd in his
 "Letter, from his Majesty to the Houses of Parliament, his
 "Lordship would, with all chearfulness, shew his willing-
 "ness to farther any way that might produce that happiness,
 "which all honest Men prayed for; which is a true under-
 "standing between his Majesty, and his faithful, and only
 "Council, the Parliament.

THIS expression of his resolution of interposing, if he
 had a Letter from his Majesty to the Houses of Parliament
 (together with some intimation in Letters from *London*, which
 at these Seasons never wanted) perswaded many, that the
 Earl wanted only an opportunity to possess the Houses with
 the Overture, and if it were once within the Walls, there
 were so many well affected to Peace, that the Proposition
 would not be rejected; though no particular Person, or Com-
 bination of Men, had the Courage, of themselves, to propose it.
 And therefore at the same time, making all possible preparations
 for the Field, as the Scene where the differences were like to
 be decided, his Majesty was prevail'd with, though he con-
 cluded it would be rejected, to send this ensuing Message,
 which was enclosed to the Earl of *Essex* to be by him
 managed.

"OUT of Our most tender and pious Sense of the sad and
 "bleeding Condition of this Our Kingdom, and Our un-
 "wearied desires to apply all remedies, which by the bless-
 "sing of Almighty God, may recover it from an utter Ruin,
 "by the advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament,
 "assembled at *Oxford*, We do propound, and desire, that a
 "convenient Number of fit Persons may be appointed, and
 "authorised by You, to meet, with all convenient speed, at
 "such place as you shall Nominate, with an equal Number
 "of fit Persons whom We shall appoint, and authorise to
 "Treat of the ways and means to settle the present Distrac-
 "tions of this our Kingdom, and to procure a happy Peace:
 "And particularly, how all the Members of both Houses
 "may securely meet in a full and free Convention of Parlia-
 "ment, there to Treat, Consult, and agree upon such things,
 "as may conduce to the maintenance, and defence of the
 "true Reform'd Protestant Religion, with due consideration
 "to all just, and reasonable ease of tender Consciences; to
 "the settling and maintaining of our just Rights and Privi-
 "leges, of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, the Laws
 "of the Land, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and
 "all other Expedients, that may conduce to that blessed
 "end of a firm and lasting Peace both in Church and State,
 "and

*The King's
 Message to
 both Houses.*

“and a perfect understanding betwixt Us and our People:
 “wherein no Endeavours, or Concurrence of Ours shall be
 “wanting: And God direct your hearts in the way of Peace.

Given at Our Court at Oxford, 3d March 1643.

THIS Message, being sign'd by his Majesty, was subscribed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Westminster*; which, though it was a Style they could not reasonably except against, was yet no other than the Lords and Commons at *Oxford* took upon themselves, as they well might. After two or three debates in the Houses, and with the *Scotish* Commissioners, without whose Concurrence nothing was transacted, this Answer was return'd to his Majesty; which put a period to all Men's hopes, who imagin'd that there might be any disposition in those Councils, to any possible, and honest Accommodation.

May it please your Majesty :

*The two
Houses Answer.*

“WE the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament
 “of *England*, taking into our consideration a Letter sent from
 “your Majesty, dated the 3d of *March* instant, and directed
 “to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *West-*
 “*minster* (which, by the contents of a Letter from the Earl
 “of *Forth* unto the Lord General the Earl of *Essex*, We con-
 “ceive was intended to our selves) have resolved with the
 “concurrent Advice, and Consent of the Commissioners of the
 “Kingdom of *Scotland*, to represent to your Majesty, in all
 “humility and plainness, as followeth : That as We have used
 “all means for a just and safe Peace, so will We never be
 “wanting to do our utmost for the procuring thereof; but
 “when We consider the expressions in that Letter of your
 “Majesty's, We have more sad and despairing thoughts of at-
 “taining the same than ever, because thereby, those Persons
 “now assembled at *Oxford*, who, contrary to their duty,
 “have deserted your Parliament, are put into an equal condi-
 “tion with it. And this present Parliament, convened ac-
 “cording to known and fundamental Laws of the Kingdom
 “(the continuance whereof is establish'd by a Law consented
 “to by your Majesty) is in effect denied to be a Parliament;
 “the scope and intention of that Letter being to make provision
 “how all the Members, as is pretended, of both Houses may
 “securely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament;
 “whereof no other conclusion can be made, but that this pre-
 “sent Parliament is not a full, nor free Convention; and that to
 “make

"make it a full and free Convention of Parliament, the presence of those is necessary, who notwithstanding that they have deserted that great Trust, and do levy War against the Parliament, are pretended to be Members of the two Houses of Parliament.

"AND hereupon We think our selves bound to let your Majesty know, that seeing the continuance of this Parliament is settled by a Law, which (as all other Laws of your Kingdom) your Majesty hath sworn to maintain, as We are sworn to our Allegiance to your Majesty (these obligations being reciprocal) We must in duty, and accordingly are resolv'd, with our Lives and Fortunes, to defend and preserve the just Rights and full power of this Parliament; and do beseech your Majesty to be assured, that your Majesty's Royal and hearty concurrence with Us herein, will be the most effectual and ready means of procuring a firm and lasting Peace in all your Majesty's Dominions, and begetting a perfect Understanding between your Majesty and your People: Without which, your Majesty's most earnest professions, and our most real Intentions concerning the same, must necessarily be frustrated. And in case your Majesty's three Kingdoms should, by reason thereof, remain in this sad and bleeding condition, tending, by the continuance of this unnatural War, to their ruin, your Majesty cannot be the least, nor the last Sufferer. God in his goodness incline your Royal breast, out of pity and compassion to those deep sufferings of your innocent People, to put a speedy and happy Issue to these desperate evils, by the joynt advice of both your Kingdoms, now happily united in this Cause by their late solemn League and Covenant; which as it will prove the surest remedy, so it is the earnest prayer of your Majesty's loving Subjects, the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England*.

Grey of Warke

Speaker of the House of Peers in Parliament

Westminster the
9th of Mar. 1643.

William Lenthall

[pro tempore;

Speaker of the House of Commons in Parliament.

THE hope of Peace, by this kind of interposition, did not in any degree make the Counsels remiss for the providing of Money to supply the Army: Upon which they had more hope than from a Treaty. But the Expedients for Money were not easily

Means agreed upon by the Lords and Commons as Oxford so raise Money.

easily thought on; though there was a considerable part of the Kingdom within the King's Quarters, the Inhabitants were frequently robbed, and plunder'd by the Incursions of the Enemy, and not very well secured against the Royal Troops, who begun to practice all the Licence of War. The Nobility, and Gentry, who were not Officers of the Army, lived for the most part in *Oxford*; and all that they could draw from their Estates, was but enough for their own Subsistence; they durst not enter upon charging the People in general, lest they should be thought to take upon them to be a Parliament; and their care was, that the Common People might be preserv'd from Burthens; and they were as careful not to expose the King's Honour, or Name, to affronts and refusals; but were willing that the Envy and Clamour, if there should be any, should fall upon Themselves.

THEY appointed all the Members of the Commons, "to bring in the Names of all the Gentlemen of Estate, and "other Persons who were reputed to be rich, within their several precincts; and what Sum of Money every Body might "be well able to supply the King with, in this exigent of the "publick State. And then a form of a Letter was conceiv'd, which should be sent to every one of them, for such a Sum; "the Letter to be Subscribed by the two Speakers of the "Houses, to the end that the People might know, that it was "by the advice of the Members of Parliament assembled "there; which was as much the advice of Parliament, as could "be deliver'd at that time in the Kingdom. When the way and method of this was approv'd by the Lords, and his Majesty likewise consented to it; they begun, the better to encourage others, with Themselves; and caus'd Letters to be sign'd and deliver'd to the several Members of both Houses, for such Sums as they were well disposed to furnish; which were to that proportion as gave good Encouragement to others; and the like Letters to all Persons of condition who were in the Town. And by this means, there was a Sum rais'd in ready Money, and Credit, that did supply many necessary occasions, near the Sum of one hundred thousand pounds, whereof some came in every day, to enable the King to provide for the next Campagne; which, the Spring coming on, was to be expected early; the Parliament at *Westminster* having rais'd vast Sums of Money, and being like to bring many Armies into the Field. All, who were to furnish Money upon these Letters, had liberty to bring, or send it in Plate, if that was for their convenience; the King having call'd the Officers and Workmen of his Mint to *Oxford*, who Coynd such Plate as was brought in; his Majesty likewise made a Grant of some

Forrests,

Forrests, Parks, and other Lands, to certain Persons in Trust, for the securing of such Money as should be borrow'd, or those Persons who should be bound for the payment of such Money; and by this means likewise many considerable Sums of Money were procured, and Cloath, and Shooes, and Shirts, were provided for the Army.

THE two Houses at *Westminster*, who called themselves, and they are often called in this discourse, the Parliament, had at this time by an Ordinance, that is an Order of both Houses, laid an imposition, which they called an Excise, upon Wine, Beer, Ale, and many other Commodities, to be paid in the manner very punctually and methodically set down by them, for the carrying on the War. This was the first time, that ever the Name of payment of Excise was heard of, or practiced in *England*; laid on by those who pretended to be most jealous of any exaction upon the People: and this Pattern being then printed, and published at *London*, was thought by the Members at *Oxford*, as a good Expedient to be followed by the King; and thereupon it was settled, and to be govern'd, and regulated by Commissioners, in the same Method it was done at *London*. And in *Oxford*, *Bristol*, and other Garrisons, it did yield a reasonable supply for the Provision of Armes and Ammunition; which, for the most part, it was assign'd to; both sides making ample Declarations, with bitter reproaches upon the necessity that drew on this imposition, "that it should be continued no longer than to the end of the War, and then laid down, "and utterly abolish'd; which few wise Men believ'd it would ever be.

The two Houses at Westminster impose an Excise.

The two Houses at Oxford follow the Example.

THE high and insolent proceedings at *Westminster*, made no impression at *Oxford* towards the shaking the Allegiance, and Courage of those whom his Majesty had called to advise him. But when they found the temper of the other so much, above belief, averse to Peace, and intending utter ruin to the King, the Church, and all who should continue true *English* Men and Subjects, they resolv'd as frankly to declare their Resolutions, that the People might see the Issue they were at; and therefore they publish'd a Declaration of the Grounds and Motives which had forced them to leave the Parliament at *Westminster*; in which they mention'd "all the "indirect passages, and the Acts of Violence, by which they "had been driven thence; and the obligations upon them in "Conscience, and Law, to adhere to his Majesty; and the "misery which the other Party had already brought upon the "Kingdom, and the desolation which must inevitably follow "those conclusions: and with a greater Unanimity and Consent,

The Substance of the Declaration of the Lords and Commons at Oxford.

sent, than was ever known in so great a Council, where there were so many Persons of Honour, and Judges, and others Learned in the Law, among whom there was scarce one dissenting Voice, they declared,

1. "THAT all such Subjects of *Scotland*, as had consented to the Declaration, entitled the Declaration of the Kingdom of *Scotland* concerning the present Expedition into *England*, had thereby denounced War against the Kingdom of *England*, and broke the Act of Pacification.

2. "THAT all his Majesty's Subjects of the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, are both by their Allegiance, and the Act of Pacification, bound to resist and repels all those of *Scotland* as had, or should enter upon any part of his Majesty's Realm and Dominions, as Traytors, and Enemies to the State; and that whosoever should Abet, Aid, or Assist the *Scots* in their Invasion, should be deem'd as Traytors and Enemies to the State.

3. "THAT the Lords and Commons remaining at *Westminster*, that had given their Votes, or Consent, to the raising of Forces under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, or had been Abetting, Aiding, or Assisting thereunto, had levied and raised War against the King, and were therein guilty of High Treason.

4. "THAT those Lords and Commons remaining at *Westminster*, that had given their Votes and Consents for the making and using a new Great Seal, had thereby Counterfeited the King's Great Seal, and therein committed High Treason.

5. "THAT the Lords and Commons remaining at *Westminster*, who had given their Consents to the present coming in of the *Scots* in a Warlike manner, had therein committed High Treason: and that in these three last Crimes, they had broken the Trust reposed in them by their Country, and ought to be proceeded against as Traytors to the King, and Kingdom.

So that the Engagements seem'd fuller of Animosity on both sides, than ever; and the King exceedingly strengthen'd by the Lords and Commons having more positively and concernedly wedded his Cause, than they were before understood to have done; and in truth, in the Civil Councils, nothing was left undone to give it all imaginable Advancement.

It had been very happy for the King, if the Winter had been spent only in those Councils which might have provided

vided Money, and facilitated the making his Army ready to take the Field in the Spring; when he was sure to have occasion enough to use it, and to be in great distress, if it should not be then in a condition to march; but the Invasion, which the *Scots* made in the depth of Winter, and the Courage the Enemy took from thence, deprived his Majesty even of any rest in that Season. Upon the *Scots* unexpected march into *England* in *January*, in a most violent Frost and Snow, hoping to reach *New-Castle* before it could be Fortified, and perswading their Common Soldiers, that it would be deliver'd to them as soon as required; thither the vigilant *St Thomas Glemham* had been before sent to attend their coming, and the Marquis of *New-Castle* with his Army, upon the fame of their Invasion, marched thither with a resolution to Fight with them before they should be able to joyn with the *English* Rebels; leaving in the mean time the Command of *York*, and the Forces for the guard of that County, to Colonel *John Bellasis*, Son to the Lord *Falconbridge*, a Person of great Interest in the Country, and of exemplary Industry and Courage. But by this means, and the remove of the Marquis with his Army so far North, the Enemy grew to a great strength in those Parts; and not only able to disquiet *York-shire*, but drawing a great Body of Horse and Foot out of *Derby-shire*, *Stafford-shire*, and *Lincoln-shire*, sat down before his Majesty's Garrison of *Newark* upon *Trent*, with a full confidence to take it; and so to cut off all correspondence between his Majesty, and the Marquis of *New-Castle*. And *St Thomas Fairfax* from *Hull*, in the head of a strong Party, had fallen upon a Quarter not far from *York*, Commanded by Colonel *John Bellasis* at *Selby*, and had totally Defeated it, taken the Cannon, and many Officers Prisoners, and amongst those the Colonel himself. This was the first Action for which *St Thomas Fairfax* was taken Notice of; who in a short time grew the supreme General under the Parliament. This Defeat, which was great in itself, was made much greater by the terrible apprehensions the City of *York* had upon it; insomuch that the Marquis of *New-Castle*, who till then had kept the *Scots* at a Bay, found it necessary to withdraw his Army, and with great part of it to make hast into *York*, to prevent any farther mischief there; by which means the *Scots* were at liberty to advance as they pleased; and *Fairfax* improv'd his reputation by a speedy, and unlook'd for march into *Cheshire*.

The Marquis of New-Castle marches to oppose the Scots.

St Thomas Fairfax Defeats and takes Col. Bellasis at Selby.

Whereupon the Marquis of New-Castle retires to York.

The Marquis
of Ormond
made Lord
Lieutenant
of Ireland,
sends the
King As-
sistance.

UPON the Cessation in *Ireland*, the King made the Marquis of *Ormond* his Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and appointed him to make use of the Winter Season (when the Parliament Ships could not attend that Coast) to transport those Regiments of Foot which might be well spared during the Cessation, and which could not be supported there, to *Chester*; from whence his Majesty could easily draw them in the Spring to *Oxford*; and were, in truth, the principal Recruit, upon which he depended to enable him to take the Field. The Lord *Byron* then Commanded *Chester*, and that County; and was appointed to take care for the reception, and accommodation of those Troops; which was a right good Body of Foot, and being excellent Men, both Officers and Soldiers, carried great terror with them from the time of their Landing; and quickly freed North *Wales* from the Enemy; who at that time begun to have great power there. It was towards the end of *November* when they Landed, and being a People who had been used to little ease in *Ireland*, the King having given the Lord *Byron* leave to employ them in such Services as might secure that Country, the Season of the year made little impression on them; they were always ready, and desirous of Action; and in the space of a Month reduced, by Assault and Storm, many places of notable importance, as *Howarden-Castle*, *Beeffon-Castle*, *Crew-House*, and other places of strength; and encountering the whole Body of the Rebels, at *Middlewich* in *Cheeshire*, Broke and Defeated them with great Slaughter; and drove all that Survived, and were at Liberty, into *Nantwich*; the single Garrison they had then left in *Cheeshire*: into which the whole Party was retired, and which had been Fortified and Garri-soned from the beginning of the Troubles, as the only refuge for the disaffected in that County, and the Counties adjacent. The Pride of the late Success, and the Terror the Soldiers believ'd their Names carried with them, carried them at this most unseasonable time of the year thither: for it was about the first week in *January* when the Lord *Byron* came with his Army before the Town, and Summon'd it. It cannot be denied the reducing of that place at that time would have been of unspeakable importance to the King's Affairs, there being, between that and *Carlisle*, no one Town of Moment (*Manchester* only excepted) which declared against the King; and those two populous Counties of *Chester*, and *Lancashire*, if they had been united against the Parliament, would have been a strong Bulwark against the *Scots*.

THESE considerations, and an opinion that the Town would yield as soon as Summon'd, brought the Army first thither; and then a passionate desire of Honour, and Contempt of the Enemy within, or of any other who could undertake their relief, engaged them to a farther attempt; and so they rais'd Batteries, and undertook a formal Siege against the Town. The seventeenth day of *January* they made a general Assault upon five several Quarters of the Town, somewhat before day-break, but were with equal Courage oppos'd from within, and near three hundred Men lost, or wounded in the Service; which should have prevail'd with them to have quitted their design. But those repulses sharpen, rather than abate the edge and appetite to danger; and the Assailants, no less than the Besieg'd, desiring an Army would come for their relief, both with equal impatience longed for the same thing; the *Irish* (for under that name, for distinction sake, we call that Body of Foot, though there was not an *Irish* Man amongst them) supposing themselves Superior to any that would encounter them in the Field, and the Horse being such as might as reasonably undervalue those who were to oppose them.

In this their confidence, supply came too soon to the Town, and confusion to the King's Forces: For *Sr Thomas Fairfax*, upon his Victory at *Selby*, brought out of *York-shire* a good Body of Horse to *Manchester*; and, out of that place, and the neighbour places, drew near three thousand Foot, with which joyning with *Sr William Bruerton*, and some other scatter'd Forces from *Stafford-shire*, and *Derby*, who had been Routed at *Middlewich*, he advanced near *Nantwich*, before he was look'd for; the *Irish* being so over confident that he would not presume to attack them, that, though they had Advertisement of their motion, they still believ'd that his utmost design was by Alarms to force them to rise from the Town, and then to retire without fighting with them. This made them keep their Posts too long; and when they found it necessary to draw off, a little River, which divided their Forces, on a suddain thaw, so much swelled above it's Banks, that the Lord *Byron*, with the greatest part of the Horse, and the Foot which lay on one side of the Town, were sever'd from the rest, and compelled to march four or five miles, before he could joyn with the other; before which time the other part, being Charged by *Sr Thomas Fairfax* on the one side, and from the Town on the other, were broken; and all the Chief Officers forced to retire to a Church call'd *Aston* Church, where they were caught as in a Trap, and the Horse, by reason of the deep ways with the suddain thaw,

*The Irish
Forces routed
by Sr Thomas
Fairfax at
Nantwich.*

and narrow Lanes, and great Hedges, not being able to relieve them, were compelled to yield themselves Prisoners to those whom they so much despised two hours before. There were taken, besides all the Chief and Considerable Officers of Foot, near fifteen hundred Soldiers, and all their Cannon, and Carriages: the Lord *Byron* with his Horse, and the rest of his Foot, retiring to *Chester*. There cannot be given a better, or it may be another reason for this Defeat, besides the Providence of God, which was the effect of the other, than the extreme contempt and disdain this Body had of the Enemy; and the presumption in their own Strength, Courage, and Conduct; which made them not enough think, and rely upon Him who alone disposes of the event of Battles: though it must be acknowledged, most of the Officers were Persons of signal Virtue, and Sobriety; and, in their own Natures, of great Modesty and Piety; so hard it is to suppress those motions, which Success, Valour, and even the Conscience of the Cause, is apt to produce in Men not over-much inclined to presumption.

THERE was another result of Council at *Oxford*, in this Winter Season, which deserves to be mention'd; and the rather, because all the inducements thereunto were not generally understood, nor known to many; and therefore grew afterwards to be the more censured. When the *Scots* were visibly Arm'd, and upon their march into *England*, which the King was the last Man in believing; and when there was no way to stop, or divert them, his Majesty was the better inclined to hearken to some Men of that Nation, who had been long proposing a way to give them so much trouble at home, that they should not be at leisure to infest or trouble their Neighbours; to which Propositions less care had been given, out of too much confidence in Persons, upon whose integrity or interest there had been too great a dependence.

The Earl of Mountrose comes to the King, and informs him of the state of Scotland

The Earl of *Mountrose*, a young Man of a great Spirit, and of the most ancient Nobility, had been one of the most principal and active Covenanters in the beginning of the Troubles; but soon after, upon his observation of the unwarrantable prosecution of it, he gave over that Party, and his Command in that Army; and at the King's being in *Scotland*, after the pacification, had made full tender of his Service to his Majesty; and was so much in the jealousy, and detestation of the violent Party, whereof the Earl of *Argyle* was the Head, that there was no cause or room left to doubt his sincerity to the King.

UPON the beginning of the Parliament at *Edenborough*, and the manifestation that Duke *Hamilton* would give no opposition

position to the proceedings thereof (as hath been mention'd before) the Earl privately withdrew out of *Scotland*, and came to the King few days before the Siege was raised from *Glocester*, and gave his Majesty the first clear information of the carriage and behaviour of Duke *Hamilton*, and of the posture that Kingdom would speedily be in, and of the resolutions that would be there taken ; and made some smart Propositions to the King for the remedy ; which there was not then time to consult ; but as soon as the King retired to *Oxford*, after the Battle of *Newbury*, and had had fuller Intelligence, by the report of others of that Nobility who deserved to be trusted, how the Affairs stood in *Scotland* ; and heard that Duke *Hamilton*, and his Brother, the Earl of *Lanrick*, were upon their way as far as *York* towards *Oxford* ; his Majesty was very willing to hearken to the Earl of *Mountrose*, and the rest, what could be done to prevent that mischief that was like to ensue. But they all unanimously declared, " that they durst make no Propositions for the advancement of the King's Service, except they might be first assured, " that no part of it should be communicated to Duke *Hamilton* ; nor He suffer'd to have any part or share in any Action that should depend upon it ; for they were most assured, that he had always betrayed his Majesty ; and that it " had been absolutely in his power, to have prevented this " new Combination, if he would resolutely have opposed it. " But if they might be secure in that particular, they would " make some such attempt under his Majesty's Commission " in their own Country, as might possibly make some disturbance there. His Majesty thought he had much less reason to be confident of the Duke than formerly ; for he had expressly failed of doing somewhat which he had promised to do ; yet he thought, he had not ground enough to withdraw all kind of Trust from him, except he did, at the same time, secure him from being able to do him farther mischief ; towards which kind of severity, he did not think he had evidence enough. Besides he had a very good opinion of the Earl of *Lanrick*, as a Man of much more plainness and sincerity, than his Brother ; as in truth he was. That he might bring himself to a full resolution in this important Affair, his Majesty appointed the Lord Keeper, his two Secretaries, the Master of the Rolls, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to examine the Earl of *Mountrose*, the Earl of *Kinnoul*, the Lord *Ogilby*, and some others, upon Oath, of all things they could accuse Duke *Hamilton*, or his Brother *Lanrick* of ; and to take their Examinations in writing ; that so his Majesty might discover, whether their Errors proceeded from infidelity, and

consider the better, what Course to observe in his proceedings with them; and this was carried with as much secrecy, as an Affair of that Nature could be, wherein so many were trusted.

UPON their Examination, there appeared too much cause to conclude, that the Duke had not behaved himself with that Loyalty, as he ought to have done. The Earl of *Mountröse*, whilst he had been of that Party, had been privy to much of his Correspondence, and Intelligence. But most of the particulars related to the time when he Commanded the Fleet in the *Frith*, and when he had many Conferences with his Mother (who was a Woman most passionate in those contrivances) and with others of that Party; and when he did nothing to hurt, or incommode the Enemy; all which was expressly pardoned by the Act of Oblivion, which had been passed with all formality and solemnity by the King in the Parliament of both Kingdoms: And, so much as to question what was so forgot, might raise a greater fire, than that which they desired to quench; though the knowing so many particulars might be a good and proper caution. In the late transactions of *Scotland*, it was manifest that the Duke had absolutely opposed all Overtures of force, and of seizing those Persons who could only be able to raise new Troubles; which had been very easy to have done; and that he had betrayed the King, and all the Lords, in consenting to the meeting of the Parliament, called and summoned against the King's express Pleasure and Command, and without any pretence of Law. And to this, the King's Approbation and Consent had been shewed to them, by the Duke, under the King's own hand; which they durst not disobey, though they foresaw the mischief.

THE Case was thus; the Duke had given the King an account, after he had himself promised him that the Parliament should never be assembled (which his Majesty abhorred) "that though some few hot, and passionate Men, desired to
"put themselves in Armes, to stop both Elections of the
"Members and any meeting together in Parliament; yet, that
"all sober Men who could bear any considerable part in the
"Action, were clearly of the opinion, to take as much pains
"as they could to cause good Elections to be made, and then
"to appear themselves; and that they had hope to have such
"a Major part, that they might more advantageously dis-
"solve the Meeting as soon as they came together, than pre-
"vent it; however, that Then would be the fit time to pro-
"test against it, and immediately to put themselves into Armes,
"for which they would be well provided at the same time;
and

and to this he desired the King's positive direction. And his Majesty, in Answer to it, had said, "since it was the opinion of all his Friends, he would not Command them to do that which was against their Judgement; but would attend the Success; and was content that they should all appear in the Parliament at it's first meeting: and the Duke had shewed the Lords those words in the King's Letter, with which they acquiesced, without knowing any thing of the ground of such his permission: whereas, in truth, there was no one Person who was of that opinion, or had given that Counsel, but had still detested the Expedient when proposed.

THEN the Duke's Carriage in the Parliament, and his Brothers, at their first coming together, appear'd to be as is set down before, by the Testimony of those who were present; and the Earl of *Laureick's* applying the Signet to the Proclamation for that Rendezvous where the Army was to be compounded, was not thought capable of any excuse; and so the clear state of the Evidence, upon the Depositions of the Persons examined, was presented to the King for his own determination. His Majesty had some thoughts of sending to the Marquis of *New-Castle* to stop the Duke and his Brother at *York*, and not suffer them to come nearer; but whilst that was in deliberation, they both came to *Oxford*, and meant the same Night to have kissed their Majesties hands; but as soon as they arriv'd, they receiv'd a Command from the King, "to keep their Chambers; and had a Guard attended them. The King resolv'd to consult the whole Affair then with the Council Board, whereas; hitherto the Examinations had been taken by a Committee, to the end that he might resolve what way to proceed; and to that purpose directed that a Transcript might be prepared, of all the Examinations at large; and that the Witnesses might be ready to appear before the Board, if it should be thought necessary: His Majesty at that time inclining to have both the Lords present, and the Depositions read, and the Witnesses confronted before them. But whilst this was preparing, the second Morning after their coming to the Town, the Earl of *Laureick*, either having corrupted or deluded the Guard, found a means to escape; and by the assistance of one *Cunningham* (a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and of that Nation) had Horses ready; with which the Earl and his Friend fled, and went directly to *London*; where he was very well receiv'd. Hereupon the King inform'd the Board of the whole Affair; and because one of them was escaped, and the matters against the other having been transacted

Duke Hamilton
made Prisoner at Oxford.

Mr Pym's
death.

in *Scotland*, and so, in many respects, it was not a Season to proceed judicially against him, it was thought enough for the present to prevent his doing farther Mischief, by putting him under a secure restraint : and so he was sent in Custody to the Castle at *Brissol*, and from thence to *Exeter*, and so to the Castle at *Pendennis* in *Cornwal*; where We shall at the present leave him.

ABOUT this time the Councils at *Westminster* lost a principal Supporter, by the death of *Jo. Pym*; who died with great Torment and Agony of a Disease unusual, and therefore the more spoken of, *Morbus pediculofus*, as was reported; which render'd him an Object very Loathsome to those who had been most delighted with him. No Man had more to answer for the Miseries of the Kingdom, or had his Hand, or Head, deeper in their Contrivance. And yet, I believe, they grew much higher even in his Life, than he design'd. He was a Man of a private Quality and Condition of Life; his Education in the Office of the *Exchequer*, where he had been a Clerk; and his Parts rather acquired by Industry, than supplied by Nature, or adorn'd by Art. He had been well known in former Parliaments; and was one of those few, who had fate in many; the long intermission of Parliaments having worn out most of those who had been acquainted with the Rules, and Orders observ'd in those Conventions. This gave him some reputation, and reverence amongst those who were but now introduced.

HE had been most taken notice of, for being concern'd and passionate in the jealousies of Religion, and much troubled with the countenance which had been given to those Opinions that had been imputed to *Arminius*; and this gave him great Authority and Interest with those who were not pleased with the Government of the Church, or the growing power of the Clergy: yet himself industriously took care to be believ'd, and he profess'd to be very entire to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*. In the short Parliament before this, he spoke much, and appeared to be the most leading Man; for besides the exact knowledge of the Former, and Orders of that Council, which few Men had, he had a very comely and grave way of expressing himself, with great volubility of words, natural, and proper; and understood the Temper and Affections of the Kingdom as well as any Man; and had observ'd the errors and mistakes in Government; and knew well how to make them appear greater than they were. After the unhappy Dissolution of that Parliament, he continued for the most part about *London*, in Conversation and great Repute amongst those Lords who

who were most strangers to the Court, and were believ'd most averse to it ; in whom he improved all imaginable jealousies, and discontents towards the State; and as soon as this Parliament was resolv'd to be summon'd, he was as diligent to procure such Persons to be elected as he knew to be most inclined to the way he meant to take.

AT the first opening of this Parliament, he appeared passionate and prepared against the Earl of *Strafford* ; and though in private designing he was much govern'd by Mr *Hambden*, and Mr *Saint-John*, yet he seem'd to all Men to have the greatest Influence upon the House of Commons of any Man ; and, in truth, I think he was at that time, and some Months after, the most popular Man, and the most able to do hurt, that hath lived in any time. Upon the first design of softening, and obliging the powerful Persons in both Houses, when it was resolv'd to make the Earl of *Bedford* Lord High Treasurer of *England*, the King likewise intended to make Mr *Pym* Chancellor of the Exchequer ; for which he receiv'd his Majesty's promise, and made a return of a suitable profession of his service and devotion ; and thereupon, the other being no secret, somewhat declined from that sharpness in the House, which was more Popular than any Man's, and made some Overtures to provide for the Glory and Splendor of the Crown ; in which he had so ill success, that his Interest and Reputation there, visibly abated ; and he found that he was much better able to do Hurt than Good ; which wrought very much upon him to Melancholy, and complaint of the violence and discomposure of the People's Affections, and Inclinations. In the end, whether, upon the death of the Earl of *Bedford*, he despaired of that preferment, or whether he was guilty of any thing, which, upon his Conversion to the Court, he thought might be discover'd to his damage, or for pure want of Courage, he suffer'd himself to be carried by those who would not follow Him, and so continued in the head of those who made the most desperate Propositions.

IN the prosecution of the Earl of *Strafford*, his Carriage and Language was such as express'd much personal Animosity ; and he was accused of having practiced some Arts in it not worthy a good Man ; as an *Irish* Man of very mean and low condition afterwards acknowledged, that being brought to him, as an Evidence of one part of the Charge against the Lord Lieutenant, in a particular of which a Person of so vile Quality would not be reasonably thought a competent Informer ; Mr *Pym* gave him Money to buy him a Sattin Sute and Cloak ; in which Equipage he appear'd at the Trial, and gave his Evidence ; which if true, may make many other

other things which were confidently reported afterwards of him, to be believ'd; as that he receiv'd a great Sum of Money from the *French* Embassadour (which hath been before mention'd) to hinder the Transportation of those Regiments of *Ireland* into *Flanders*, upon the disbanding that Army there; which had been prepared by the Earl of *Strafford* for the business of *Scotland*; in which if his Majesty's directions and commands had not been diverted, and contradicted, by the Houses, many do believe the Rebellion in *Ireland* had not happen'd.

CERTAIN it is, that his power of doing shrewd turns was extraordinary, and no less in doing good Offices for particular Persons; and that he did preserve many from censure, who were under the severe displeasure of the Houses, and looked upon as eminent Delinquents; and the Quality of many of them made it believ'd, that he had sold that protection for valuable considerations. From the time of his being accused of High Treason by the King, with the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the other Members, he never entertain'd thoughts of moderation, but always oppos'd all Overtures of Peace, and Accommodation; and when the Earl of *Essex* was dispos'd, the last Summer, by those Lords to an inclination towards a Treaty, as is before remember'd, Mr *Pym's* power and dexterity wholly changed him, and wrought him to that temper, which he afterwards swerv'd not from. He was wonderfully solicitous for the *Scots* coming in to their Assistance, though his indisposition of body was so great, that it might well have made another impression upon his mind. During his sickness, he was a very sad Spectacle; but none being admitted to him who had not concurr'd with him, it is not known what his last thoughts, and considerations were. He died towards the end of *December*, before the *Scots* enter'd; and was buried with wonderful Pomp and Magnificence, in that place where the Bones of our *English* Kings and Princes are committed to their rest.

The Prince
Electors Ar-
rives at
London.

THE Arrival of the Prince Elector at *London* was no less the discourse of all Tongues, than the death of Mr *Pym*. He had been in *England* before the Troubles, and was receiv'd and cherish'd by the King with great demonstration of grace and kindness, and supplied with a Pension of twelve thousand pounds sterling yearly. When the King left *London*, he attended his Majesty to *York*, and resided there with him till the differences grew so high, that his Majesty found it necessary to resolve to raise an Army for his Defence. Then, on the suddain, without giving the King many days notice of his resolution, that Prince left the Court; and taking

taking the opportunity of an ordinary Vessel, embarked himself for *Holland*, to the wonder of all Men; who thought it an unreasonable Declaration of his fear at least of the Parliament, and his desire of being well esteem'd by them, when it was evident They esteem'd not the King as they should. And this was the more spoken of, when it was afterwards known that the Parliament expressed a good Sense of his having deserted the King, and imputed it to his Conscience, "that he knew of some such designs of his Majesty, as he could not comply with. At this time, after many loud discourses of his coming (which were deriv'd to *Oxford*, as somewhat that might have an Influence upon his Majesty's Counsels, there being then several whispers of some high proceedings they intended against the King) he arriv'd at *London*, and was receiv'd with Ceremony; Lodged in *White-Hall*, and Order taken for the payment of that Pension which had been formerly assign'd to him by his Majesty; and a particular direction by both Houses, "that he should be admitted to sit in the Assembly of Divines; where, after he had taken the Covenant, he was contented to be often present: of all which the King took no other notice, than sometimes to express, "that he was sorry on his Nephew's behalf, "that he thought fit to declare such a compliance.

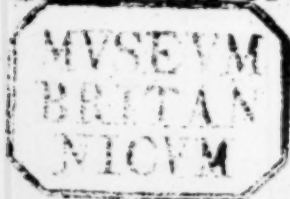
THE Defeat of Colonel *John Bellasis* at *Selby* by *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, and the destruction of all the *Irish* Regiments under the Lord *Byron*, together with the terror of the *Scotish* Army, had so let loose all the King's Enemies in the Northern parts, which were lately at the King's Devotion, that his Friends were in great distress in all places before the Season was ripe to take the Field. The Earl of *Derby*, who had kept *Lancashire* in reasonable Subjection, and inclosed all the Enemies of that County within the Town of *Manchester*, was no longer able to continue that restraint, but forced to place himself at a farther distance from them; which was like, in a short time, to encrease the Number of the Rebels there. *Newark*, a very necessary Garrison in the County of *Nottingham*, which had not only subjected that little County, the Town of *Nottingham* only excepted, which was upon the matter confin'd within it's own Walls, but had kept a great part of the large County of *Lincoln* under contribution, was now reduced to so great streights by the Forces of that Country, under the Command of *Meldrum* a *Scotchman*, with addition of others from *Hull*, that they were compell'd to beg relief from the King at *Oxford*; whilst the Marquis of *New-Castle* had enough to do to keep the *Scots* at a Bay, and to put *York* in a condition to endure a Siege, if he should be forced to continue within those Walls.

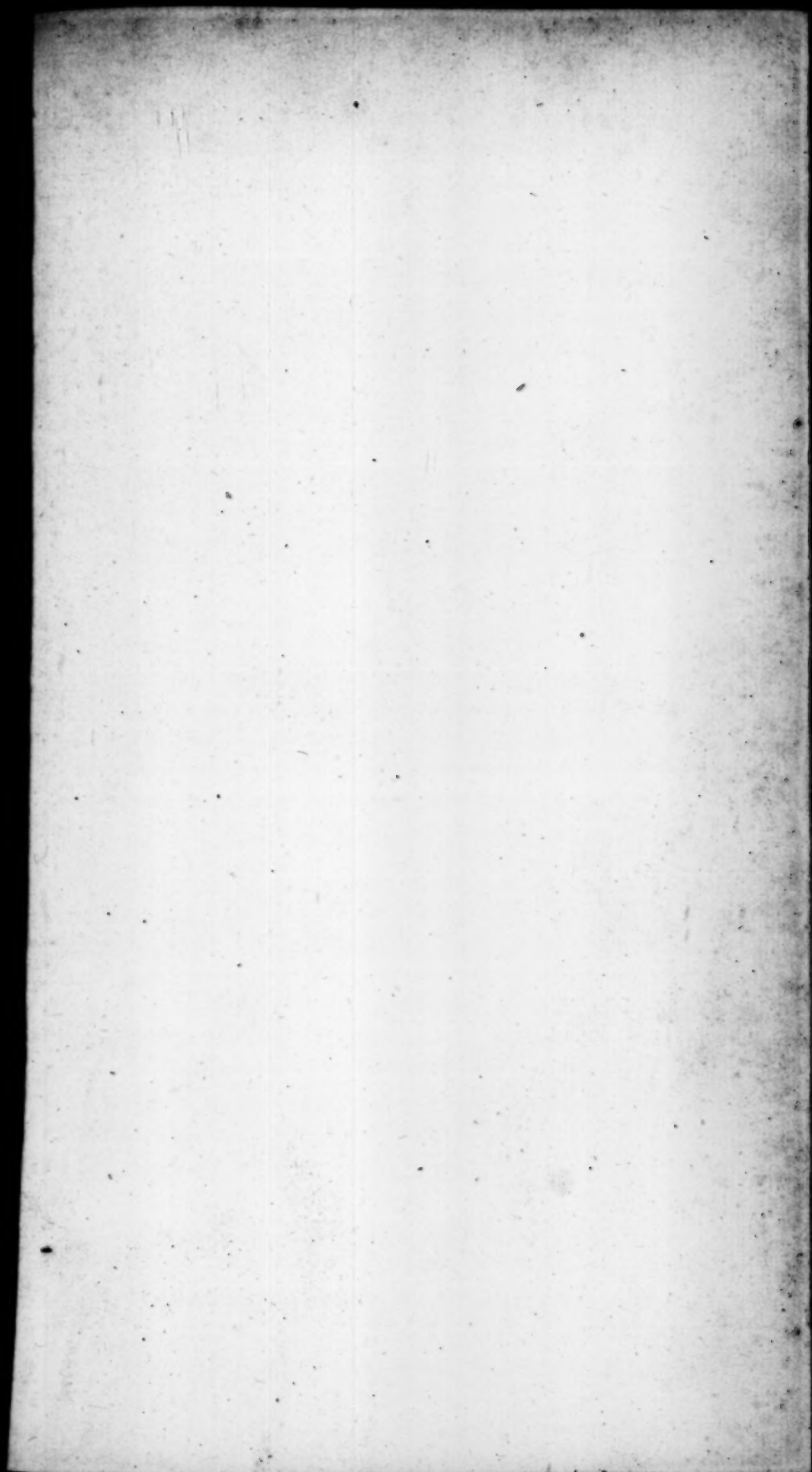
IN

Prince Rupert is sent to relieve Newark, and effects it.

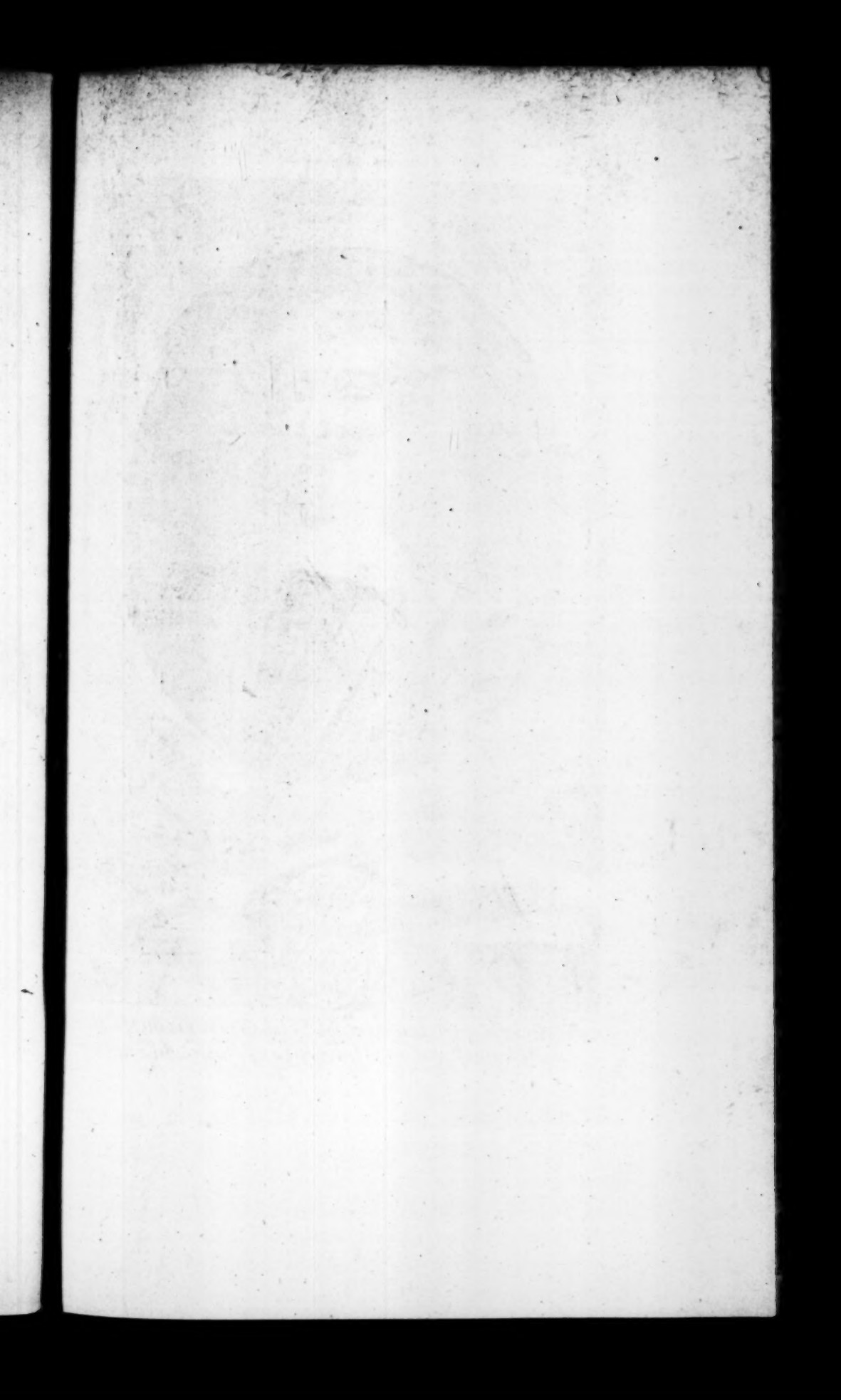
IN these streights, though it was yet the depth of Winter, and to provide the better for the security of *Shrewsbury*, and *Chester*, and North *Wales*, all which were terrified with the Defeat of the Lord *Byron*, the King found it necessary to send Prince *Rupert*, with a good Body of chosen Horse, and Dragoons, and some Foot, with direction, after he had visited *Shrewsbury* and *Chester*, and used all possible Endeavours to make new Levies, that he should attempt the relief of *Newark*: which, being lost, would cut off all possible Communication between *Oxford* and *York*. In *Newark*, the Garrison consisted most of the Gentry of the County, and the Inhabitants, ill supplied with any thing requisite to a Siege, but Courage and excellent Affections. The Enemy entrench'd themselves before the Town, and proceeded by approach; conceiving they had time enough, and not apprehending it possible to be disturb'd: and indeed it was not easy for the King to find a way for their relief. To send a Body from *Oxford* was very hazardous, and the Enemy so strong, as they would quickly follow; so that there was no hope but from *Shrewsbury*, and *Chester*, where Prince *Rupert* had given so much life to those parts, and drawn so considerable a Body together, that the Enemy found little advantage by their late Victory, in the enlargement of their Quarters. His Highness then resolv'd to try what he could do for *Newark*, and undertook it before he was ready for it, and thereby perform'd it. For the Enemy, who had always excellent Intelligence, was so confident that he had not a strength sufficient to attempt that work, that he was within six miles of them, before they believ'd he thought of them; and Charging and Routing some of their Horse, pursued them with that expedition, that he Besieged them in their own Intrenchment, with his Horse, before his Foot came within four miles. In that consternation, they concluding that he must have a vast power and strength, to bring them into those streights, He, with a Number inferior to the Enemy, and utterly unaccommodated for an Action of time, brought them to accept of leave to depart, that is to disband, without their Armes, or any Carriage or Baggage. Thus he reliev'd *Newark*, and took above four thousand Armes, eleven pieces of Brass Cannon, two Mortar pieces, and above fifty Barrells of Powder; which was as unexpected a Victory, as any happen'd throughout the War; with this prosperous Action, which was perform'd on the 22^d of *March*, We shall conclude the Transactions of this Year.

THE END OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.





599.9 4





Edward Earle of CLARENDON, Lord High CHANCELLOR of England
and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. An. Dni. 1667.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION and CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honourable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High Chancellor of *England*, Privy Counsellor in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

Κἄμα ἐς αἰ. *Thucyd.*

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

VOLUME II. PART 2.

O X F O R D,

Printed at the THEATER, *An. Dom.* MDCCVI.

6



T H E
History of the Rebellion, &c.
B O O K VIII.

2 Efd. v. 9.

And salt waters shall be found in the sweet, and all friends shall destroy one another; then shall Wit hide it self, and Understanding withdraw it self into his secret Chamber.

II. III. 5.

And the People shall be oppressed every one by another, and every one by his Neighbour; the Child shall behave himself proudly against the Ancient, and the Base against the Honourable.

AS the Winter had been very unprosperous, and unsuccessful to the King, in the diminution and loss of those Forces, upon which he chiefly depended to sustain the power of the Enemy the year ensuing; so the Spring enter'd with no better presage. When both Armies had enter'd into their Winter Quarters, to refresh themselves after so much fatigue, the great preparation that was made at *London*, and the fame of sending *Sr William Waller* into the West, put the King upon the resolution of having such a Body in his way, as might give him interruption, without Prince *Maurice's* being disturb'd in his Siege of *Plymouth*; which was not thought to be able to make long resistance. To this purpose the Lord *Hopton* was appointed to Command an Army apart, to be levied out of the Garrison of *Bristol*, and those Western Counties adjacent newly reduced; where his Reputation and Interest was very great; and by it he had in a short time

Vol. II, Part 2. H h raised

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raised a pretty Body of Foot and Horse; to which receiving an Addition of two very good Regiments (though not many in Number) out of *Munster*, under the Command of *Sr Charles Kavafour*, and *Sr John Pawlet*, and a good Troop of Horse under the Command of Captain *Bridges*, all which had been transported, according to former Orders, out of *Ireland* to *Bristol*, since the Cessation, that Lord advanced to *Salisbury*, and shortly after to *Winchester*; whither *Sr John Berkley* brought him two Regiments more of Foot, raised by him in *Devon-shire*; so that he had in all, at least, three thousand Foot, and about fifteen hundred Horse; which, in so good a Post as *Winchester* was, would in a short time have grown to a considerable Army; and was at present strong enough to have stopped, or attended *Waller* in his Western Expedition; nor did He expect to have found such an obstruction in his way. And therefore, when he was upon his March, and was inform'd of the Lord *Hopton's* being at *Winchester* with such a strength, he retired to *Farnham*; and Quarter'd there, till he gave his Masters an Account that he wanted other Supplies.

It was a general misfortune, and miscomputation of that time, that the Party, in all places, that wish'd well to the King (which consisted of most of the Gentry in most Counties; and for the present were aw'd, and kept under by the Militia, and the Committees of Parliament) had so good an opinion of their own Reputation and Interest, that they believ'd they were able, upon the Assistance of few Troops, to suppress their Neighbours who were of the other Party, and who, upon the advantage of the power they were possess'd of, exercised their Authority over them with great rigour, and insolence. And so the Lord *Hopton* was no sooner possess'd of *Winchester*, where *Sr William Ogle* had likewise seized upon the Castle for the King, and put it into a tenable condition, than the Gentlemen of *Sussex*, and of the adjacent parts of *Hampshire*, sent privately to him, "that if he would advance
"into Their Country, they would undertake, in a short time,
"to make great Levies of Men for the recruit of his Army;
"and likewise to possess themselves of such places as they
"should be well able to defend; and thereby keep that part
"of the Country in the King's Obedience.

Sr Edward Ford, a Gentleman of a good Family, and fair Fortune in *Sussex*, had then a Regiment of Horse in the Lord *Hopton's* Troops, and the King had made him High Sheriff of *Sussex* that year, to the end that, if there were occasion, he might the better make impression upon that County. He had with him, in his Regiment, many of the Gentlemen of that County of good Quality: And they all befought the

the Lord *Hopton*, "that he would, since *Waller* was not like "to advance, at least send some Troops into those parts, to "give a little Countenance to the Levies they should be well "able to make; assuring him, "that they would, in the first "place, seise upon *Arundel*-Castle; which, standing near the "Sea, would yield great advantage to the King's Service, "and keep that rich Corner of the Country at his Majesty's "Devotion. These, and many other specious undertakings, disposed the Lord *Hopton*, who had an extraordinary appetite to engage *Waller* in a Battle, upon old accounts, to wish himself at Liberty to comply with those Gentlemen's desires: of all which, he gave such an Account to the King, as made it appear, that he liked the design, and thought it practicable, if he had an addition of a Regiment or two of Foot, under good Officers; for that Quarter of *Sussex*, which he meant to visit, was a fast and inclosed Country, and *Arundel*-Castle had a Garrison in it, though not numerous, or well provided, as being without apprehension of an Enemy.

It was about *Christmas*, and the King had no farther design for the Winter, than to keep *Waller* from visiting and disturbing the West, and to recruit his Army to such a degree as to be able to take the Field early; which he knew the Rebels resolv'd to do: yet the good Post the Lord *Hopton* was already possess'd of at *Winchester*, and these positive undertakings from *Sussex*, wrought upon many to think, that this opportunity should not be lost. The King had likewise great Assurance of the general good Affections of the County of *Kent*; insomuch as the People had with difficulty been restrain'd from making some attempt, upon the confidence of their own strength; and if there could be now such a foundation laid, that there might be a conjunction between that and *Sussex*, it might produce an Association little inferior to that of the Southern Counties under the Earl of *Manchester*; and might, by the Spring, be an occasion of that distraction to the Parliament, that they should not well know to what part to dispose their Armies; and the King might apply his own to that part, and purpose, as should seem most reasonable to him.

THESE, and other reasons prevailing, the King gave the Lord *Hopton* order to prosecute his design upon *Sussex*, in such manner as he thought fit; provided, that he was well assured, that *Waller* should not make advantage, upon that Enterprize, to find the way open to him to march into the West. And that he might be the better able to prosecute the one, and to provide for the other, *Sr Jacob Astley* was likewise sent to him from *Reading*, with a thousand commanded Men of that Garrison, *Wallingford*, and *Oxford*; which supply no sooner arriv'd

riv'd at *Winchester*, but the Lord *Hopton* resolv'd to visit *Waller's* Quarters, if it were possible to engage him; however that he might judge by the posture he was in, whether he were like to pursue his purpose for the West. *Waller* was then Quarter'd at *Farnham*, and the Villages adjacent, from whence he drew out his Men, and faced the Enemy, as if he intended to Fight, but, after some light Skirmishes for a day or two, in which he always receiv'd loss, he retired himself into the Castle of *Farnham*, a place of some strength; and drew his Army into the Town; and within three or four days, went himself to *London*, more effectually to sollicite Recruits, than his Letters had been able to do.

WHEN the Lord *Hopton* saw that he could attempt no farther upon those Troops, and was fully assured that *St William Waller* was himself gone to *London*, he concluded, that it was a good time to comply with the importunity of the Gentlemen of *Sussex*; and march'd thither, with such a Body of Horse and Foot, as he thought competent for the Service. The exceeding hard Frost made his march more easy through those deep dirty ways, than better Weather would have done; and he came to *Arundel* before there was any imagination that he had that place in his prospect. The place in its Situation was strong; and though the Fortifications were not regular, but of the old fashion, yet the Walls were good, and the Grasse broad, and deep; and though the Garrison was not numerous enough to have defended all the large circuit against a powerful Army, yet it was strong enough, in all respects, to have defied any suddain Assault; and might, without putting themselves to much trouble, have been very secure against the Attempts of those without. But the Provisions of Victual, or Ammunition, was not sufficient to have endured any long Siege; and the Officer who Commanded, had not been accustomed to the prospect of an Enemy. So upon an easy and short Summons, that threaten'd his obstinacy with a very rigorous chastisement, if he should defer the giving it up; either from the effect of his own fear, and want of Courage, or from the good inclinations of some of the Soldiers, the Castle was Surrender'd the third day; and appear'd to be a place worth the keeping, and capable, in a short time, to be made secure against a good Army.

Arundel-
Castle Sur-
render'd to
the Lord
Hopton:

THE Lord *Hopton*, after he had stay'd there five or six days, and caus'd Provisions of all kinds to be brought in, committed the Command and Government thereof to *St Edward Ford*, High Sheriff of the County, with a Garrison of above two hundred Men; besides many good Officers; who desir'd, or were very willing, to stay there; as a place very favourable for the making Levies of Men, which they all intended.

tended. And, it may be, the more remained there, out of the weariness and fatigue of their late marches, and that they might spend the remainder of the Winter with better Accommodation.

THE News of *St William Waller's* return to *Farnham* with strong recruits of Horse and Foot, made it necessary to the Lord *Hopton*, to leave *Arundel* Castle before he had put it into the good posture he intended. And, without well considering the mixture of the Men he left there, whereof many were of Natures not easy to be govern'd, nor like to conform themselves to such strict Rules as the condition of the place required, or to use that industry, as the exigence, they were like to be in, made necessary, the principal thing he recommended and enjoyn'd to them was, "in the first place, setting all other things aside, to draw in store of Provisions of all kinds, both for the Numbers they were already, and for such as would probably in a short time be added to them; all which from the great plenty that Country then abounded in, was very easy to have been done. And if it had been done, that place would have remain'd long such a Thorn in the side of the Parliament, as would have render'd it very uneasy to them, at least have interrupted the current of their prosperity.

WALLER's Journey to *London* answer'd his expectation; and his presence had an extraordinary operation, to procure any thing desired. He reported the Lord *Hopton's* Forces to be much greater than they were, that his own might be made porportionable to encounter them. And the quick progress that Lord had made in *Sussex*, and his taking *Arundel* Castle, made them thought to be greater than He reported them to be. His so easily possessing himself of a place of that strength, which they supposed to have been impregnable, and in a County where the King had before no footing, awaken'd all their Jealousies and Apprehensions of the Affections of *Kent*, and all other places; and looked like a Land-flood, that might roll they knew not how far; so that there needed no importunate sollicitation to provide a remedy against this growing evil. The ordinary method they had used for recruiting their Armies, by Levies of Volunteers, and persuading the Apprentices of the City to become Soldiers, upon the Privilege they gave them for their freedom, for the time they fought for them, as if they had remained in their Master's Service, was now too dull and lazy an expedient to resist this Torrent; they therefore resort to their inexhaustible Magazine of Men, their devoted City, to whose Affections the Person of *St William Waller* was most acceptable; and persuaded them, immediately to cause two of their strongest Regiments

ments of Auxiliaries, to march out of the Line to *Farnham*; which they consented to. Then they appointed the Earl of *Essex* to give his Orders to *Sr William Balfour*, with one thousand of the Horse of his Army, likewise to observe *Waller's* Commands; who, with this great addition of Forces, made hast to his other Troops at *Farnham*; where he scarce rested, but after he had informed himself how the Lord *Hopton's* Troops lay Quarter'd, at too great a distance from each other, he marched, according to his custom in those occasions (as beating up of Quarters was his Master-piece) all the night; and, by the break of day, encompass'd a great Village called *Alton*, where a Troop or two of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot of the King's lay in too much security. However, the Horse took the Alarm quickly, and, for the most part, made their escape to *Winchester*, the head Quarter; whither the Lord *Hopton* was return'd but the night before from *Arundel*. Colonel *Boles*, who Commanded his own Regiment of Foot there, consisting of about five hundred Men, which had been drawn out of the Garrison of *Wallingford*, when he found himself encompass'd by the Enemies Army of Horse and Foot, saw he could not defend himself, or make other resistance than by retiring with his Men into the Church, which he hoped to maintain for so many hours, that relief might be sent to him; but he had not time to Barricadoe the doors; so that the Enemy enter'd almost assoon; and after a short resistance, in which many were killed, the Soldiers, overpower'd, threw down their Armes, and asked Quarter; which was likewise offer'd to the Colonel; who refused it, and valiantly defended himself, till with the death of two or three of the Assailants, he was killed in the place; his Enemies giving him a testimony of great Courage and Resolution.

WALLER knew well the impression the loss of this very good Regiment would make upon the Lord *Hopton's* Forces, and that the report which the Troops of Horse which had escaped, would make, would add nothing of Courage to their fellows; so that there was no probability that they would make hast to advance; and therefore, with great celerity, the hard Frost continuing, he marched with all his Army to *Arundel*-Castle, where he found that Garrison as unprovided as he could wish. For instead of encreasing the Magazine of Victual by Supplies from the Country, they had spent much of that store which the Lord *Hopton* had provided. The Governour was a Man of Honesty and Courage, but unacquainted with that affair; having no other experience in War, than what he had learn'd since these Troubles. The Officers were many without Command, amongst whom one Colonel *Bamford*, an *Irish*-man, though he called himself *Bamfield*, was one; who,

who, being a Man of wit and parts, applied all his faculties to improve the Faction, to which they were all naturally inclin'd, with a hope to make himself Governour. In this distraction *Waller* found them, and by some of the Soldiers running out to him, he found means again to send in to them; by which he so encreased their Faction, and Animosity against one another, that, after he had kept them waking, with continual Alarms, three or four days, near half the Men being sick, and unable to do duty, rather than they would trust each other longer, they gave the Place and Themselves up, as Prisoners of War upon Quarter; the place being able to have defended it self against all that power, for a much longer time. Here the Learned and Eminent Mr *Chillingworth* was taken Prisoner; who, out of kindness and respect to the Lord *Hopton*, had accompanied him in that march; and, being indisposed by the terrible coldness of the Season, chose to repose himself in that Garrison, till the Weather should mend. As soon as his Person was known, which would have drawn reverence from any noble Enemy, the Clergy that attended that Army, prosecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable; so that, by their Barbarous usage, he died within few days; to the grief of all that knew him, and of many who knew him not but by his Book, and the Reputation he had with Learned Men.

*It is retaken
by Sir Will.
Waller.*

THE Lord *Hopton* sustain'd the loss of that Regiment with extraordinary trouble of mind, and as a wound that would bleed inward; and therefore was the more inflamed with desire of a Battle with *Waller*, to make even all Accounts; and made what hast he could, upon the first Advertisement, to have redeem'd that Misfortune; and hoped to have come time enough to Relieve *Arundel-Castle*; which he never suspected would so tamely have given themselves up: But that hope quickly vanish'd, upon the undoubted Intelligence of that Surrender, and the News that *Waller* was return'd with a full Resolution to prosecute his design upon the West: to which, besides the encouragement of his two late Successes, with which he was marvellously elated, he was in some degree necessitated, out of apprehension that the Horse which belonged to the Earl of *Essex's* Army, might be speedily recalled; and the time would be quickly expired, that he had promised the Auxiliary Regiments of *London* to dismiss them.

UPON the News the King receiv'd of the great supply the Parliament had so suddainly sent to *Waller*, both from the Earl of *Essex* his Army, and from the City, he thought it necessary to send such an addition of Foot as he could draw out of *Oxford*, and the neighbour Garrisons. And the Earl

of *Brentford*, General of the Army, who had a fast friendship with the Lord *Hopton*, expressing a good inclination to make him a visit, rather than to sit still in his Winter Quarters, his Majesty was very willing he should, and cherished that disposition, being desirous that so great an Officer might be present in an Army, upon which so much of his hopes depended; and which did not abound with Officers of great Experience. So the General, with such Volunteers as were ready to accompany him, went to *Winchester*; where he found the Lord *Hopton* in trouble for the loss of the Regiment of Foot at *Alton*, and with the unexpected Assurance of the giving up of *Arundel-Castle*. He was exceedingly reviv'd with the presence of the General, and desired to receive his Orders, and that he would take upon him the absolute Command of the Troops; which he as positively refused to do; only offer'd to keep him company in all Expeditions, and to give him the best Assistance he was able; which the Lord *Hopton* was compell'd to be contented with; nor could there be a greater union and consent between two Friends: The General being ready to give his Advice upon all particulars; and the other doing nothing without communication with him, and then conforming to his opinion, and giving Orders accordingly.

AS SOON as they were inform'd that *Waller* had drawn all his Troops together about *Farnham*, and meant to march towards them, they chearfully embraced the occasion, and went to meet him; and about *Alresford*, near the midway between *Winchester* and *Farnham*, they came to know how near they were to each other; and, being in View, chose the ground upon which they meant the Battle should be Fought; of which *Waller*, being first there, got the advantage for the drawing up his Horse. The King's Army consisted of about five thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse; and *Waller* with Sr *William Balfour*, exceeded in Horse; but they were upon the matter equal in Foot; with this only advantage, that both his Horse and Foot were, as they were always, much better Arm'd; no Man wanting any Weapon Offensive, or Defensive, that was proper for him; and Sr *Arthur Haslerig's* Regiment of Cuirassiers, call'd the *Lobsters*, were so formidable, that the King's naked and unarm'd Troops, among which few were better arm'd than with Swords, could not bear their impresson.

The Battle at
Alresford,
where Sr W.
Waller had
the advantage
over the
L. Hopton.

THE King's Horse never behaved themselves so ill, as that day. For the main Body of them, after they had sustained one fierce Charge, wheeled about to an unreasonable distance; and left their principal Officers to shift for themselves. The Foot behaved themselves very gallantly, and had not only the better

better of the other Foot, but bore two or three Charges from the Horse with notable Courage, and without being broken; whilst those Horse which stood upon the Field, and should have assisted them, could be perswaded but to stand. When the Evening drew near, for the approach whereof neither Party was sorry, the Lord *Hopton* thought it necessary to leave the Field; and drawing off his Men, and carrying with him many of the wounded, he retired with all his Cannon and Ammunition, whereof he lost none, that night to *Reading*: the Enemy being so scatter'd, that they had no mind to pursue; only *Waller* himself made halt to *Winchester*, where he thought, upon this Success, to have been immediately admitted into that Castle; which was his own Inheritance. But he found that too well defended; and so return'd with taking revenge upon the City, by plundering it with all the insolence and rapine imaginable.

THERE could not then be any other estimate made of the loss *Waller* sustain'd, than by the not pursuing the visible advantage he had, and by the utter refusal of the Auxiliary Regiments of *London* and *Kent*, to march farther; who, within three or four days, left him; and return'd to their Habitations; with great Lamentation of their Friends who were missing. On the King's side, besides common Men, and many good Officers, there fell that day the Lord *John Stewart*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, and General of the Horse of that Army; and *Sr John Smith*, Brother to the Lord *Carrington*, and Commissary General of the Horse. They were both brought off the Field by the few Horse that stay'd with them, and did their duty; carried to *Reading*; and the next day to *Abingdon*, that they might be nearer to the Assistance of the best remedies by Physicians and Surgeons. But they lived only to the second dressing of their wounds; which were very many upon both of them.

THE former was a young Man of extraordinary hope, little more than one and twenty years of Age; who being of a more cholerick and rough Nature, than the other Branches of that Illustrious and Princely Family, was not delighted with the softnesses of the Court, but had dedicated himself to the profession of Armes, when he did not think the Scene should have been in his own Country. His Courage was so signal that day, that too much could not be expected from it, if he had out lived it; and he was so generally beloved, that he could not but be very generally lamented. The other, *Sr John Smith*, had been train'd up from his Youth in the War of *Flanders*; being of an Ancient Roman Catholick Family; and had long the Reputation of one of the best Officers of Horse. As soon as the first Troubles appear'd in *Scotland*, he betook himself

himself to the Service of his own Prince; and from the beginning of the War to his own end, perform'd many signal Actions of Courage. The death of these two eminent Officers, made the names of many who perish'd that day, the less inquired into and mention'd.

THIS Battle was Fought the 29th day of *March*: which was a very doleful entring into the beginning of the year 1644, and broke all the measures, and alter'd the whole scheme of the King's Counsels: for whereas before, he hoped to have enter'd the Field early, and to have acted an Offensive part; he now discern'd, he was wholly to be upon the Defensive; and that was like to be a very hard part too. For he found, within very few days after, that he was not only deprived of the Men he had lost at *Alresford*, but that he was not to expect any recruit of his Army by a conjunction with Prince *Rupert*; who, he believ'd, would have return'd in time, after his great Success at *Newark*, with a strong Body both of Horse and Foot, from *Shropshire*, *Cheshire*, and North *Wales*: all which hopes were soon blasted; for the Prince had scarce put the Garrison of *Newark* in Order, and provided it to endure another Attack, which they might have reasonably expected upon his Highness's departure (though indeed the shame of the defeat he had given that Party, and the rage among the Officers, and Soldiers, when they saw by what a handful of Men they had been terrified, and subdued, broke and dissolv'd that whole Body within few days) when he was earnestly press'd from the Earl of *Derby*, to come into *Lancashire* to relieve him, who was already Besieged in his own strong House at *Latham*, by a great Body, with whom he was not able to contend. And to dispose the Prince the more willingly to undertake his relief, the Earl made ample promises, "that within so many days after the Siege should be raised, with any defeat to the Enemy, he would advance his Highness's Levies with two thousand Men, and supply him with a considerable Sum of Money. And the Earl had likewise, by an Express, made the same instance to the King at *Oxford*; from whence his Majesty sent his Permission, and Approbation to the Prince, before his departure from *Newark*; hoping still that his Highness would be able to dispatch that Service in *Lancashire*, and with the more notable recruits of Men in those parts, be able to return to *Oxford* by the time that it would be necessary for his Majesty to take the Field. But within a short time, he was disappointed of that expectation; for before the Prince could finish his Expedition into *Lancashire* (which he did with wonderful Gallantry; raised the Siege at *Latham* with a great execution upon the Enemy; and took two or three of their Garrisons, obstinately defended; and

and therefore with the greater slaughter) the Marquis of *New-Castle* was compell'd to retire, with his whole Army, within the Walls of *York*. He had been well able to have defended himself against the numerous Army of the *Scots*, and would have been glad to have been engaged with them, but he found he had a worse Enemy to deal with, as will appear.

FROM the time that the ruling Party of the Parliament discern'd that their General, the Earl of *Essex*, would never serve their turn, or comply with all their desires, they resolv'd to have another Army apart, that should be more at their devotion ; in the forming whereof, they would be sure to choose such Officers, as would probably not only observe their Orders, but have the same inclinations with them. Their pretence was, "that there were so many disaffected Persons of the Nobility, and Principal Gentry, in the Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, that, if great care was not taken to prevent it, there might a Body start up there for the King ; which, upon the success of the Marquis of *New-Castle*, whose Arms then reached into *Lincoln-shire*, might grow very formidable. For prevention whereof, they had formed an Association between *Essex* (a County, upon the influence of the Earl of *Warwick*, and the power of his Clergy, they most confided in) *Cambridge-shire*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Bedford*, and *Huntington* ; in all which they had many Persons of whose entire Affections they were well assured ; and, in most of them, there were few considerable Persons who wished them ill. Of this Association they had made the Earl of *Manchester* General, to be subject only to their own Commands, and independent upon the Earl of *Essex*. Under Him, they chose *Oliver Cromwell* to command their Horse ; and many other Officers, who never intended to be subject again to the King, and avow'd other Principles in Conscience and Religion, than had been before publicly declared.

The Association of several Counties form'd under the Earl of Manchester.

To this General they gave Order, "to reside within that Association ; and to make Levies of Men, sufficient to keep those Counties in Obedience : for at first they pretended no more. But, in the secret Treaty made by *Sr Harry Vane* with the *Scots*, they were bound, as soon as the *Scots* should enter into *York-shire* with their Army, that a Body of *English* Horse, Foot, and Cannon, should be ready to assist them, Commanded by their own Officers, as a Body apart : The *Scots* not then trusting their own great Numbers, as equal to fight with the *English*. And from that time they were much more careful to raise, and liberally supply, and provide for that Army under the Earl of *Manchester*, than for the other under the Earl of *Essex*. And now, according to their agreement, upon the *Scots* first entrance into *York-shire*, the Earl

of

*The Earl of
Manchester
is order'd
with his Ar-
my to march
into the
North to join
the Scots.*

of *Manchester* had likewise Order to march with his whole Body thither; having, for the most part, a Committee of the Parliament, whereof *Sr Harry Vane* was one, with him; as there was another Committee of the *Scotish* Parliament always in that Army; there being also now a Committee of both Kingdoms residing at *London*, for the carrying on the War.

THE Marquis of *New-Castle* being thus pressed on both sides, was necessitated to draw all his Army of Foot and Cannon into *York*, with some Troops of Horse; and sent the Body of his Horse, under the Command of General *Goring*, to remain in those places he should find most convenient, and from whence he might best infect the Enemy. Then he sent an Express to the King, to inform him of the Condition he was in; and to let him know, "that he doubted not to defend himself in that Post, for the term of six Weeks, or two Months; in which time, he hoped, his Majesty would find some way to Relieve him. Upon receipt of this Letter, the King sent Orders to Prince *Rupert*, that "as soon as he had Reliev'd the Lord *Derby*, and recruited, and refresh'd his Men, he should march, with what Expedition he could, "to Relieve *York*; where being join'd with the Marquis of " *New-Castle's* Army, there was hope they might fight the "Enemy: and his Majesty would put himself into as good a posture as he could to take the Field, without expecting the Prince.

*The Queen
retires from
Oxford to
Exeter.*

ALL these ill Accidents falling out successively in the Winter, the King's Condition appear'd very sad; and the Queen being now with Child, it wrought upon her Majesty's mind very much; and dispos'd her to so many Fears and Apprehensions of her Safety, that she was very uneasy to herself. She heard every day "of the great Forces rais'd, and "in a readiness, by the Parliament, much greater than they "yet ever had been; which was very true; and "that they "resolv'd, as soon as the Season was ripe, to march all to *Oxford*. She could not endure to think of being Besieg'd; and, in conclusion, resolv'd not to stay there, but to go into the West; from whence, in any distress, she might be able to Embark for *France*. Though there seem'd reasons enough to dissuade her from that inclination, and his Majesty heartily wish'd that she could be diverted, yet the perplexity of her mind was so great, and her fears so vehement, both improv'd by her indisposition of Health, that all Civility and Reason oblig'd every Body to submit. So, about the beginning of *April*, she begun her Journey from *Oxford* to the West; and, by moderate Journies, came well to *Exeter*; where she intended to stay, till she was deliver'd; for she was within little more than one Month of her time; and, being in a place

out

out of the reach of any Alarm, she recover'd her Spirits to a reasonable convalescence.

It was now about the middle of *April*, when it concern'd the King with all possible sagacity, to foresee what probably the Parliament meant to attempt with those vast Numbers of Men which they every day levied; and thereupon to conclude, what it would be possible for his Majesty to do, in those Exigencies to which he was like to be reduced. The Intelligence, that *Waller* was still design'd for the Western Expedition, made the King appoint his whole Army to be drawn together to a Rendezvous at *Marlborough*; where himself was present, and, to his great satisfaction, found the Body to consist, after all the losses and misadventures, of no less than six thousand Foot, and above four thousand Horse. There that Body remain'd for some weeks, to watch, and intend *Waller's* Motion, and to Fight with him as soon as was possible. Many things were there consulted for the future; and the quitting *Reading*, and some other Garrisons, propos'd, for the encreasing the Field Forces: yet nothing was positively resolv'd, but to expect clearer evidence what the Parliament Armies would dispose themselves to do.

So the King return'd to *Oxford*, where, upon the desire of the Members of Parliament who had been called thither, and done all the Service they could for the King, they were for the present dismissed, that they might, in their several Counties, satisfy the People of the King's importunate desire of Peace, but how insolently it had been rejected by the Parliament; and thereupon induce them to contribute all they could to his Majesty's Assistance. They were to meet there again in the Month of *October* following.

The Parliament at Oxford Pro- rogued to October.

THEN, that his Majesty might draw most of the Soldiers of that Garrison with him out of *Oxford*, when he should take the Field, that City was perswaded to compleat the Regiment they had begun to form, under the Command of a Colonel whom the King had recommended to them; which they did raise to the Number of a thousand Men. There were likewise two other Regiments raised of Gentlemen and their Servants, and of the Scholars of the several Colleges and Halls of the University; all which Regiments did Duty there punctually, from the time that the King went into the Field, till he return'd again to *Oxford*; and all the Lords declared, "that upon any emergent occasion, they would mount their "Servants upon their Horses, to make a good Troop for a "suddain Service; which they made good; and thereby, that Summer, perform'd two or three very considerable and important Actions.

By this time there was reason to believe, by all the Intel-
ligence

ligence that could be procured, and by the change of his Quarters, that *Waller* had laid aside his Western March; at least that it was suspended; and that, on the contrary, all endeavours were used to recruit both His, and the Earl of *Essex's* Army, with all possible expedition; and that neither of them should move upon any Action till they should be both compleat in greater Numbers, than either of them had yet march'd with. Hereupon, the King's Army remov'd from *Marlborough* to *Newbury*; where they remain'd near a Month, that they might be in a readines to attend the motion of the Enemy, and to assist the Garrisons of *Reading*, or *Wallingford*; or to draw out either, as there should be occasion.

THERE had been several deliberations in the Council of War, and always very different opinions, what should be done with the Garrisons when the King should take the Field, and the King himself was irresolute upon those Debates, what to do. He communicated the several reasons to Prince *Rupert* by Letters, requiring His advice; who, after he had return'd Answers, and receiv'd Replies, made a hasty journey to *Oxford* from *Chester*, to wait upon his Majesty. And it was then positively resolv'd, "that the Garrisons of *Oxford*, "*Wallingford*, *Abingdon*, *Reading*, and *Banbury*, should be "reinforced, and strengthen'd with all the Foot; that a good "Body of Horse should remain about *Oxford*, and the rest "should be sent into the West to Prince *Maurice*. If this Counsel had been pursu'd steadily and resolutely, it might probably have been attended with good Success: Both Armies of the Enemy would have been puzzled what to have done, and either of them would have been unwilling to have engaged in a Siege against any place so well provided, and resolv'd; and it would have been equally uncounsellable to have march'd to any distance, and have left such an Enemy at their backs, that could so easily and quickly have united, and incommoded any March they could have made.

BUT as it was even impossible to have administer'd such advice to the King, in the streight he was in, which being pursu'd might not have prov'd inconvenient, so it was the unhappy temper of those who were called to those Councils, that resolutions, taken upon full Debate, were seldom prosecuted with equal resolution and steadiness; but changed upon new, shorter Debates, and upon objections which had been answer'd before: Some Men being in their Natures irresolute, and inconstant, and full of objections, even after all was determined according to their own proposals; others being positive, and not to be alter'd from what they had once declared, how unreasonably soever, or what alterations soever there were in the Affairs. And the King himself frequently

consider'd more the Person who spoke, as he was in his grace, or his prejudice, than the Counsel it self that was given; and always suspected, at least trusted less to his own judgement than he ought to have done; which rarely deceiv'd him so much as that of other Men.

THE Persons with whom he only consulted in his Martial Affairs, and how to carry on the War, were (besides Prince Rupert, who was at this time absent) the General, who was made Earl of *Brentford*; the Lord *Wilmot*, who was General of the Horse; the Lord *Hopton*, who usually commanded an Army apart, and was not often with the King's Army, but now present; *St Jacob Astley*, who was Major General of the Army; the Lord *Digby*, who was Secretary of State: and *St John Colepepper* Master of the Rolls; for none of the Privy Council, those two only excepted, were called to those Consultations; though some of them were still advis'd with, for the better Execution, or Prosecution, of what was then and there resolv'd.

The Persons with whom the King consulted in his Military Affairs at this time.

THE General, though he Had been, without doubt, a very good Officer, and had great Experience, and was still a Man of unquestionable Courage and Integrity; yet he was now much decayed in his parts, and, with the long continued custom of immoderate drinking, dozed in his Understanding, which had been never quick and vigorous; he having been always illiterate to the greatest degree that can be imagined. He was now become very deaf, yet often pretended not to have heard what he did not then contradict, and thought fit afterwards to disclaim. He was a Man of few Words, and of great Complaisance, and usually deliver'd that as His opinion, which he foresaw would be grateful to the King.

WILMOT was a Man of a haughty and ambitious Nature, of a pleasant Wit, and an ill Understanding, as never considering above one thing at once; but he consider'd that one thing so impatiently, that he would not admit any thing else to be worth any Consideration. He had, from the beginning of the War, been very averse to any advice of the Privy Council, and thought fit that the King's Affairs (which depended upon the Success of the War) should entirely be govern'd and conducted by the Soldiers, and Men of War; and that no other Counsellors should have any Credit with his Majesty. Whilst Prince *Rupert* was present, his exceeding great prejudice, or rather Personal Animosity against him, made any thing that *Wilmot* said or propos'd, enough slighted and contradicted: and the King himself, upon some former account and observation, was far from any indulgence to his Person, or esteem of his Parts. But now, by the Prince's absence,

and

and his being the second Man in the Army, and the Contempt he had of the old General, who was there the only Officer above him, he grew marvellously elated, and look'd upon himself as one whose advice ought to be follow'd, and submitted to in all things. He had, by his excessive good Fellowship (in every part whereof he excelled, and was grateful to all the Company) made himself so popular with all the Officers of the Army, especially of the Horse, that he had, in truth, a very great Interest; which he desired might appear to the King, that he might have the more Interest in Him. He was positive in all his Advices in Council, and bore Contradiction very impatiently; and because he was most Contradicted by the two Privy Counsellors, the Secretary, and the Master of the Rolls, who, he saw, had the greatest Influence upon the King, he used all the Artifices he could to render them unacceptable and suspected to the Officers of the Army, by telling them, what they had said in Council; which he thought would render them the more ungrateful; and, in the Times of Jollity, perswaded the old General to believe that they invaded his Prerogative, and meddled more in the Business of the War, than they ought to do; and thereby made him the less disposed to concur with them in Advice, how rational and seasonable soever it was; which often put the King to the trouble of converting him.

THE Lord *Hopton* was a Man Superior to any Temptation, and abhor'd enough the licence, and the levities, with which he saw too many corrupted. He had a good Understanding, a clear Courage, an Industry not to be tired, and a Generosity that was not to be exhausted; a Virtue that none of the rest had: but in the Debates concerning the War, was longer in resolving, and more apt to change his mind after he had resolv'd, than is agreeable to the Office of a Commander in Chief; which render'd him rather fit for the Second, than for the Supreme Command in an Army.

St *Jacob Astley* was an honest, brave, plain Man, and as fit for the Office he exercised, of Major General of the Foot, as Christendom yielded; and was so generally esteem'd; very discerning and prompt in giving Orders, as the occasions required, and most chearful, and present in any Action. In Council he used few, but very pertinent words; and was not at all pleas'd with the long Speeches usually made there; and which rather confounded, than inform'd his Understanding: so that he rather collected the ends of the Debates, and what he was himself to Do, than enlarged them by his own Discourses; though he forbore not to deliver his own mind.

THE two Privy Counsellors, though they were of the most different Natures and Constitutions that can be imagined,
always

always agreed in their Opinions; and being, in their parts, much Superior to the other, usually prevailed upon the King's Judgement to like what they approv'd: yet one of them, who had in those Cases the Ascendent over the other, had that Excess of Fancy, that he too often, upon his own recollecting and revolving the grounds of the Resolutions which had been taken, or upon the Suggestions of other Men, changed his own mind; and thereupon caused Orders to be alter'd, which produced, or were thought to produce, many Inconveniences.

THIS unsteadiness in Counsels, and in matters resolv'd upon, made the former Determination concerning the Garrisons, to be little consider'd. The King's Army had lain above three Weeks at, and about *Newbury*; in which time their Numbers were nothing improved, beyond what they had been upon their Muster near *Marlborough*, when the King was present. When it was known that both the Parliament Armies were march'd out of *London*; That under *Essex* to *Windsor*; and That of *Waller*, to the parts between *Hertford*-*Bridge*, and *Basing*, without any purpose of going farther West; the King's Army march'd to *Reading*; and in three days, his Majesty being present, they slighted and demolish'd all the works of that Garrison: And then, which was about the middle of *May*, with the Addition of those Soldiers, which encreased the Army five and twenty hundred old Soldiers more, very well Officer'd, the Army retired to the Quarters about *Oxford*, with an opinion, that it would be in their power to Fight with one of the Enemy's Armies; which they longed exceedingly to do.

Reading
quitted by
the King's
Forces.

THE King return'd to *Oxford*, and resolv'd to stay there till he could have better Information what the Enemy intended; which was not now so easy as it had formerly been. For, since the Conjunction with the *Scotish* Commissioners in one Council, for the carrying on the War, little business was brought to be Consulted in either of the Houses; and there was much greater Secrecy than before; few or none being admitted into any kind of Trust, but they whose Affections were known to concur to the most desperate Counsels. So that the Designs were still entirely form'd, before any part of them were communicated to the Earl of *Essex*; nor was more communicated at a Time than was necessary for the present Execution; of which he was sensible enough, but could not help it. The Intention was, "that the two Armies, which march'd out together, should afterward be distinct; and should only keep together, till it appear'd what Course the King meant to take; and if he stay'd in *Oxford*, it would be fit for both to be in the Siege; the Circumvallation being

“very great, and to be divided in many places by the River; “which would keep both Armies still asunder under their several Officers. But, if the King march’d out, which they might reasonably presume he would, then the purpose was, “that the Earl of *Essex* should follow the King, wherever he “went; which, they imagined, would be Northward; “and “that *Waller* should march into the West, and subdue That. So that, having so substantially provided for the North, by the *Scots*, and the Earl of *Manchester*; and having an Army under the Earl of *Essex*, much Superior in Number to any the King could be attended with; and the third, under *Waller*, at Liberty for the West; they promised themselves, and too reasonably, that they should make an End of the War that Summer.

IT was about the tenth of *May*, that the Earl of *Essex* and *St William Waller* march’d out of *London*, with both their Armies; and the very next day after the King’s Army had quitted *Reading*, the Earl of *Essex*, from *Windsor*, sent Forces to possess it; and recommended it to the City of *London*, to provide both Men, and all other things necessary for the keeping it; which the Memory of what they had suffer’d for the two past years, by being without it, easily disposed them to do. By this means, the Earl had the Opportunity to joyn with *Waller’s* Army when he should think fit; which before they could not do with Convenience, or Security. Nor did they ever after joyn in one Body, but kept at a fit Distance, to be able, if there were Occasion, to help each other.

THE Earl of *Essex’s* Army consisted of all his old Troops, which had Winter’d about *St Albans*, and in *Bedfordshire*; and being now encreased with four Regiments of the Trainbands, and Auxiliaries within the City of *London*, did not amount to less than ten thousand Horse and Foot. *Waller* had likewise receiv’d a large Recruit from *London*, *Kent*, and *Suffex*; and was little inferior in Numbers to *Essex*, and in Reputation above him. When the King’s Army retired from *Reading*, the Horse Quarter’d about *Wantage*, and *Farrington*, and all the Foot were put into *Abingdon*, with a Resolution to quit, or defend that Town, according to the manner of the Enemies Advance towards it; that is, if they came upon the East side, where, besides some indifferent Fortifications, they had the advantage of the River, they would maintain and defend it; if they came on the West side from *Wantage*, and *Farrington*, they would draw out and Fight, if the Enemy were not by much Superior in Number; and, in that Case, they would retire with the whole Army to *Oxford*.

BEING satisfied with this Resolution, they lay in that quiet Posture, without making the least Impression upon the Enemy, by

by beating up his Quarters; which might easily have been done; or restraining them from making Incursions where they had a mind; all which was imputed to the ill Humour, and Negligence of *Wilmot*. The Earl of *Essex* advanced with his Army towards *Abingdon*; and upon the East part of the Town; which was that which they had hoped for, in order to their Defending it. But they were no sooner advertised of it, but the General, early the next Morning, march'd with all the Foot out of *Abingdon*, the Horse being come thither in the Night to make good the Retreat: and all this was done before his Majesty had the least notice, or suspicion of it. Abingdon
quitted by
the King's
Forces. As soon as his Majesty was inform'd of it by *St Charles Blunt*, the Scout Master General, whom the General had sent to acquaint the King with the Resolution, he sent *St Charles Blunt* back to the General, to let him know the great dislike he had of their purpose to quit the Town, and to command him to stay, and not to advance till his Majesty came to him; which he made all possible hast to do. But before the Messenger could return, the Army was within sight of *Oxford*; and so the Foot was drawn through the City, and the Horse Quarter'd in the Villages about the Town.

ABINGDON was in this manner, and to the King's infinite Trouble, quitted; whither a Party of *Essex's* Army came the same Night; and the next day, himself with all his Foot enter'd the Town; his Horse being Quarter'd about it. Possess'd by
the Earl of
Essex. He then called *Waller* to bring up his Army near him, that they might resolve in what manner to proceed; and he had his head Quarter at *Wantage*: and so, without the striking one Blow, they got the Possession of *Reading*, *Abingdon*; and were Masters of all *Berk-shire*; and forced the King to draw his whole Army of Horse and Foot on the North side of *Oxford*; where they were to feed on his own Quarters, and to consider, how to keep *Oxford* it self from being Besieged, and the King from being inclosed in it.

THIS was the deplorable Condition to which the King was reduced before the end of the Month of *May*; inasmuch that it was generally reported at *London*, "that *Oxford* was taken, and the King a Prisoner; and others more Confidently gave it out, "that his Majesty resolv'd to come to *London*: of which the Parliament was not without some Apprehension, though not so much, as of the King's putting himself into the hands of the Earl of *Essex*, and into his Protection; which They could not endure to think of; and this troubled them so much, that the Committee of both Kingdoms, who Conducted the War, writ this Letter to the General.

My Lord,

"WE are credibly informed, that his Majesty intends to come for *London*. We desire you, that you will do your Endeavour to inform your self of the same; and if you think that his Majesty intends at all to come to the Armies, that you acquaint us with the same; and do nothing therein, until the Houses shall give Direction.

So much Jealousy they had of the Earl, and the more, because they saw not else what the King could do; who could not entertain any reasonable Expectation of Encrease, or Addition of Force from the North, or from the West; Prince *Rupert* being then in his march into *Lancashire*, for the Relief of the Earl of *Derby* (besieged in his Castle of *Latbam*) and Prince *Maurice* being still engaged in the unfortunate Siege of *Lyme* in *Dorsetshire*, a little Fisher Town; which, after he had lain before it a Month, was much more like to hold out, than it was the first day he came before it. In this Perplexity, the King sent the Lord *Hopton* to *Bristol*, to provide better for the Security of that important City; where he yet knew *Waller* had many Friends; and himself resolv'd to stay at *Oxford*, till he saw how the two Armies would dispose themselves; that, when they were so divided that they could not presently joyn, he might Fight with one of them; which was the greatest hope he had now left.

It was very happy that the two Armies lay so long quiet near each other, without pressing the Advantages they had, or improving the Confusion, and Distraction, which the King's Forces were, at that time, too much inclined to. Orders were given so to Quarter the King's Army, that it might keep the Rebels from passing over either of the Rivers, *Cherwel*, or *Ifis*, which run on the East and West sides of the City; the Foot being, for the most part, Quarter'd towards the *Cherwel*, and the Horse, with some Dragoons, near the *Ifis*.

In this posture all the Armies lay quiet, and without Action, for the space of a day; which somewhat compos'd the minds of those within *Oxford*, and of the Troops without; which had not yet recover'd their dislike of their having quitted *Abingdon*, and thereby of being so streighten'd in their Quarters. Some of *Waller's* Forces attempted to pass the *Ifis* at *Newbridge*, but were repuls'd by the King's Dragoons. But the next day *Effex*, with his whole Army, got over the *Thames* at *Sandford-Ferry*, and march'd to *Istip*, where he made his Quarters; and, in his way, made a halt upon *Bullington-Green*, that the City might take a full view of his Army, and he of it. In order to which, himself, with a small Party

Party of Horse, came within Cannon shot ; and little Parties of Horse came very near the Ports, and had light Skirmishes with some of the King's Horse, without any great hurt on either side.

THE next Morning, a strong Patty of the Earl's Army endeavour'd to pass over the *Cherwel*, at *Gosworth*-Bridge ; but were repulsed by the Musqueteers with very considerable loss ; and so retired to their Body. And now the Earl, being engaged, with his whole Army, on the East side of the River *Cherwel*, whereby he was disabled to give, or receive any speedy Assistance to, or from *Waller* ; the King resolv'd to attempt the repossessing himself of *Abingdon*, and to take the Opportunity to Fight with *Waller* singly, before he could be reliev'd from the other Army. In order to this, all the Foot were in the Evening drawn off from the Guard of the Passes, and marched through *Oxford* in the Night towards *Abingdon* ; and the Earl of *Cleveland*, a Man of signal Courage, and an excellent Officer upon any bold Enterprize, advanced, with a Party of one hundred and fifty Horse, to the Town it self ; where there were a thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse of *Waller's* Army ; and enter'd the same, and killed many, and took some Prisoners : but upon the Alarm, he was so overpower'd, that his Prisoners escaped, though he killed the Chief Commander, and made his Retreat good, with the loss only of two Officers, and as many Common Soldiers ; and so, both the attempt upon *Abingdon* was given over, and the design of Fighting *Waller* laid aside ; and the Army return'd again to their old Post, on the North side of *Oxford*.

Sr *Jacob Astley* undertook the Command himself at *Gosworth*-Bridge, where he perceiv'd the Earl intended to force his Passage ; and presently cast up Breast-works, and made a Redoubt for the Defence of his Men, and Repulsed the Enemy, the second Time, very much to their Damage and Loss ; who renew'd their Assault two or three days together, and planted Cannon to facilitate their passage, which did little hurt ; but they still lost many Men in the Attempt. On the other side, *Waller's* Forces from *Abingdon* did not find the new Bridge so well defended ; but overpowering those Guards, and having got Boats, in which they put over their Men, both above and below, they got that Passage over the River *Isis* : by which they might have brought over all their Army, and fallen upon the King's Rear, whilst he was defending the other side.

It was now high time for the King to provide for his own security, and to escape the danger he was in, of being shut up in *Oxford*. *Waller* lost no time, but the next day passed over five thousand Horse and Foot, by *Newbridge* : the Van whereof Quarter'd at *Ensam*, and, the King's Foot being drawn

off from *Gosworth-Bridge*, *Essex* immediately brought his Men over the *Cherwell*; and Quarter'd that Night at *Blechingdon*; many of his Horse advancing to *Woodstock*; so that the King seem'd to Them to be perfectly shut in between them; and to his own People, his Condition seem'd so desperate, that one of those with whom he us'd to advise in his most Secret Affairs, and whose Fidelity was never suspected, propos'd to him to render himself, upon Conditions, to the Earl of *Essex*; which his Majesty reject'd with great Indignation; yet had the Goodness to conceal the Name of the Proposer; and said, "that possibly he might be found in the hands of the Earl of *Essex*, but he would be dead first. Word was given, "for "all the Horse to be together, at such an Hour, to expect "Orders; and a good Body of Foot with Cannon, march'd through the Town towards *Abingdon*; by which, it was concluded, that both Armies would be amused, and *Waller* induc'd to draw back over *Newbridge*: and, as soon as it was Evening, the Foot, and Cannon, return'd to their old Post on the North side.

THE King resolv'd, for the Encouragement of the Lords of the Council, and the Persons of Quality who were in *Oxford*, to leave his Son the Duke of *York* there; and promised, if they should be Besieged, "to do all he could to relieve "them, before they should be reduced to Extremity. He appointed then, "that two thousand and five hundred choice "Musqueteers should be drawn out of the whole Foot, under the Command of *Sr Jacob Astley*, and four experienced "Colonels; all which should, without Colours, repair to the "place where the Horse attended to receive Orders, and that "the rest of the Foot should remain together on the North "side, and so be applied to the Defence of *Oxford*, if it should "be Besieged.

ALL things being in this order, on *Monday* the third of *June*, about nine of the Clock at Night, the King, with the Prince, and those Lords, and others who were appointed to attend him, and many others of Quality who were not appointed, and only thought themselves less secure if they should stay behind, march'd out of the North Port, attended by his own Troop, to the place where the Horse, and command'd Foot, waited to receive them; and from thence, without any halt, march'd between the two Armies, and by Day-break were at *Hanborough*, some miles beyond all their Quarters. But the King rested not till the Afternoon, when he found himself at *Burford*; and then concluded that he was in no danger to be overtaken by any Army that was to follow with Baggage, and a Train of Artillery: so that he was content to refresh his Men there; and supp'd himself; yet was not without

out Apprehension that he might be follow'd by a Body of the Enemies Horse; and therefore, about nine of the Clock, he continued his March from *Burford* over the *Cotswold*, and by Mid-night reached *Burton* upon the Water; where he gave himself, and his wearied Troops, more rest and refreshment.

THE Morning after the King left *Oxford*, the Foot marched again through *Oxford*, as if they meant to go to *Abingdon*, to continue that Amusement which the day before had prevailed with *Waller*, to send many of his Men back, and to delay his own Advance; and likewise, that Quarters might be provided for them against their return; which they did by Noon. The Earl of *Essex* had that Morning, from *Bleskingdon*, sent some Horse to take a view of *Oxford*; and to learn what was doing there. And they seeing the Colours standing, as they had done two days before, made him conclude, that the King was still there, and as much in his power as ever. *Waller* had earlier Intelligence of his Majesty's motion, and sent a good Body of Horse to follow him, and to retard his March, till he could come up: and his Horse made such hast, that they found in *Burford* some of the straggling Soldiers, who out of weariness, or for love of Drink, had stayed behind their Fellows. The Earl of *Essex* follow'd likewise with his Army, and Quarter'd at *Chippen-Norton*; and *Waller's* Horse were as far as *Broadway*, when the King had reached *Evesham*; where he intended to rest, as in a secure place; though his Garrison at *Tewkesbury* had been, the Night before, surpris'd by a strong Party from *Glocester*; the Chief Officers being kill'd, and the rest taken Prisoners; most of the Common Soldiers making their Escape, and coming to *Evesham*. But, upon Intelligence that both Armies follow'd by strong marches, and it being possible that they might get over the River *Avon* about *Stratford*, or some other place, and so get between the King and *Worcester*, his Majesty changed his purpose of staying at *Evesham*, and presently march'd to *Worcester*; having given order for the breaking of the Bridge at *Parshore*; which was, unwarily, so near done before all the Troops were pass'd, that, by the suddain falling of an Arch, Major *Bridges*, of the Prince's Regiment, a Man of good Courage and Conduct, with two or three other Officers of Horse, and about twenty common Men, fell unfortunately into the *Avon*, and were drown'd.

THE Earl of *Essex*, when he saw the King was got full two days March before him, and that it was impossible so to overtake him, as to bring him into their Power, resolv'd to pursue him no farther, but to consult what was else to be done; and, to that purpose, called a Council of all the principal

The Earl of Essex marches towards the West;

gipal Officers of both Armies, to attend him at *Burford*; where it was resolv'd, "that *Waller*, who had the lighter Ordnance, and the less Carriages, should have such an Addition of Forces, as *Masse*, the Governour of *Glocester*, "should be able to furnish him with; and so should pursue "and follow the King, wheresoever he should go; and that the "Earl of *Essex*, who had the greater Ordnance, and the heavier Carriages, should prosecute the other Design of Relieving *Lyme*, and reducing the West to the Obedience of the Parliament.

WALLER opposed this Resolution all he could; and urged some Order, and Determination of the Committee of both Kingdoms in the point; and, "that the West was assign'd to Him, as his Province, when the two Armies should think fit to sever from each other. However, *Essex* gave him positive Orders, as his General, "to march according to the Advice of the Council of War; which he durst not disobey, but sent grievous Complaints to the Parliament, of the usage he was forced to submit to. And they at *Westminster*, were so incens'd against the Earl of *Essex*, that they writ a very angry, and insipidous Letter to him, in which they reproach'd him, "for not submitting to the Directions "which They had given; and required him "to follow their former Directions, and to suffer *Waller* to attend the Service "of the West. Which Letter was brought to him before he had march'd above two days Westward. But the Earl chose rather to Answer their Letter, than to Obey their Order; and writ to Them, "that their Directions had been contrary to "the Discipline of War, and to Reason; and that, if he "should now return, it would be a great Encouragement to "the Enemy in all places; and Subscribed his Letter, "Your Innocent, though suspected Servant, *Essex*; and then prosecuted his Resolution, and continued his march for the West.

Waller towards Worcester, after the King.

WHEN *Waller* found there was no remedy, he Obeyed his Orders with much Diligence and Vigour; and prosecuted his march towards *Worcester*, where his Majesty then was; and, in his way, perswaded, rather than forced, the Garrison of *Sudely* Castle, the strong House of the Lord *Chandois*, to deliver up that place to him. The Lord of that Castle was a young Man of Spirit and Courage; and had, for two Years, serv'd the King very bravely in the head of a Regiment of Horse, which himself had rais'd at his own Charge; but had lately, out of pure weariness of the Fatigue, and having spent most of his Money, and without any Diminution of his Affection, left the King, under pretence of Travel; but making *London* his way, he gave himself up to the pleasures of that place;

place; which he enjoy'd, without Considering the Issue of the War, or shewing any Inclination to the Parliament; nor did he, in any degree contribute to the delivery of his House; which was at first imagined, because it was so ill, or not at all, defended. It was under the Government of *Sr William Morton*, a Gentleman of the long Robe; who, in the beginning of the War, cast off his Gown, as many other Gallant Men of that Profession of the Law did, and serv'd as Lieutenant Colonel in the Regiment of Horse under the Lord *Chandois*; and had given so frequent Testimony of signal Courage in several Actions, in which he had receiv'd many wounds, both by the Pistol and the Sword, that his Mettle was never suspected; and his Fidelity as little question'd: and after many Years of Imprisonment, sustained with great Firmness and Constancy, he liv'd to receive the Reward of his Merit, after the Return of the King; who made him first a Serjeant at Law, and afterwards a Judge of the King's Bench; where he sat many Years, and discharged the Office with much Gravity and Learning; and was very terrible to those who chose to live by Robbing on the High way. He was unfortunate, though without Fault, in the giving up that Castle in so unreasonable a Conjunction; which was done by the Faction and Artifice of an Officer within, who had found means to go out to *Waller*, and to acquaint him with the great wants of the Garrison; which indeed had not plenty of any thing: and so, by the Mutiny of the Soldiers, it was given up; and the Governour made Prisoner, and sent to the Tower; where he remained some Years after the end of the War. From hence *Waller*, with great Expedition, marched to *Evesham*; where the evil Inhabitants receiv'd him willingly; and had, as soon as the King left them, repair'd their Bridge over the *Avon*, to facilitate his coming to them; which he could not else so soon have done.

THE King rested some days at *Worcester*, whereby he very much refreshed his Troops, which were there spared from doing duty; and likewise, by the Loyalty of that good Town, and the Affection of the Gentry of that Country, who retired thither for their Security, he procured both Shoes and Stockings, and Money for his Soldiers: and when, upon good Information, *Waller* was marched out of *Evesham* with his whole Army towards *Worcester*, which he would probably Besiege, the King resolv'd not to be found there; and therefore, having left that City well provided, and in good heart, his Majesty removed with his little Army to *Bewdley*, that he might keep the River *Severn* between Him and the Enemy; the Foot being Quarter'd together at *Bewdley*, and the Horse by the side of the River towards *Bridgenorth*. The posture

posture in which the King was, made *Waller* conclude that his Majesty intended his Course to *Shrewsbury*, and to the more Northern Parts. And it is true, that, without any such Resolution, Orders were sent to *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgenorth*, *Ludlow*, and other Garrisons, "that they should make all possible Provisions of Corn, and other Victual; which they should cause, in great Quantities, to be brought thither; which confirm'd *Waller* in his former Conjecture, and made him advance with his Army beyond the King, that he might be nearer *Shrewsbury* than He. But, God knows, the King was without any other Design, than to avoid the Enemy; with whom he could not, with such a handful of Foot, and without Cannon, propose reasonably to Fight a Battle: and he had too many good Reasons against going to either of those places, or to those parts, which *Waller* conceiv'd him inclin'd to; and his Majesty might well assume the Complaint, and Expression of King *David*, "that he was *hunted as a Partridge upon the Mountains*; and knew not whither to resort, or to what place to repair for rest.

IN this Perplexity, it looked like the Bounty of Providence, that *Waller* was advanced so far: upon which, the King took a sudden Resolution, to return with all Expedition to *Worcester*, and to make hast to *Evesham*; where, having broke the Bridge, and so left the River of *Avon* at his back, he might be able, by quick Marches, to joyn with that part of his Army, which he had left at *Oxford*; and might thereby be in a Condition to Fight with *Waller*, and to prosecute any other Design. Upon this good Resolution, care was taken for all the Boats to come both from *Bridgenorth*, and *Worcester*, that the Foot might, with the more speed and ease, be carried thither; all which succeeded to wish. In-somuch, that the next day, being Embarked early in the Morning, the Foot arriv'd so soon at *Worcester*, that they might very well have marched that Night to *Evesham*, but that many of the Horse, which were Quarter'd beyond *Bewdley* towards *Bridgenorth*, could not possibly march at that rate, nor come up soon enough; so that it was necessary that both Horse and Foot should remain that Night together at *Worcester*; which they did accordingly.

THE next Morning, the King found no cause to alter any thing in his former Resolution; and receiv'd good Intelligence, that *Waller*, without knowing any thing of his Motion, remain'd still in his old Quarters; whereupon he march'd very fast to *Evesham*; nor would he stay there; but gave Order for the Horse and Foot, without delay, to march through it; after he had provided for the breaking down the Bridge, and made the Inhabitants of the Town pay two hundred

hundred Pounds, for their alacrity in the reception of *Waller*; and likewise compelled them to deliver a thousand pair of Shoes for the use of the Soldiers; which, without any long pause, was submitted to, and perform'd. Then the Army marched that Night to *Broadway*, where they Quarter'd; and very early the next Morning, they mounted the Hills near *Camden*; and there they had time to breath, and to look with pleasure on the places where they had passed through; having now left *Waller*, and the ill ways he must pass, far enough behind; for even in that Season of the Year, the ways in that Vale were very deep.

Now the King sent Colonel *Fielding*, and lest he might miscarry (for both from *Glocester*, *Tewkesbury*, and *Sudely-Castle*, the Enemy had many Scouts abroad) two or three other Messengers, to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, to let them know "of his happy Return; and that he meant to Quarter that Night at *Burford*; and the next, at *Whitney*; where he did expect, that all his Foot, with their Colours and Cannon, would meet him; which, with unspeakable Joy, they did. So that, on *Thursday* the twentieth of *June*, which was within seventeen days after he had left *Oxford* in that disconsolate Condition, the King found himself in the head of his Army, from which he had been so sever'd, after so many Accidents and melancholick Perplexities, to which Majesty had been seldom expos'd. Nor can all the Circumstances of that Peregrination be too particularly, and punctually set down. For as they administer'd much delight after they were pass'd, and gave them great Argument of acknowledging God's good Providence in the preservation of the King, and, in a manner, snatching him as a Brand out of the Fire, and redeeming him even out of the hands of the Rebels; so it cannot be ungrateful, or without some pleasure to Posterity, to see the most exact Relation of an Action so full of danger in all respects, and of an Escape so remarkable. And now the King thought himself in a posture not only to abide *Waller*, if he approach'd towards him, but to follow and find him out, if he had a mind, or did endeavour to decline Fighting with his Majesty.

IN the short time the King had been absent, the Garrison at *Oxford* was not idle. When the King in the Spring had prepared for the Field, and in order thereunto had drawn out the Garrison at *Reading*, it was thought to no purpose to keep lesser Garrisons, at a less distance from *Oxford*; and thereupon the Garrison at *Bastal-House*, reputed a strong place, upon the Edge of *Oxford-shire* and *Buckingham-shire*, was appointed to demolish the Works and Fortifications, and to retire, and joyn with the Army: which was no sooner done,

done, but the Garrison at *Aylesbury*, that had felt the Effects of the others ill Neighbourhood, possessed the place, and put a Garrison into it; which, after the King had left *Oxford*, and both the Armies of *Effex* and *Waller*, were gone from before it, gave little less Trouble to that City, and obstructed the Provisions which should come thither, almost as much as one of the Armies had done. This brought great Complaints and Clamour from the Country, and from the Town, to the Lords of the Council; and was ever made an Excuse for their not complying with the Commands they sent out, for Labourers to work upon the Fortifications; which was the principal work in hand; or for any other service of the Town. When both Armies were drawn off to such a distance in following the King, that there seem'd for the present no reasonable apprehension of being Besieged, the Lord's consider'd of a Remedy to apply to this Evil from *Bosfal-House*; and receiving encouragement from Colonel *Gage* (of whom they had a great esteem, and of whom we shall speak shortly more at large) who offer'd to undertake the reducing it, they appointed a Party of commanded Men of the Foot, which the King had left there, with three pieces of Cannon, and a Troop of Horse of the Town, to obey His Orders, who, by the break of day, appear'd before the place; and in a short time, with little resistance, got possession of the Church, and the Out-Houses, and then batter'd the House it self with his Cannon; which they within, would not long endure; but desired a Parley. Upon which the House was render'd, with the Ammunition, one piece of Ordnance, which was all they had; and much good provision of Victual, whereof they had plenty for Horse and Man; and had Liberty given them to go away with their Armes, and Horses; very easy Conditions for so strong a Post; which was obtain'd with the loss of one Inferior Officer, and two or three Common Men. Here the Colonel left a Garrison, that did not only defend *Oxford* from those mischievous Incurfions, but did very near support it self, by the Contribution it drew from *Buckingham-shire*, besides the Prey it frequently took from the very Neighbourhood of *Aylesbury*.

THE Earl of *Effex*, by slow and easy Marches, and without any Opposition or Trouble, enter'd into *Dorset-shire*; and by his great Civility, and Affability towards all Men, and the very good Discipline in his Army, wrought very much upon the People. Insomuch that his Forces rather encreased, than diminish'd; which had, during his being before *Oxford*, been much lessen'd, not only by the Numbers which were kill'd and hurt, but by the running away of many, whilst the sharp Encounters continued at *Gosworth-Bridge*. It can hardly
be

be imagin'd, how great a Difference there was in the humour, disposition, and manner of the Army under *Essex*, and the other under *Waller*, in their behaviour and humanity towards the People; and, consequently, in the Reception they found among them; the demeanour, and carriage of those under *Waller* being much more ungentlemanly, and barbarous, than that of the other: besides that the People, in all places, were not without some Affection, and even reverence towards the Earl, who, as well upon his own account, as the memory of his Father, had been always universally popular.

WHEN he came to *Blandford*, he had a great mind to make himself Master of *Weymouth*, if he could compass it without engaging his Army before it; which he resolv'd Not to do; however it was little out of his way to pass near it. Colonel *Asburnham*, then Governour of *Weymouth*, was made choice of for that Command, upon the Opinion of his Courage, and Dexterity; and, to make way for him, *St Anthony Abley Cooper* had been, the Year before, removed from that Charge; and was thereby so much disobligh'd, that he quitted the King's Party, and gave himself up, Body and Soul, to the Service of the Parliament, with an implacable Animosity against the Royal Interest. The Colonel had been intent upon other things, and not enough solicitous to finish the Fortifications, which were not strong enough to defy an Army, yet too strong to be deliver'd upon the Approach of one. I shall say the less of this matter, because the Governour afterwards press'd to have the whole examin'd before a Council of War, where he produced a Warrant, under the hand of Prince *Maurice*, "that, the Town being untenable, he should, upon the advance of the Earl of *Essex*, put a sufficient strength into *Portland-Castle*, and retire thither; which he had done; and was, by the Council of War, absolv'd from any Crime. Yet, the truth is, however absolv'd, he lost Reputation by it; and was thought to have left the Town too soon, though he meant to have return'd again, after he had visit'd *Portland*. But in the mean time the Towns-
men mutiny'd, and sent to the Earl of *Essex* when he was near the Town; whereupon he came thither; which he would not otherwise have done; and gave the Garrison leave to march with their Armes to Prince *Maurice*; and so became Master of *Weymouth*; and leaving Men enough out of the Country to defend it, without any delay, he prosecuted his march to *Lyme*; from whence Prince *Maurice*, upon the news of the loss of *Weymouth*, had retired with hast enough towards
Exeter, with a Body of full five and twenty hundred Foot, and eighteen hundred Horse; after he had put a Garrison of five hundred Men into *Wareham*, and with some loss of Reputation,

Weymouth
deliver'd to
the Earl of
Essex.

Lyme re-
liev'd by
him.

putation, for having lain so long with such a strength before so vile and untenable a place, without reducing it.

AS SOON as the King had joyn'd his Army at *Whitney*, which now consisted of full five thousand five hundred Foot, and very near four thousand Horse, with a convenient Train of Artillery, he resolv'd no longer to live upon his own Quarters, which had been too much wasted by Friends and Enemies; but to visit the Enemy's Country; and so, the next day, he march'd towards *Buckingham*; where he would stay, and expect *Waller* (of whose motion he yet heard nothing) and from whence, if he appear'd not, his Majesty might enter into the Associated Counties, and so proceed Northward, if, upon Intelligence from thence, he found it reasonable. Whilst the King staid at *Buckingham*, and thought himself now in a good Condition to fight with the Enemy (his Troops, every day bringing in store of Provisions, and, being now in a Country where they were not expected, met with many Cart-loads of Wine, Grocery, and Tobacco, which were passing, as in secure roads, from *London* to *Coventry*, and *Warwick*; all which were very welcome to *Buckingham*) a new, and unexpected Trouble fell upon him by the ill humour, and Faction in his own Army. *Wilmot* continued still fullen and perverse, and every day grew more insolent; and had contracted such an Animosity against the Lord *Digby*, and the Master of the Rolls, that he perswaded many Officers of the Army, especially of the Horse, where he was most entirely obey'd, to joyn in a Petition to the King, "that those two Counsellors might be excluded, and be no more present in Councils of War; which they promised to do.

WALLER remain'd still in *Worcester-shire*; upon which it was again Consulted, what the King was to do. Some proposed "the marching presently into the Associated Counties; others, "to lose no time in endeavouring to joyn with Prince *Rupert*. *Wilmot*, without ever communicating it with the King, positively advis'd, "that they might presently march "towards *London*, and now both their Generals, and Armies "were far from them, make tryal what the true affection of "the City was; and that, when the Army was march'd as far "as *St Albans*, the King should send such a gracious Message "both to the Parliament, and City, as was most like to prevail upon them; and concluded, as if he knew "that this "way of proceeding would be very much approv'd of by the "Army. This extravagant motion, with all the Circumstances of it, troubled the King very much; yet he thought not fit absolutely to reject it, lest it might promote that Petition, which he knew was framing among the Officers; but wish'd them, "that such a Message should be prepared, and
"then

"then that he would Communicate both that, and what concern'd his march towards *London*, to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*; that in so weighty an Affair he might receive Their Counsel. To that purpose the Lord *Digby*, and the Master of the Rolls, were sent to *Oxford*; who, after two days, return'd without any Approbation of the march, or the Message by the Lords. But all that Intrigue fell of it self, upon the sure Intelligence, "that *Waller* had left *Worcester-shire*, and marched, with what speed he could, to find his Majesty; which gave new Argument of Debate.

WHEN the King had so dextrously deceiv'd, and eluded him by his quick march to and from *Worcester*, *Waller*, who had not timely Information of it, and less suspected it, thought it not to the purpose to tire his Army with long marches in hope to overtake him; but first shew'd it at the Walls of *Worcester*, to terrify that City, which had contemn'd his power a year before, when it was not so well able to resist it. But he quickly discern'd he could do no good there: then he marched towards *Glocester*, having sent to Colonel *Maffey* to send him some Men out of *Glocester*; which he, being a Creature of *Essex's*, refused to do. Upon this Denial, he marched into *Warwick-shire*; and appointed his Rendezvous in *Keinton* Field, the place where the first Battle was fought. There he receiv'd an addition of seven Troops of Horse, and about six hundred Foot, from *Warwick* and from *Coventry*, with eleven pieces of Ordnance. With this Recruit he marched confidently towards the King; of which his Majesty being inform'd, that he might the sooner meet him, he marched with his Army to *Brackley*, when *Waller* was near *Banbury*; and the Armies coming shortly in view of each other, upon a fair Sunshine in the Afternoon, after a very wet Morning, both endeavour'd to possess a piece of Ground they well knew to be of Advantage; which being nearer to *Waller*, and the King passing his whole Army through the Town of *Banbury*, before it could come to it, *Waller* had first his Men upon it in good Order of Battle, before the King could reach thither: so that the King lay that Night in the Field, half a mile East of *Banbury*, the River of *Cherwel* being between the two Armies.

THE King resolv'd to make *Waller* draw off from that Advantage ground, where he had stood two days; and in order thereunto, marched away, as if he would enter further into *Northampton-shire*: and he no sooner moved, but *Waller* likewise drew off from his ground, and coasted on the other side of the River, but at such a distance, that it was thought he had no mind to be engaged. The Van of the King's Army was led by the General, and *Wilmot*: in the Body was the King,

The fight as
Croredy-
Bridge.

King, and the Prince, and the Rear consisted of one thousand commanded Foot, under Colonel *Thetwell*, with the Earl of *Northampton's* and the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigades of Horse. And, that the Enemy might not be able to take any advantage, a Party of Dragoons was sent to keep *Croopedy-Bridge*, until the Army was passed beyond it. The Army marching in this order, Intelligence was brought to the King, "that there was a Body of three hundred Horse, within less than two miles of the Van of the Army, that marched to, joyn with *Waller*; and that they might be easily cut off, if the Army mended their pace. Whereupon, Orders were sent to the foremost Horse, "that they should move faster, the Van and the Middle having the same Directions, without any notice given to the Rear. *Waller* quickly discern'd the great distance that was suddainly grown between the King's Body and his Rear, and presently advanced with fifteen hundred Horse, one thousand Foot, and eleven pieces of Cannon to *Croopedy-Bridge*, which were quickly too strong for the Dragoons that were left to keep it, and which made a very faint Resistance: so that this Party advanced above half a mile, pursuing their Design of cutting off the King's Rear, before they should be able to get up to the Body of the Army. To facilitate this Execution, he had sent one thousand Horse more, to pass over at a Ford a mile below *Croopedy-Bridge*, and to fall upon the Rear of all. Timely notice being given of this to the Earl of *Cleveland*, who was in the Van of that Division, and "of the Enemy's having passed at *Croopedy* (which was confirm'd by the running of the Horse, and scatter'd Foot) "and that there stood two Bodies of Horse without moving, "and faced the Army: Thereupon the Earl presently drew up his Brigade to a rising ground that faced that pass, where he discern'd a great Body of the Rebel's Horse drawn up, and ready to have fallen upon his Rear. It was no time to expect Orders; but the Earl, led by his own great Spirit, Charged presently that Body with great fury, which sustain'd it not with equal Courage; losing a Cornet, and many Prisoners.

THIS Alarm had quickly reached the King, who sent to the Van to return, and himself drew up those about him, to a little Hill beyond the Bridge; where he saw the Enemy preparing for a second Charge upon the Earl of *Cleveland*. The King Commanded the Lord *Bernard Stuart*, a Valiant young Gentleman, who Commanded his own Guards, "to make hast to the Assistance of the Rear; and, in his way, to "Charge those two Bodies of Horse which faced his Majesty. He, with above a hundred of Gallant and Stout Gentlemen, return'd instantly over the Bridge, and made hast towards those

those two Bodies of Horse; who, seeing their fellows Routed by the Earl of *Cleveland*, were then advancing to Charge him in the Flank, as he was following the Execution. But the presence of this Troop made them change their mind; and, after a very little stay, accompany their fellows in their Flight; which very much facilitated the Defeat, that quickly ensued.

THE Earl of *Cleveland*, after his short Encounter, made a stand under a great Ash (where the King had but half an hour before stay'd and din'd) not understanding what the Enemy could mean by advancing so fast, and then flying so soon; when he perceiv'd a Body of their Horse of sixteen Cornets, and as many Colours of Foot, placed within the Hedges, and all within Musquet-shot of him, and advancing upon him; which He likewise did upon Them with notable Vigour; and having stood their Musquet and Carabine-shot, he Charged them so furiously, being resolutely seconded by all the Officers of his Brigade, that he Routed both Horse and Foot, and Chased them with good Execution beyond their Cannon: all which, being eleven pieces, were taken; with two Barricadoes of Wood, which were drawn upon Wheels, and in each seven small Brass and Leather Guns, charg'd with Case-shot; most of their Cannoneers were kill'd, and the General of their Ordnance taken Prisoner. This Man, one *Weemes*, a *Scotch*-man, had been as much obliged by the King, as a Man of His Condition could be, and in a manner very unpopular: for he was made Master Gunner of *England*, with a Pension of three hundred pounds *per annum* for his Life (which was looked upon as some disrespect to the *English* Nation) and having never done the King the least Service, he took the first opportunity to Disserve him; and having been engaged against him, from the beginning of the Rebellion, he was now preferr'd by them, for his eminent Disloyalty, to be General of the Ordnance in the Army of *St William Waller*; who was very much advised by him in all matters of Importance. Besides *Weemes*, there was taken Prisoner *Baker*, Lieutenant Colonel to *St William Waller's* own Regiment, and five or six Lieutenant Colonels, and Captains, of as good Names as were amongst them; with many Lieutenants, Ensigns, and Cornets, Quartermasters; and above one hundred Common Soldiers; many more being slain in the Charge. The Earl pursued them as far as the Bridge; over which he forced them to retire, in spite of their Dragoons, which were placed there to make good their Retreat: all which fled with them, or before. And so the Earl having clear'd that side of the River, and not knowing how far he was from the Army, retired, as he had good reason to do; having lost, in this notable Action,

two Colonels, *St William Boteler*, and *St William Clarke*, both Gentlemen of *Kent*, of fair Fortunes, who had raised, and arm'd their Regiments at their own Charge, who were both kill'd dead upon the place, with one Captain more of another Regiment, and not above fourteen Common Soldiers.

AT the same time, the Earl of *Northampton* discover'd that Party of the Enemies Horse, which had found a passage over the River a Mile below, to follow him in the Rear; and presently faced about with those Regiments of his Brigade. Upon which, without enduring the Charge, the whole Body betook themselves to Flight, and got over the Pass they had so newly been acquainted with, with little loss, because they prevented the Danger; though many of them, when they were got over, continued their Flight so far, as if they were still pursued, that they never return'd again to their Army. The Lord *Bernard*, with the King's Troop, seeing there was no Enemy left on that side, drew up in a large Field opposite to the Bridge; where he stood, whilst the Cannon, on the other side, play'd upon him, until his Majesty and the rest of the Army passed by them, and drew into a Body upon the Fields near *Wilcot*. *Waller* instantly quitted *Cropredy*, and drew up his whole Army upon the high grounds, which are between *Cropredy* and *Hanwell*, opposite to the King's Quarters about a Mile; the River of *Cherwel*, and some low grounds, being between both Armies; which had a full view of each other.

IT was now about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, the Weather very fair, and very warm (it being the 29th day of *June*) and the King's Army being now together, his Majesty resolv'd to prosecute his good Fortune, and to go to the Enemy, since They would not come to Him: and to that purpose, sent two good Parties, to make way for him to pass both at *Cropredy*-Bridge, and the other pass a Mile below; over which the Enemy had so newly passed: both which places were strongly guarded by them. To *Cropredy* they sent such strong Bodies of Foot, to relieve each other as they should be pressed, that those sent by the King thither could make no Impression upon them; but were repulsed, till the Night came, and severed them; all Parties being tired with the duty of the Day. But they who were sent to the other pass, a Mile below, after a short Resistance, gained it, and a Mill adjoining; where, after they had kill'd some, they took the rest Prisoners; and from thence, did not only defend themselves, that, and the next Day, but did the Enemy much hurt; expecting still that their Fellows should master the other pass, that so they might advance together.

HERE the King was prevail'd with to make trial of another

ther Expedient. Some Men, from the Conference they had with the Prisoners, others from other Intelligence, made no doubt, but that if a Message were now sent of Grace and Pardon to all the Officers and Soldiers of that Army, they would forthwith lay down their Armes: and it was very notorious, that Multitudes ran every day from thence. How this Message should be sent, so that it might be effectually deliver'd, was the only Question that remain'd: and it was agreed, "that *Sr Edward Walker* (who was both Garter King at Armes, and Secretary to the Council of War) "should be sent to publish that his Majesty's Grace. But he wisely desired, "that a Trumpet might be first sent for a Pass; the barbarity of that People being notorious, that they regarded not the Laws of Armes, or of Nations. Whereupon a Trumpet was sent to *Sr William Waller*, to desire "a Safe Conduct "for a Gentleman, who should deliver a gracious Message "from his Majesty. After two hours Consideration, he return'd Answer, "that he had no power to receive any Message of Grace, or Favour from his Majesty, without the "Consent of the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, "to whom his Majesty, if he pleased, might make his addressees. And as soon as the Trumpet was gone, as an Evidence of his Resolution, he caused above twenty shot of his greatest Cannon to be made at the King's Army, and as near the place as they could, where his Majesty used to be.

WHEN both Armies had stood upon the same ground; and in the same posture, for the space of two Days, they both drew off to a greater Distance from each other; and, from that time, never saw each other. It then quickly appear'd, by *Waller's* still keeping more aloof from the King, and his marching up and down from *Buckingham*, sometimes towards *Northampton*, and sometimes towards *Warwick*, that he was without other Design, than of recruiting his Army; and that the Defeat of that day at *Cropredy* was much greater, than it then appear'd to be; and that it even broke the heart of his Army. And it is very probable, that if the King, after he had rested and refreshed his Men three or four days, which was very necessary, in regard they were exceedingly tired with continual Duty, besides that the Provisions would not hold longer in the same Quarters, had follow'd *Waller*, when it was evident He would not follow the King, he might have destroy'd that Army without Fighting: for it appear'd afterwards, without it's being pursued, that within fourteen days after that Action at *Cropredy*, *Waller's* Army, that before consisted of eight thousand, was so much wasted, that there remain'd not with him half that Number.

BUT the truth is, from the time that the King discover'd

that mutinous Spirit in the Officers, govern'd by *Wilmot*, at *Buckingham*, he was unsatisfied with the Temper of his own Army, and did not desire a through Engagement, till he had a little time to reform some, whom he resolv'd never more heartily to trust; and to undeceive others, who, he knew, were misled without any malice, or evil Intention. But when he now found himself so much at Liberty from two great Armies, which had so streightly encompassed him, within little more than a Month; and that he had, upon the matter, defeated one of them, and reduced it to a State, in which it could, for the present, do him little harm; his heart was at no ease, with apprehension of the terrible fright the Queen would be in (who was newly deliver'd of a Daughter, that was afterwards Married to the Duke of *Orleans*) when she saw the Earl of *Essex* before the Walls of *Exeter*, and should be at the same time inform'd, that *Waller* was with another Army in pursuit of himself. His Majesty resolv'd therefore, with all possible Expedition, to follow the Earl of *Essex*, in hopes that he should be able to fight a Battle with him, before *Waller* should be in a Condition to follow him: and his own strength would be much improv'd, by a Conjunction with Prince *Maurice*; who, though he retired before *Essex*, would be well able, by the North of *Devon-shire*, to meet the King, when he should know that he march'd that way.

His Majesty had no sooner taken this Resolution, than he gave notice of it to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*; and sent an Express into the West, to inform the Queen of it; who, by the way, carried Orders to the Lord *Hopton*, "to draw what Men he could out of *Monmouth-shire*, and South *Wales*, into *Bristol*; that himself might meet his Majesty "with as many as he could possibly draw out of that Garrison. So, without any delay, the whole Army, with what Expedition was possible, march'd towards the West over the *Cotswold* to *Cirencester*; and so to *Bath*; where he arriv'd on the 15th day of *July*, and staid there one whole day, to refresh his Army; which stood enough in need of it.

THE King had scarce march'd two days Westward, when he was surpris'd with ill news from the North; for, after he had, by an Express from *Oxford*, receiv'd intelligence, "that "Prince *Rupert* had not only reliev'd *Tork*, but totally defeated the *Scots*, with many particulars to confirm it (all which was so much believ'd there, that they had made publick Fires of Joy for the Victory) he now receiv'd quite contrary Information, and was too surely convinced, that his whole Army was defeated. It was very true, that, after many great and noble Actions perform'd by Prince *Rupert* in the Relief of *Latham*, and the Reduction of *Bolton*, and all other places

in

The King
marches so-
wards the
West.

in that large County (*Manchester* only excepted) in which the Rebels lost very many, much Blood having been shed, in taking places by Assault, which were too obstinately defended; the Prince had march'd out of *Lancashire* with so good Reputation, and had given his Orders so effectually to *Goring*, who lay in *Lincolnshire* with that Body of Horse that belonged to the Marquis of *New-Castle's* Army, that they happily joyn'd him; and march'd together towards *York*, with such Expedition, that the Enemy was so surpris'd, that they found it necessary to raise the Siege in Confusion enough; and leaving one whole side of the Town free, drew to the other side, in great Disorder and Consternation; there being irreconcilable differences, and jealousies, between the Officers, and, indeed, between the Nations: the *English* resolving to joyn no more with the *Scots*, and They, on the other side, as weary of Their Company, and Discipline; so that the Prince had done his Work; and if he had sat still, the Enemies great Army would have moulder'd to nothing, and been exposed to any advantage his Highness would take of them.

BUT the dismal Fate of the Kingdom would not permit so much Sobriety of Counsel: One side of the Town was no sooner free, by which there was an entire Communication with those in the Town, and all Provision brought in abundantly out of the Country, but the Prince, without consulting with the Marquis of *New-Castle*, or any of the Officers within the Town, sent for all the Soldiers to draw out, and put the whole Army in Battalia, on that side where the Enemy was drawn up; who had no other hope to preserve them but a present Battle, to prevent the reproaches and mutinies which distracted them. And though that Party of the King's Horse which Charged the *Scots*, so totally Routed and Defeated their whole Army, that they fled all ways for many miles together, and were knock'd on the head, and taken Prisoners by the Country, and *Lesly* their General fled ten miles, and was taken Prisoner by a Constable (from whence the News of the Victory was speedily brought to *Newark*, and thence sent by an Express to *Oxford*; and so receiv'd and spread as aforesaid) yet the *English* Horse, Commanded by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, Charged so well, and in such excellent Order, being no sooner broken than they rallied again, and Charged as briskly, that, though both *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* were hurt, and both above the Shoulders, and many good Officers kill'd, they prevailed over that Body of Horse which oppos'd them, and totally routed, and beat them off the Field; and almost the whole Body of the Marquis of *New-Castle's* Foot were cut off.

THE Marquis himself, and his brave Brother, *St Charles Cavendish*

Cavendish (who was a Man of the noblest, and largest mind, though the least, and most inconvenient Body that liv'd) Charged in the head of a Troop of Gentlemen, who came out of the Town with him, with as much gallantry and courage, as Men could do. But it was so late in the Evening before the Battle begun, that the Night quickly fell upon them; and the Generals return'd into the Town, not enough knowing their own loss, and perform'd very few Complements each to other. They who most exactly describe that unfortunate Battle, and more unfortunate abandoning that whole Country (when there might have been means found to have drawn a good Army together) by Prince *Rupert's* hasty departure with all his Troops, and the Marquis of *New-Castle's* as hasty departure to the Sea side, and taking Ship, and Transporting himself out of the Kingdom, and all the ill Consequences thereupon, give so ill an Account of any Conduct, or Discretion, in the managery of that Affair, that, as I can take no pleasure in writing of it, so posterity would receive little Pleasure, or Benefit, in the most particular Relation of it.

THIS may be said of it, that the like was never done, or heard, or read of before; that two great Generals, whereof one had still a good Army left, his Horse, by their not having perform'd their Duty, remaining upon the matter entire, and much the greater part of his Foot having retired into the Town, the great execution having fallen upon the Northern Foot; and the other, having the absolute Commission over the Northern Counties, and very many Considerable places in them still remaining under his Obedience, should both agree in nothing else, but in leaving that good City, and the whole Country, as a prey to the Enemy; who had not yet the Courage to believe that they had the Victory; the *Scots* having been so totally routed (as hath been said before) their General made Prisoner by a Constable, and detained in Custody, till most part of the next day was past; and most of the Officers, and Army, having marched, or run above ten miles Northward, before they had News that they might securely return: And though the Horse under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, had wone the day, yet they were both much wounded, and many others of the best Officers kill'd, or so maim'd that they could not, in any short time, have done more hurt: so that if there had been any Agreement to have concealed their loss, which might have been done to a good Degree (for the Enemy was not possessed of the Field, but was drawn off at a distance, not knowing what the Horse, which had done so little, might do the next Day) there might probably many Advantages have appear'd, which were not

at the Instant in view; however, they might Both have done that as securely afterwards, as they did then unseasonably.

BUT neither of them were Friends to such Deliberation; but, as soon as they were refreshed with a little sleep, they both sent a Messenger to each other, almost at the same time; the one, "that he was resolv'd, that Morning, to march away with his Horse, and as many Foot as he had left; and the other, "that he would, in that Instant, repair to the Sea side, "and transport himself beyond the Seas; both which they immediately perform'd; the Marquis making hast to *Scarborough*, there embarked in a poor Vessel, and arriv'd at *Hambourgh*: the Prince, with his Army, begun his March the same Morning towards *Chester*. And so *York* was left to the discretion of *St Thomas Glemham*, the Governour thereof, to do with it as He thought fit; being in a Condition only to deliver it up with more Decency, not to defend it against an Enemy that would require it.

WHEREAS, if Prince *Rupert* had stayed with the Army he marched away with, at any reasonable Distance, it would have been long before the Jealousies, and Breaches, which were between the *English* and *Scotch* Armies, would have been enough compos'd to have agreed upon the renewing the Siege; such great quantities of Provision being already brought into the Town: and the *Scots* talk'd of nothing but returning into their own Country, where the Marquis of *Montrose* had kindled already a Fire, which the Parliament of *Edenborough* could not quench. But the certain Intelligence, "that the Prince was march'd away without thought of re-
"turning, and that the Marquis had embarked himself, re-
"conciled them so far, (and nothing else could) that, after two days, they return'd to the Posts they had before had in the Siege; and so streighten'd the Town, that the Governour, when he had no hope of Relief, within a Fortnight was compelled to deliver it up, upon as good Articles for the Town, *York deli-*
and the Gentry that were in it, and for Himself, and the few *ver'd to the*
Soldiers he had left, as he could propose: and so he march'd *Parliament*
with all his Troops to *Carlisle*; which he afterwards defended *Forces.*
with very remarkable Circumstances of Courage, Industry, and Patience.

THE Times afterwards grew so bad, and the King's Affairs succeeded so ill, that there was no Opportunity to call either of those two great Persons to Account for what they had done, or what they had left undone. Nor did either of them ever think fit to make any particular Relation of the Grounds of their Proceeding, or the causes of their misadventurers, by way of Excuse to the King, or for their own Vindication. Prince *Rupert*, only to his Friends, and after the

Murder of the King, produced a Letter in the King's own hand, which he receiv'd when he was upon his March from *Lancashire* towards *Tork*; in which his Majesty said, "that his Affairs were in so very ill a State, that it would not be enough, though his Highness rais'd the Siege from *Tork*, if he had not likewise beaten the *Scotish* Army; which he understood to amount to no less than a peremptory Order to Fight, upon what disadvantage soever: and added, "that the disadvantage was so great, the Enemy being so much Superior in number, it was no wonder he lost the day. But as the King's Letter would not bear that sence, so the greatest Cause of the misfortune was the precipitate entring upon the Battle, as soon as the Enemy drew off; and without consulting at all with the Marquis of *New-Castle*, and his Officers; who must needs know more of the Enemy, and consequently how they were best to be dealt with, than his Highness could do. For he saw not the Marquis, till, upon his Summons, he came into the Field, in the head of a Troop of Gentlemen, as a private Captain, when the Battle was ranged; and which, after a very short salutation, immediately begun; those of the Marquis's Army, who came out of the Town, being placed upon the ground left by the Prince, and assign'd to them; which much indisposed both Officers and Soldiers to the work in hand, and towards those with whom they were to joyn in it.

THEN it was too late in the day to begin the Fight, if all the other ill circumstances had been away; for it was past three in the Afternoon: whereas, if it had been defer'd till next Morning, in which time a full consultation might have been had, and the Officers and Soldiers grown a little acquainted with each other, better success might have been reasonably expected; nor would the confusion and consternation the other Armies were then in, which was the only excuse for the present Engagement, have been the less; but, on the contrary, very much improv'd by the delay; for the bitterness and animosity between the Chief Commanders was such, that a great part of the Army was march'd six miles, when it appear'd, by the Prince's manner of drawing his Army together to that ground, that his resolution was to Fight: the speedy Intelligence whereof prevail'd, and nothing else could, with those who were gone so far, to return; and with the rest, to unite and concur in an Action, that, in human reason, could only preserve them; and if that opportunity had not then been so unhappily offer'd, it was generally believ'd that the *Scots* would, the next morning, have continued their March Northward; and the Earl of *Manchester* would have been necessitated to have made his retreat, as well as he could, into

into his Associated Counties; and it would have been in the Prince's power to have chosen which of them he would have destroyed.

BUT then of all the rest, his going away the next Morning with all his Troops, in that manner, was most unexcusable; because most prejudicial, and most ruinous to the King's Affairs in those parts. Nor did those Troops ever after bring any considerable advantage to the King's Service, but moulder'd away by degrees, and the Officers, whereof many were Gentlemen of Quality and great merit, were kill'd upon beating up of Quarters, and little Actions not worth their presence. The truth is, the Prince had some secret Intimation of the Marquis's purpose of immediately leaving the Town, and embarking himself for the parts beyond the Seas, before the Marquis himself sent him word of it; upon which, in great passion and rage, he sent him notice of his resolution presently to be gone, that he who had the Command of all those parts, and thereby an obligation not to desert his Charge, might be without any imagination, that the Prince would take such a distracted Government upon him, and leave him any Excuse for his departure: and if in this joynt distemper, with which they were both transported, any Persons of discretion and honour, had interposed, they might, in all probability, have prevailed with both, for a good understanding between them, or at least for the suspension of their present Resolutions, and considering what might best be done. But they both resolv'd so soon, and so soon executed what they resolv'd, that very few had the least suspicion of their Intentions, till they were both out of distance to have their Conversion attempted.

ALL that can be said for the Marquis is, that he was so utterly tired with a condition and employment so contrary to his Humour, Nature, and Education, that he did not at all consider the means, or the way, that would let him out of it, and free him for ever from having more to do with it. And it was a greater wonder, that he sustain'd the vexation and fatigue of it so long, than that he broke from it with so little circumspection. He was a very fine Gentleman, active, and full of Courage, and most accomplish'd in those Qualities of Horsemanship, Dancing, and Fencing, which accompany a good breeding; in which his delight was. Besides that he was amorous in Poetry, and Musick, to which he indulged the greatest part of his time; and nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure, which he enjoy'd in a full and ample fortune, but Honour and Ambition to serve the King when he saw him in distress, and abandon'd by most of those who were in the highest degree obliged to him, and by him.

him. He lov'd Monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness, and the Church, as it was well constituted for the splendour and security of the Crown; and Religion, as it cherish'd, and maintain'd that Order and Obedience that was necessary to Both; without any other passion for the particular Opinions which were grown up in it, and distinguished it into Parties, than as he detested whatsoever was like to disturb the publick Peace.

HE had a particular Reverence for the Person of the King, and the more extraordinary Devotion for that of the Prince, as he had had the Honour to be trusted with his Education as his Governour; for which Office, as he excelled in some, so he wanted other Qualifications. Though he had retired from his great Trust, and from the Court, to decline the insupportable Envy which the powerful Faction had contracted against him, yet the King was no sooner necessitated to possess himself of some place of strength, and to raise some Force for his Defence, but the Earl of *New-Castle* (he was made Marquis afterwards) obeyed his first call; and, with great expedition and dexterity, seized upon that Town; when till then there was not one Port Town in *England*, that avow'd their Obedience to the King: and he then presently raised such Regiments of Horse and Foot, as were necessary for the present state of Affairs; all which was done purely by his own Interest, and the concurrence of his numerous Allies in those Northern Parts; who with all alacrity obeyed his Commands, without any charge to the King; which he was not able to supply.

AND after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, when the Rebels grew so strong in *York-shire*, by the influence their Garrison of *Hull* had upon both the East and West Riding there, that it behoved the King presently to make a General, who might unite all those Northern Counties in his Service, he could not choose any Man so fit for it, as the Earl of *New-Castle*, who was not only possess'd of a present Force, and of that important Town, but had a greater Reputation and Interest in *York-shire* it self, than, at that present, any other Man had: the Earl of *Cumberland* being at that time, though of entire Affection to the King, much decayed in the vigour of his Body, and his Mind, and unfit for that Activity which the Season required. And it cannot be denied, that the Earl of *New-Castle*, by his quick march with his Troops, as soon as he had receiv'd his Commission to be General, and in the depth of Winter, redeem'd, or rescued the City of *York* from the Rebels, when they look'd upon it as their own, and had it even within their grasp: and as soon as he was Master of it, he raised Men apace, and drew an Army together, with which

he fought many Battles, in which he had always (this last only excepted) Success and Victory.

He liked the Pomp; and absolute Authority of a General well, and preserv'd the Dignity of it to the full; and for the discharge of the outward State, and Circumstances of it, in acts of Courtesy, Affability, Bounty; and Generosity, he was unbounded; which, in the infancy of a War, became him, and made him, for some time, very acceptable to Men of all Conditions. But the substantial part, and fatigue of a General, he did not in any degree understand (being utterly unacquainted with War) nor could submit to; but refer'd all matters of that Nature to the discretion of his Lieutenant General *King*; who, no doubt, was an Officer of great Experience and Ability, yet, being a *Scotch*-man, was in that conjuncture, upon more disadvantage than he would have been, if the General himself had been more intent upon his Command. In all Actions of the Field he was still present, and never absent in any Battle; in all which he gave Instances of an invincible Courage and Fearlessness in danger; in which the exposing himself notoriously did sometimes change the fortune of the Day, when his Troops begun to give ground. Such Articles of Action were no sooner over, than he retired to his delightful Company, Musick, or his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent, and to his ease, that he would not be interrupted upon what occasion soever; insomuch as he sometimes denied admission to the Chiefest Officers of the Army, even to General *King* himself, for two days together; from whence many Inconveniencies fell out.

From the beginning, he was without any reverence or regard for the Privy Council, with few of whom he had any acquaintance; but was of the other Soldiers mind, that all the business ought to be done by Councils of War, and was always angry when there were any Overtures of a Treaty; and therefore, especially after the Queen had Landed in *Yorkshire*, and staid so long there, he consider'd any Orders he receiv'd from *Oxford*, though from the King himself, more negligently than he ought to have done; and when he thought himself sure of *Hull*, and was sure that he should be then Master entirely of all the North, he had no mind to march nearer the King (as he had then Orders to march into the Associated Counties, when, upon the taking of *Bristol*, his Majesty had a purpose to have march'd towards *London* on the other side) out of apprehension that he should be eclipsed by the Court, and his Authority overshadow'd by the Superiority of Prince *Rupert*; from whom he desired to be at distance: Yet when he found himself in distress, and necessitated to draw his Army within the Walls of *York*, and saw

no

no way to be reliev'd but by Prince *Rupert*, who had then done great feats of Armes in the relief of *Newark*, and afterwards in his Expedition into *Lancashire*, where he was at that time, he writ to the King to *Oxford*, either upon the knowledge that the absoluteness, and illimitedness of his Commission was generally much spoken of, or out of the conscience of some discourse of his own to that purpose; which might have been reported; "that he hoped his Majesty did believe, "that he would never make the least scruple to obey the "Grandchild of King *James*: and assuredly, if the Prince had cultivated the good inclinations the Marquis had towards him, with any civil and gracious Condescensions, he would have found him full of duty and regard to his Service, and Interest.

BUT the strange manner of the Prince's coming, and undeliberated throwing himself, and all the King's hopes, into that suddain and unnecessary Engagement, by which all the force the Marquis had raised, and with so many difficulties preserv'd, was in a moment cast away and destroy'd, so transported him with passion and despair, that he could not compose himself to think of beginning the work again, and involving himself in the same undelightful condition of Life, from which he might now be free. He hoped his past meritorious Actions, might outweigh his present abandoning the thought of future Action; and so, without farther consideration, as hath been said, he transported himself out of the Kingdom, and took with him General *King*; upon whom, they who were content to spare the Marquis, poured out all the Reproaches of "Infidelity, Treason, and Conjunction "with his Country Men; which, without doubt, was the effect of the universal discontent, and the miserable condition to which the People of those Northern Parts were on the suddain reduced, without the least foundation, or ground for any such reproach: and as he had, throughout the whole Course of his Life, been generally reputed a Man of Honour, and had exercised the highest Commands under the King of *Sweden* with extraordinary ability, and success, so he had been prosecuted by some of his Country Men with the highest malice, from his very coming into the King's Service; and the same malice pursued him after he had left the Kingdom, even to his death.

THE loss of *England* came so soon to be lamented, that the loss of *York*, or the too soon deserting the Northern Parts, were comparatively no more spoken of; and the constant and noble behaviour of the Marquis in the change of his fortune, and his chearful submission to all the streights, necessities, and discomforts, which are inseparable from banishment, without

without the least application to the Usurpers, who were possessed of his whole Estate, and upon which they committed all imaginable and irreparable Waste, in destroying all his Woods of very great Value, and who were still equally abhorred, and despised by him; with his readiness and alacrity, again to have embarked himself in the King's Quarrel, upon the first reasonable occasion, so perfectly reconciled all good Men to him, that they rather observ'd, what he had Done, and Suffer'd for the King and for his Country, without farther inquiring what he had Omitted to do, or been overseen in doing.

THIS fatal blow, which so much changed the King's condition, that till then was very hopeful, made not such an impression upon his Majesty, but that it made him pursue his former Resolution, to follow the Earl of *Essex*, with the more impatience; having now in truth nothing else to do. But being inform'd that the Earl had not made any long marches, and that the Queen, upon the first News of the Earl's drawing near, though she had been little more than a fortnight deliver'd, had left *Exeter*, and was removed into *Cornwall*; from whence, in a short time, she embarked for *France* (the Prince of *Orange* having sent some *Dutch Ships* of War, to attend her Commands in the Harbour of *Falmouth*; and from thence her Majesty transported her self) his Majesty march'd more slowly, that he might encrease his Army from *Bristol*, and other places; making no doubt, but that he should engage the Army of the Earl of *Essex*, who was already near *Exeter*, before he should be able to return to *London*.

*The Queen
retires into
France.*

THE Earl of *Essex*'s good Fortune now begun to decline: he had not proceeded with his accusom'd wariness, and skill; but run into Labyrinths, from whence he could not disentangle himself. When he had march'd to the length of *Exeter*, which he had some thought of Besieging, without any imagination that he could find an Enemy to contend with him, having left the King in so ill a condition, and *Sr William Waller* with so good an Army waiting upon him, he had the News of the "disappointment *Sr William Waller* had receiv'd; "and that the King was come with his whole Army into the "West in pursuit of him, without being follow'd by *Waller*, "or any Troops to disquiet or retard his March; which exceedingly surpris'd him, and made him suspect that the Parliament it self had betrayed him, and conspired his ruin.

THE Jealousies were now indeed grown very great between them; the Parliament looking upon his march into the West, and leaving *Waller*, to whom they intended the other Province, to follow the King, but as a Declaration that he would no more fight against the Person of the King; and the

Earl, on the other side, had well observ'd the difference betwixt the care and affection the Parliament expressed for, and towards His Army, and the other under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*; which they set so great a price upon, that he thought they would not so much care what became of His. Otherwise, it could not be possible, that upon so little a brush as *Waller* had sustain'd, he could not be able to follow, and disturb the King, in a Country so enclosed, as he must pass through. In this unexpected streight, upon the first reception of the News, he resolv'd to return back, and meet and fight with the King, either before he enter'd *Devon-shire*, or else in *Somerset-shire*; in either of which places he could not be streighten'd in room, or provisions, or be compelled to fight in a place disadvantageous, or when he had no mind to it; and if he had pursued this Resolution, he had done prudently. But the Lord *Roberts*, who was a General Officer in his Army, of an insociable Nature, and impetuous Disposition, full of contradiction in his Temper, and of Parts so much superior to any in the Company, that he could too well maintain and justify all those contradictions, positively opposed the return of the Army; but pressed, with His confidence, "that the Army should continue it's March to *Cornwal*; where he undertook to have so great Interest, that he made no question, "but the presence of the Earl of *Essex*, "with his Army, would so unite that County to the Parliament's Service, that it would be easy to defend the passes in "to the whole County (which are not many) in such a manner, that the King's Army should never be able to enter "into *Cornwal*, nor to retire out of *Devon-shire* without great "loss, nor before the Parliament would send more Forces upon their backs.

THE Lord *Roberts*, though inferior in the Army, had much greater credit in the Parliament than the Earl of *Essex*; and the Earl did not think him very kind to him, he being then in great conjunction with *Sr Harry Vane*, whom of all Men the Earl hated, and look'd upon as an Enemy. He had never been in *Cornwal*; so he knew not the Situation of the Country: some of the Officers, and some others of that Country (as there were with him four or five Gentlemen of that Country of Interest) concurr'd fully with the Lord *Roberts*, and promised great matters, if the Army marched thither: whereupon the Earl departed from his own understanding, and comply'd with their advice; and so marched the direct way with all his Army, Horse, Foot, and Cannon, into that narrow County; and pursued Prince *Maurice* and those Forces, which easily retired, Westward; until he found himself in streights; where we shall leave him for the present.

The Earl
of Essex
marches into
Cornwal.

AFTER

AFTER the King had made a small stay at *Exeter*, where he found his young Daughter, of whom the Queen had been so lately deliver'd, under the Care and Government of the Lady *Dalkeith* (shortly after Countess of *Morton* by the death of her Husband's Father) who had been long before design'd by both their Majesties to that Charge; and having a little refresh'd, and accommodated his Troops, he marched directly to *Cornwall*; where he found the Earl of *Essex* in such a part The King follows him thither. of the Country on the Sea side, that he quickly, by the general Conflux and Concourse of the whole People, upon which the Earl had been perswaded so much to depend, found means, with very little Fighting, so to streighten his Quarters, that there seem'd little appearance that he could possibly march away with his Army, or compel the King to Fight. He was, upon the matter, inclosed in, and about *Foy*; whilst the King lay encamped about *Liskard*; and no day passed without some Skirmishes; in which the Earl was more distressed, and many of his principal Officers taken Prisoners. Here there happen'd an Accident that might very well have turn'd the King's Fortune, and depriv'd him of all the Advantages which were then in view. The King being always in the Army himself, all matters were still debated before him, in the presence of those Counsellors who were about him; who, being Men of better understandings and better expressions than the Officers, commonly dispos'd his Majesty to Their opinions, at least kept him from concurring in every thing which was propos'd by the Officers. The Counsellors, as hath been said before, were the Lord *Digby*, Secretary of State, and *Sr John Colepepper*, Master of the Rolls, of whose judgement the King had more esteem, even with reference to the War, than of most of the Officers of the Army; which rais'd an implacable animosity in the whole Army against them.

GENERAL *Rutben*, who by this time was Created Earl of *Brentford*, was General of the Army; but, as hath been said, both by reason of his Age, and his extreme deafness, was not a Man of Counsel or Words; hardly conceiv'd what was propos'd, and as confusedly and obscurely deliver'd his opinion; and could indeed better judge by his Eye than his Ear; and in the Field well knew what was to be done. *Wilmot* was Lieutenant General of the Horse, and at this time the second Officer of the Army, and had much more Credit and Authority in it, than any Man; which he had not employ'd to the King's advantage, as his Majesty believ'd. He was a Man Proud, and Ambitious, and incapable of being contented; an ordinary Officer in Marches, and governing his Troops. He drank hard, and had a great power over all who did so, which was a great People. He had a more companionable Wit

even

even than his Rival *Goring*, and sway'd more among the good Fellows, and could by no means endure that the Lord *Digby*, and Sr *John Colepepper*, should have so much credit with the King in Councils of War.

THE King had no kindness for him upon an old account, as remembering the part he had acted against the Earl of *Stratford*: however, he had been induced, upon the Accidents which happen'd afterwards, to repose trust in him. This *Wilmot* knew well enough; and foresaw, that he should be quickly overshadow'd in the War; and therefore desired to get out of it, by a seasonable Peace; and so, in all his discourses, urged the necessity of it, as he had begun in *Buckinghamshire*; and, "that the King ought to send Propositions to the Parliament, in order to obtaining it; and in this March had prosecuted his former design by several Cabals among the Officers; and disposed them to Petition the King, "to send "to the Parliament again an offer of Peace; and that the Lord *Digby*, and Sr *John Colepepper*, might not be permitted to "be present in Councils of War; implying, "that if this "might not be granted, they would think of some other way. Which Petition, though, by the Wisdom of some Officers, it was kept from being deliver'd, yet so provoked the King, that he resolv'd to take the first opportunity to free himself from his impetuous humour; in which good disposition the Lord *Digby* ceased not to confirm his Majesty; and as soon as the News came of the Northern Defeat, and that the Marquis of *New-Castle* had left the Kingdom, he prevail'd that *Goring* might be sent for to attend his Majesty; who then proposed to himself to make his Nephew Prince *Rupert* General of the Army, and *Goring* General of the Horse; which *Wilmot* could not avowedly have excepted against, the other having been always Superior to him in Command; and yet would be such a Mortification to him, as he would never have been able to digest.

WHETHER his apprehensions of this, as his jealous nature had much of sagacity in it, or his restless and mutinous humour, transported him, but he gave not the King time to prosecute that gracious method; but even forced him to a quicker and rougher remedy: for during the whole March, he discoursed, in all places, "that the King must send to the Earl "of *Essex* to invite him to a Conjunction with him, that so the "Parliament might be obliged to consent to a Peace; and "pretended, that he had so good Intelligence in that Army, "as to know that such an Invitation would prove effectual, "and be acceptable to the Earl; who, he knew, was unsatisfied with the Parliament's behaviour towards him: and he was so indiscreet, as to desire a Gentleman, with whom he had no intimacy, and who had a Pass to go beyond the Seas, and

and must go through the Earl's Quarters, "that he would remember his Service to the Earl of *Essex*; and assure him, "that the Army so much desired Peace, that it should not be "in the Power of any of those Persons about the King to hinder it, if his Lordship would treat upon any reasonable "Propositions. All which kind of carriage and discourses were quickly represented, in their full magnitude, to the King by the Lord *Digby*; and his Majesty's own aversion kindled any spark into a form'd distrust. So that after the King came into *Cornwall*, and had his whole Army drawn up on the top of the Hill, in view of the Earl of *Essex*, who was in the Bottom, and a Battle expected every day, upon some new discourse *Wilmot* made out of Pride and Vanity (for there was not, in all the former, the least form'd Act of Sedition in his heart) the Knight Marshal, with the assistance of *Tom Elliot*, arrested him in the King's Name of High Treason; and dismounted him from his Horse in the head of all the Troops; putting a Guard upon him. He was presently sent Prisoner to *Exeter*, without any other ill effect, which might very reasonably have been apprehended in such a conjuncture, when he was indeed generally well beloved, and none of them for whose sakes he was thought to be sacrificed, were at all esteem'd: yet, I say, there were no other ill effects of it than a little murmur, which vanished away.

THE same day that *Wilmot* was arrested, the King remov'd another General Officer of his Army, the Lord *Piercy*; who had been made General of the Ordnance upon very partial, and not enough deliberated Considerations; and put into that Office the Lord *Hopton*; whose promotion was universally approv'd; the one having no friend, and the other being universally belov'd. Besides, the Lord *Piercy* (who was the first that had been created a Baron at *Oxford* upon the Queen's Intercession; which obliged the King to bestow the same honour on more Men) had been as much inclined to mutiny, as the Lord *Wilmot*; and was much a bolder Speaker, and had none of those faculties, which the other had, of reconciling Men to him. Yet even His removal added to the ill humour of the Army, too much disposed to discontent, and censuring all that was done: for though he was generally unlov'd, as a proud and supercilious Person, yet he had always three or four Persons of good credit and reputation, who were esteem'd by him, with whom he liv'd very well; and though he did not draw the good fellows to him by drinking, yet he eat well; which, in the General scarcity of that time, drew many Votaries to him; who bore very ill the want of his Table, and so were not without some inclination to murmur even on His behalf.

THE very next day after these Removals, Colonel *Goring* appear'd ; who had waited upon the King the night before, at his Quarters, with Letters from Prince *Rupert* : and then the Army being drawn up, his Majesty , attended by the principal Officers of the Army, rode to every Division of the Horse, and there declared, "that, at the request of his Ne-
 "phew Prince *Rupert*, and upon his resignation, he made Mr
 "*Goring* General of the Horse ; and commanded them all to
 "obey him ; and for the Lord *Wilmot*, although he had, for
 "very good reasons, justly restrain'd him for the present, yet
 "he had not taken away from him his Command in the Ar-
 "my ; which Declaration visibly rais'd the countenance of
 "the Body of Horse, more than the King was pleas'd with ob-
 "serving : and the very next day the greatest part of the Officers
 "deliver'd a Petition, "that his Majesty would give them so
 "much light of the Lord *Wilmot's* Crimes, that they might
 "see that Themselves were not suspected, who had so long
 "obeyed and executed his Orders ; which is manifestation
 "enough of the ill disposition the Army was in, when they
 "were even in view of the Enemy, and of which the King had
 "so much apprehension, in respect of the present posture he was
 "in, that he was too easily perswaded to give them a Draught
 "of the Articles, by which he was charged : which though they
 "contained so many Indiscretions, Vanities , and Insolencies,
 "that wise and dispassionate Men thought he had been proceed-
 "ed with very justly, yet generally they seem'd not to make
 "him so very black, as he had been represented to be ; and when
 "the Articles were sent to him, he return'd so specious an An-
 "swer to them, that made many Men think he had been pro-
 "secuted with severity enough. Yet *Wilmot* himself, when he
 "saw his old mortal Enemy *Goring* put in the Command over
 "him, thought himself incapable of reparation, or a full vindica-
 "tion ; and therefore desired leave to retire into *France* ; and
 "had presently a Pass sent him to that purpose ; of which he
 "made use as soon as he receiv'd it ; and so transported himself
 "out of the Kingdom ; which opened the Mouths of many, and
 "made it believ'd, that he had been sacrificed to some Faction
 "and Intrigue of the Court, without any such misdemeanour
 "as deserv'd it.

THE King had, some days before this, found an oppor-
 "tunity to make a trial whether the Earl of *Essex*, from the
 "notorious Indignities which he receiv'd from the Parliament,
 "and which were visible to all the world, or from the present
 "ill condition which He, and his Army were reduced to, might
 "be induced to make a conjunction with his Majesty. The Lord
Beauchamp, eldest Son to the Marquis of *Hertford*, desired,
 "for the recovery of his health, not then good, to transport
 "himself

himself into *France*; and to that purpose had a Pass from his Uncle, the Earl of *Essex*, for himself; Monsieur *Richaute* a *French*-man, who had been his Governour; and two Servants, to embark at *Plymouth*; and being now with the King, it was necessary to pass through the Earl's Quarters. By him the King vouchsafed to write a Letter with his own hand to the Earl, in which he told him,

"How much it was in his power to restore that Peace to the Kingdom, which he had professed always to desire; and upon such conditions, as did fully comply with all those ends for, which the Parliament had first taken up Arms; for his Majesty was still ready to satisfy all those ends; but that since the Invasion of the Kingdom by the *Scots*, all his Overtures of Peace had been rejected; which must prove the destruction of the Kingdom, if he did not, with his Authority and Power, dispose those at *Westminster* to accept of a Peace that might preserve it; with all those Arguments, that might most reasonably persuade to a conjunction with his Majesty, and such gracious expressions of the sense he would always retain of the Service and Merit, as were most likely to invite him to it. The King desired, that a Pass might be procured for Mr *Harding*, one of the Grooms of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince, a Gentleman, who had been before of much conversation with the Earl, and much lov'd by him; and the procuring this Pass was recommended to Monsieur *Richaute*.

THE Earl receiv'd his Nephew very kindly; who deliver'd the King's Letter to him, which he receiv'd, and read; and being then told by the Lord *Beauchamp*, that Monsieur *Richaute*, who was very well known to him, had somewhat to say to him from the King; the Earl called him into his Chamber, in the presence only of the Lord *Beauchamp*, and asked him, "if he had any thing to say to him? *Richaute* told him, that his principal business was to desire his Permission and Pass, that Mr *Harding* might come to him, who had many things to offer, which, he presumed, would not be unacceptable to him. The Earl Answer'd in short, "that he would not permit Mr *Harding* to come to him, nor would he have any Treaty with the King, having receiv'd no War-rant for it from the Parliament: upon which, *Richaute* enlarged himself upon some particulars, which Mr *Harding* was to have urged, "of the King's desire of Peace, of the concurrence of all the Lords, as well those at *Oxford*, as in the Army, in the same desire of preserving the Kingdom from a Conquest by the *Scots*; and other discourse to that purpose; "and of the King's readiness to give him any security for the performance of all he had promised. To all which the

Earl Answer'd sullenly, "that according to the Commission "he had receiv'd, he would defend the King's Person, and "Posterity; and that the best Counsel he could give him was, "to go to his Parliament.

AS SOON as the King receiv'd this Account of his Letter, and saw there was nothing to be expected by those Addressees, he resolv'd to push it on the other way, and to Fight with the Enemy as soon as was possible; and so, the next day, drew up all his Army in sight of the Enemy; and had many Skirmishes between the Horse of both Armies, till the Enemy quitted that part of a large Heath upon which they stood, and retired to a Hill near the Park of the Lord *Mohun*, at *Bacon-nocke*; they having the possession of his House, where they Quarter'd conveniently. That Night both Armies, after they had well view'd each other, lay in the Field; and many are of opinion, that if the King had that day vigorously advanced upon the Enemy, to which his Army was well inclined, though upon some disadvantage of ground, they would have been easily defeated: for the King's Army was in good heart, and willing to engage; on the contrary, the Earl's seem'd much surpris'd, and in confusion, to see the other Army so near them. But such censures always attend such Conjectures, and find fault for what is Not done, as well as with that which is done.

THE next Morning the King called a Council, to consider whether they should that day compel the Enemy to Fight; which was concluded not to be reasonable; and that it was better to expect the arrival of *St Richard Greenvil*; who was yet in the West of *Cornwal*, and had a Body of eight thousand Horse and Foot, as was reported, though they were not near that number. It was hereupon order'd, that all the Foot should be presently drawn into the Inclosures between *Bacon-nocke* and the Heath; all the Fences to the Grounds of that Country being very good Breast-works against the Enemy. The King's head Quarter was made at the Lord *Mohun's* House, which the Earl of *Essex* had kindly quitted, when the King's Army advanced the day before. The Horse were Quarter'd, for the most part, between *Liskard* and the Sea; and, every day, compell'd the Earl's Forces to retire, and to lodge close together; and in this posture both Armies lay within view of each other for three or four days. In this time, that inconvenient Spirit that had possessed so many of the Horse Officers, appear'd again; and some of them, who had conferr'd with the Prisoners, who were every day taken, and some of them Officers of as good Quality as any they had, were perswaded by them, "that all the obstinacy in *Essex*, in refusing to treat with the King, proceeded only from

"his

"his jealousy that when the King had got him into his hands, "he would take revenge upon him, for all the mischief he "had sustain'd by him; and that, if he had any Assurance "that what was promised would be complied with, he would "be quickly induced to treat.

UPON this excellent Evidence, these Politick Contrivers presum'd to prepare a Letter, that should be subscribed by the General, and all the Superior Officers of the Army; the beginning of which Letter was, "that they had obtain'd leave "of the King to send that Letter to him. There they proposed, "that He with six Officers, whom he should choose, "would the next Morning meet with their General, and six "other Officers, as should be appointed to attend him; and "if he would not himself be present, that then six Officers of "the King's Army should meet with six such as He should "appoint, at any place that should be thought fit; and that "they, and every of them, who subscribed the Letter, would, "upon the honour and reputation of Gentlemen and Soldiers, "with their lives maintain that whatsoever his Majesty should "promise, should be perform'd; and that it should not be in "the power of any private Person whatsoever, to interrupt "or hinder the execution thereof. When they had framed this Letter between themselves, and shew'd it to many others, whose approbation they receiv'd, they resolv'd to present it to the King, and humbly to desire his permission that it might be sent to the Earl of *Essex*:

How unpardonable soever the presumption and insolence in contriving and framing this Letter was, and how penal soever it might justly have been to them, yet, when it was presented to his Majesty, many who liked not the manner of it, were perswaded by what they were told, that it might do good; and in the end they prevailed with the King to consent that the Officers should sign it; and that the General should send a Trumpet with it; his Majesty at the same time concluding, that it would find no better reception than his own Letter had done; and likewise believing, that the rejecting of it would purge that unruly spirit out of his Army, and that he should never more be troubled with those vexatious Addressees, and that it might add some Spirit and Animosity to the Officers and Soldiers, when they should see, with how much neglect and contempt the Earl receiv'd their application: And so Prince *Maurice*, General *Goring*, and all the Superior Officers of the Army, sign'd the Letter; which a Trumpet deliver'd to the Earl of *Essex*; who, the next day, return'd his Answer to them in these words: "My Lords, in "the beginning of your Letter you express by what Authority you send it; I having no Authority from the Parliament,

“who have employed me, to treat, cannot give way to it
“without breach of trust. My Lords, I am your humble Ser-
“vant, *Essex. Lifitthiel Aug. 10. 1644.* This short surly An-
swer, produced the Effect the King wish'd and expected;
they who had been so over-active in contriving the Address,
were most ashamed of their folly; and the whole Army seem'd
well compos'd to obtain that by their Swords, which they
could not by their Pen.

Sr Richard Greenvil was now come up to the Post where
he should be; and, at *Bodmin*, in his March, had fallen upon
a Party of the Earl's Horse, and kill'd many, and taken others
Prisoners, and presented himself to the King at *Boconnocke*;
giving his Majesty an account of his proceedings, and a par-
ticular of his Forces; which, after all the high discouries,
amounted really but to eighteen hundred Foot, and six hun-
dred Horse; above one hundred of which were of the Queen's
Troop (left behind when her Majesty embarked for *France*)
under the Command of Captain *Edward Bret*; who had done
very good Service in the Western parts of that County, from
the time of the Queen's departure, and much confirm'd the
Train'd-bands of those parts. This Troop was presently added
to the King's Guards under the Lord *Bernard Stuart*, and
Captain *Bret* was made Major of that Regiment.

THOUGH the Earl of *Essex* had but streight and narrow
room for his Quarters for so great an Army of Horse and
Foot, yet he had the good Town of *Foy* and the Sea to friend;
by which he might reasonably assure himself of store of Pro-
visions, the Parliament Ships having all the jurisdiction there;
and so, if he preserv'd his Post, which was so situated that he
could not be compelled to Fight without giving him great
Advantage, he might well conclude, that *Waller*, or some
other force sent from the Parliament, would be shortly upon
the King's back, as his Majesty was upon His: and no ques-
tion, this rational confidence was a great motive to him to
neglect all Overtures made to him by the King; besides the
punctuality, and stubbornness of his own Nature; which who-
soever was well acquainted with, might easily have foreseen,
what effect all those Applications would have produced. It
was therefore now resolv'd to make his Quarters yet streighter,
and to cut off even his Provisions by Sea, or a good part
thereof To which purpose *Sr Richard Greenvil* drew his Men
from *Bodmin*, and possessed himself of *Lanhetherick*, a strong
House of the Lord *Roberts*, two Miles West of *Boconnocke*,
and over the River that runs to *Lifitthiel*, and thence to *Foy*,
and likewise to *Reprime-Bridge*; by which the Enemy was
not only deprived of that useful out-let, but a safe Communi-
cation made between him and the King's Army, which was
before

before interrupted. And on the other side, which was of more importance, *St Jacob Astley*, with a good Party of Horse and Foot, made himself Master of *View-Hall*, another House of the Lord *Mohun's*, over against *Foy*, and of *Pernon-Fort*, a mile below it, at the Mouth of the *Haven*; both which places he found so tenable, that he put Captain *Page* into one, and Captain *Garraway* into the other, with two hundred Commanded Men, and two or three pieces of Ordnance; which these two Captains made good, and defended so well, that they made *Foy* utterly useless to *Essex*, save for the Quartering his Men; not suffering any Provisions to be brought in to him from the Sea that way. And it was exceedingly wonder'd at by all Men, that he, being so long posses'd of *Foy*, did not put strong Guards into those places; by which he might have prevented his Armie's being brought into those extreme necessities they shortly after fell into; which might easily be foreseen, and as easily, that way, have been prevented.

Now the King had leisure to sit still, and warily to expect what invention or stratagem the Earl would make use of, to make some attempt upon his Army, or to make his own Escape. In this posture both Armies lay still, without any notable Action, for the space of eight or ten days; when the King seeing no better fruit from all that was hitherto done, resolv'd to draw his whole Army together, and to make his own Quarters yet much nearer, and either to force *Essex* to Fight, or to be uneasy even in his Quarters. And it was high time to do so: for it was now certain, that either *Waller* himself, or some other Forces, were already upon their March towards the West. With this Resolution the whole Army advanced in such a manner, that the Enemy was compell'd still to retire before them, and to quit their Quarters; and, among the rest, a rising ground called *Beacon-Hill*; which they no sooner quitted, than the King possess'd; and immediately caus'd a square work to be there rais'd, and a Battery made, upon which some pieces of Cannon were plant'd, that shot into their Quarters, and did them great hurt; when their Cannon, though they return'd twenty shot for one, did very little or no harm.

AND now the King's Forces had a full prospect over all the others Quarters; saw how all their Foot and Horse were dispos'd, and from whence they receiv'd all their Forage and Provisions; which when clearly view'd and observ'd, *Goring* was sent with the greatest part of the Horse, and fifteen hundred Foot, a little Westward to *St Blasé*, to drive the Enemy yet closer together, and to cut off the Provisions they receiv'd from thence; which was so well executed, that they did not

only possess themselves of *St Austel*, and the Westerly part of *St Blase* (so that the Enemies Horse was reduced to that small extent of Earth that is between the River of *Foy*, and that at *Blase*, which is not above two Miles in breadth, and little more in length; in which they had for the most part fed since they came to *Lifitthiel*, and therefore it could not now long supply them) but likewise were Masters of the *Parr* near *St Blase*; whereby they depriv'd them of the chief place of Landing the Provisions which came by Sea. And now the Earl begun to be very sensible of the ill Condition he was in, and discern'd that he should not be able long to remain in that posture; besides, he had receiv'd advertisement that the Party which was sent for his Relief from *London*, had receiv'd some brush in *Somerset-shire*, which would much retard their March; and therefore it behov'd him to enter upon new Counsels, and to take new Resolutions.

It is very true the Defeat at *Cropredy* (in which there did not appear to be one thousand Men kill'd, or taken Prisoners) had so totally broken *Waller's* Army, that it could never be brought to Fight after; but when he had marched at a distance from the King, to recover the broken Spirits of his Men, and heard that his Majesty was marched directly towards the West, observing likewise that every Night very many of his Men run from him, he thought it necessary to go himself to *London*, where he made grievous complaints against the Earl of *Essex*, as if he had purposely expo'd him to be affronted; all which was greedily hearken'd to, and his Person receiv'd, and treated, as if he had return'd Victorious after having Defeated the King's Army: which was a Method very contrary to what was used in the King's Quarters, where all accidental Misfortunes, how inevitable soever, were still attended with very apparent discountenance.

BUT when he went himself to *London*, or presently upon it, he sent his Lieutenant General *Middleton* (a Person of whom We shall say much hereafter, and who liv'd to wipe out the Memory of the ill foot-steps of his Youth; for he was but eighteen years of Age, when he was first led into Rebellion) with a Body of three thousand Horse and Dragoons, to follow the King into the West, and to wait upon his Rear, with Orders to reduce in his way *Donnington-Castle*, the House of a private Gentleman near *Newbury*, in which there were a Company or two of Foot of the King's; and which they believ'd would be deliver'd up, as soon as demanded; being a place, as They thought, of little strength. But *Middleton* found it so well defended by Colonel *Bois*, who was Governour of it, that after he had lost at least three hundred Officers and Soldiers, in attempting to take it, he was compell'd

compell'd to recommend it to the Governour of *Abingdon*, to send an Officer and some Troops to block it up from infesting that great road into the West; and himself prosecuted his March to follow the King.

IN *Somerset-shire*, he heard of great Magazines of all Provisions, made for the Supply of the King's Army, which were sent every day by strong Convoys to *Exeter*, there to wait farther Orders. To surprise these Provisions he sent Major *Carr*, with five hundred Horse; who fell into the Village where the Convoy was, and was very like to have Master'd them, when *Sr Francis Doddington*, with a Troop of Horse, and some Foot from *Bridgewater*, came seasonably to their Relief; and after a very sharp Conflict, in which two or three good Officers of the King's were kill'd, and, among them, Major *Killigrew*, a very hopeful young Man, the Son of a Gallant and most deserving Father, he totally Routed the Enemy; killed thirty or forty upon the place; and had the pursuit of them two or three Miles; in which Major *Carr*, who Commanded the Party, and many other Officers, were taken; and many others desperately wounded; and recover'd all that they had taken: which sharp Encounters, where always many more Men are lost, than are kill'd, or taken Prisoners, put such a stop to *Middleton's* March, that he was glad to retire back to *Sherborne*, that he might refresh the weariness, and recover the Spirits of his Men. This was the Defeat or Obstruction, which the Earl of *Essex* had Intelligence that the Forces had met with coming to his Relief; and which made him despair of any Succour that way.

WHEN the Earl found himself in this Condition, and that, within very few days, he must be without any Provisions for his Army; he resolv'd, that *Sr William Balfour* should use his utmost endeavour to break through with his whole Body of Horse, and to save them the best he could; and then that he himself would embark his Foot at *Foy*, and with them escape by Sea. And two Foot Soldiers of the Army, whereof one was a *French-man*, came over from them, and assured the King, "that they intended, that Night, to break through with their Horse, which were all then drawn on that side the River, and Town of *Lisfithiel*; and that the Foot were to march to *Foy*, where they should be embarked. This Intelligence agreed with what they otherwise receiv'd, and was believ'd as it ought to be; and thereupon, order was given, "that both Armies (for that under Prince *Maurice* was looked upon as distinct, and always so Quarter'd) should stand to their Armes all that Night; and if the Horse attempted an escape, fall on them from both Quarters; the passage between them, through which they must go, being but

but a Musquet-shot over; and they could not avoid going very near a very little Cottage, that was well Fortified; in which fifty Musqueteers were placed. Advertisment was sent to *Goring*, and all the Horse; and the Orders renew'd, which had formerly been given, for the breaking down the Bridges, and cutting down the Trees near the high-way, to obstruct their passage.

*Balfour with
the Earl of
Essex's Horse
escapes thro'
the King's
Army.*

THE Effect of all this Providence was not such as was reasonably to be expected. The Night grew dark and misty, as the Enemy could wish; and about three in the Morning, the whole Body of the Horse passed with great Silence between the Armies, and within Pistol-shot of the Cottage, without so much as one Musquet discharged at them. At the break of Day, the Horse were discover'd marching over the Heath, beyond the reach of the Foot; and there was only at hand the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigade, the Body of the King's Horse being at a greater distance. That Brigade, to which some other Troops which had taken the Alarm joyn'd, follow'd them in the Rear; and killed some, and took more Prisoners: but stronger Parties of the Enemy frequently turning upon them, and the whole Body often making a stand, they were often compell'd to retire; yet follow'd in that manner, that they killed and took about a hundred; which was the greatest damage they sustain'd in their whole March. The Notice and Orders came to *Goring*, when he was in one of his jovial Exercises; which he receiv'd with mirth, and slighting those who sent them, as Men who took Alarms too warmly; and he continu'd his delights, till all the Enemies Horse were pass'd through his Quarters; nor did then pursue them in any time. So that, excepting such who, by the tiring of their Horses, became Prisoners, *Balfour* continued his March even to *London*, with less loss or trouble than can be imagined, to the infinite Reproach of the King's Army, and of all his Garrisons in the way. Nor was any Man called in question for this supine neglect; it being not thought fit to make severe inquisition into the behaviour of the rest, when it was so notoriously known, how the Superior Officer had failed in his duty.

THE next Morning, after the Horse were gone, the Earl drew all his Foot together, and quitted *Lisfithiel*, and march'd towards *Foy*; having left order for the breaking down that Bridge. But his Majesty himself from his new Fort discern'd it, and sent a Company of Musqueteers, who quickly beat those that were left; and thereby preserv'd the Bridge; over which the King presently march'd to overtake the Rear of the Army, which march'd so fast, yet in good Order, that they left two Demy-Culverins, and two other very good Guns, and

and some Ammunition, to be disposed of by the King. That day was spent in smart Skirmishes, in which many fell; and if the King's Horse had been more, whereof he had only two Troops of his Guards (which did good Service) it would have proved a bloody day to the Enemy. The Night coming on, the King lay in the Field, his own Quarters being so near the Enemy, that they discharged many Cannon-shot, which fell within few yards of him, when he was at Supper. Sunday being the next day, and the first day of September, in the morning, Butler, Lieutenant Colonel to the Earl of Essex, who had been taken Prisoner at *Boconnocke*, and was exchanged for an Officer of the King's, came from the Earl to desire a Parley. As soon as he was sent away, the Earl embarked himself, with the Lord Roberts, and such other Officers as he had most kindness for, in a Vessel at *Foy*; and so elcaped into *Plymouth*; leaving all his Army of Foot, Cannon, and Ammunition, to the care of Major General Skippon; who was to make as good conditions for them as he could; and after a very short stay in *Plymouth*, he went on board a Ship of the Royal Navy, that attended there; and was, within few days, deliver'd at *London*; where he was receiv'd without any abatement of the respect they had constantly paid him; nor was it less than they could have shew'd to him, if he had not only brought back his own Army, but the King himself likewise with him.

The Earl of Essex leaves his Army, and escapes to Plymouth by Sea.

THE King consented to the Parley; upon which a Cessation was concluded; and Hostages interchangeably deliver'd; and then the Enemy sent Propositions, such as upon delivery of a strong fortified Town, after a handsome defence, are usually granted. But they quickly found they were not look'd upon as Men in that condition; and so, in the end, they were contented to deliver up all their Cannon; which, with the Four taken two or three days before, were eight and thirty pieces of Cannon; a hundred Barrels of Powder, with Match and Bullets proportionable; and about six thousand Armes; which being done, "the Officers were to have liberty to wear their Swords, and to Pass with their own Money, and proper Goods; and to secure them from plunder, they were to have a Convoy to *Poole*, or *Southampton*; all their sick and wounded might stay in *Foy* till they were recover'd, and then have Passes to *Plymouth*."

THIS Agreement was executed accordingly, on Monday the second of September, and though it was near the Evening before all was finished, they would march away that Night; and though all care was taken to preserve them from violence, yet first at *Lisfithiel*, where they had been long Quarter'd, and in other Towns through which they had formerly passed, the

the Inhabitants, especially the Women, who pretended to see their own Cloaths and Goods about them, which they had been plunder'd of, treated them very rudely, even to stripping of some of the Soldiers, and more of their Wives, who had before behaved themselves with great Insolence in the march. That night there came about one hundred of them to the King's Army, and of the six thousand, for so many march'd out of *Foy*, there did not a third part come to *Southampton*; where the King's Convoy left them; to which *Skippon* gave a large Testimony under his hand, "that they had carried themselves with great Civility towards them, and fully complied with their obligation."

*Affairs at
Oxford dur-
ing the
King's ab-
sence.*

WHILST the King was in the West, though he had left *Oxford* in a very ill State in respect of Provisions and Fortifications, and Soldiers, and of the different humours of those who remain'd there, the Town being full of Lords (besides those of the Council) and of Persons of the best Quality, with very many Ladies, who, when not pleased themselves, kept others from being so; yet, in his absence, they who were solicitous to carry on his Service, concurr'd and agreed so well together, that they prevail'd with the rest to do every thing that was necessary. They caus'd Provisions of Corn to be laid in, in great proportions; assigning the publick Schools to that purpose; and committing the Custody of them to the owners of the Corn. They had rais'd so many Volunteers, that their Guards were well kept, and there was need they should be so; for when both the Parliament Armies were before the Town, Major General *Brown*, a Citizen of *London* of good reputation, and a stout Man, had been left in *Abingdon* with a strong Garrison; from whence, being superior in number, he infest'd *Oxford* very much; which gave them the more reason to prosecute the Fortifications; which, in the most important places, they brought to a good perfection; and when they had no more apprehension of a Siege, *Waller* being at a distance, and not able to follow the King, and less able to sit down before *Oxford*, they resolv'd to do somewhat to be talk'd of.

THE King had, before his departure, found they were not satisfied with their Governour, and very apprehensive of his rudeness, and want of Complacency. Upon the death of *Sr William Penniman*, who had been Governour of *Oxford*, to the great satisfaction of all Men, being a very brave and generous Person, and who perform'd all manner of Civilities to all sorts of People, as having had a good Education, and well understanding the manners of the Court (the Queen being then in *Oxford*) her Majesty, who thought her self the safer for being under the charge, and care of a Roman Catholick,

tholick, prevailed with the King, to confer that charge upon *Sr Arthur Aston*; who had been at *Reading*, and had the fortune to be very much esteem'd, where he was Not known; and very much disliked, where he was; and he was by this time too well known at *Oxford*, to be below'd by any; which the King well understood, and was the more troubled, because he saw the prejudice was universal, and with too much reason; and therefore his Majesty had given an extraordinary Commission to the Lords of his Council, to whose Authority he was to submit, which obliged him to live with a little more respect towards them, than he desired to do; being a Man of a rough Nature, and so given up to an immoderate love of Money, that he cared not by what unrighteous ways he exacted it. There were likewise some Officers of Name, who, having then no charge in the Army, staid in the Town; and those, by the King's direction, the Lords disposed to assist the Governour; and particularly, to take care of the several Quarters of the Town; one whereof was assign'd to each of them: among them, Colonel *Gage* was one; who having the *English* Regiment in *Flanders*, had got leave there to make offer of his Service to the King; and to that purpose was newly come from thence to *Oxford*.

HE was in truth a very extraordinary Man, of a large and very graceful Person, of an Honourable extraction, his Grandfather having been Knight of the Garter; besides his great experience and abilities as a Soldier, which were very eminent, he had very great parts of breeding, being a very good Scholar in the polite parts of Learning, a great Master in the *Spanish* and *Italian* Tongues, besides the *French* and the *Dutch*, which he spoke in great perfection; having scarce been in *England* in twenty years before. He was likewise very conversant in Courts; having for many years been much esteem'd in that of the Arch-Duke and Dutchess, *Albert* and *Isabella*, at *Brussels*; which was a great and very regular Court at that time; so that he deserv'd to be look'd upon as a wise and accomplished Person. Of this Gentleman, the Lords of the Council had a singular esteem, and consulted frequently with him, whilst they look'd to be Besieged; and thought *Oxford* to be the more secure for His being in it; which render'd him so ungrateful to the Governour, *Sr Arthur*, that he crossed him in any thing he propos'd, and hated him perfectly; as they were of Natures, and Manners, as different as Men can be.

THE Garrison of *Basing-House*, the Seat of the Marquis *Colonel Gage* of *Winchester*, in which himself was and commanded, had been ^{relieves} now streightly Besieged, for the space of above three Months, by ^{Basing-} a conjunction of the Parliament Troops of *Hampshire* and *Sussex*, ^{Houſe.}

Suffex, under the Command of *Norton*, *Onslow*, *Jarvis*, *Whitehead*, and *Morley*, all Colonels of Regiments, and now united in this Service under the Command of *Norton*; a Man of Spirit, and of the greatest Fortune of all the rest. It was so closely begirt before the King's March into the West, and was looked upon as a place of such importance, that when the King sent Notice to *Oxford* of his resolution to march into the West, the Council humbly desired his Majesty, "that he would make *Basing* his way, and thereby relieve it, which his Majesty found would have retarded his march too much, and might have invited *Waller* the sooner to follow him; and therefore declined it. From that time, the Marquis, by frequent expresses, importuned the Lords of the Council "to provide, in some manner, for his relief; and not to suffer "his Person, and a place from whence the Rebels receiv'd so "much prejudice, to fall into their hands. The Lady *Marchioness*, his Wife, was then in *Oxford*; and solicited very diligently the timely preservation of her Husband; which made every body desire to gratify her, being a Lady of great Honour and Alliance, as Sister to the Earl of *Effex*, and to the Lady *Marchioness* of *Hertford*; who was likewise in the Town, and engaged her Husband to take this business to heart: and all the Roman Catholicks, who were numerous in the Town, look'd upon themselves as concern'd to contribute all they could to the good work, and so offer'd to lift themselves, and their Servants in the Service.

THE Council, both upon publick and private motives, was very heartily disposed to effect it; and had several conferences together, and with the Officers; in all which the Governour too reasonably oppos'd the design, "as full of more "difficulties, and liable to greater damages, than any Soldier "who understood Command, would expose himself and the "King's Service to; and protested, "that he would not suffer any of the small Garrison that was under his charge, to "be hazarded in the attempt. It was very true, *Basing* was near forty Miles from *Oxford*, and, in the way between them, the Enemy had a strong Garrison of Horse and Foot at *Abingdon*, and as strong at *Reading*, whose Horse every day visited all the High-ways near, besides a Body of Horse and Dragoons Quarter'd at *Newbury*; so that it appear'd to most Men hardly possible to send a Party to *Basing*, and impossible for that Party to return to *Oxford*, if they should be able to get to *Basing*: yet new importunities from the Marquis, with a positive Declaration, "that he could not defend it above ten "days, and must then submit to the worst conditions the Rebels were like to grant to his Person, and to his Religion; and new instances from his Lady, prevailed with the Lords to

enter upon a new consultation ; in which the Governour persisted in his old resolution, as seeing no cause to change it.

IN this Debate Colonel *Gage* declared, "that though he thought the Service full of hazard, especially for the return; yet if the Lords would, by lifting their own Servants, persuade the Gentlemen in the Town to do the like, and engage their own Persons, whereby a good Troop or two of Horse might be raised (upon which the principal dependence must be) he would willingly, if there were no body else thought fitter for it, undertake the conduct of them himself; and hoped he should give a good account of it: which being offer'd with great chearfulness by a Person, of whose Prudence, as well as Courage, they had a full confidence, they all resolv'd to do the utmost that was in their power to make it effectual.

THERE was about this time, by the surrender of *Greenland-House* (which could not possibly be longer defended, the whole structure being beaten down by the Cannon) the Regiment of Colonel *Hawkins* march'd into *Oxford*; amounting to near three Hundred; to which as many others joyn'd as made it up four hundred Men. The Lords mounted their Servants upon their own Horses; and they, with the Volunteers, who frankly lifted themselves, amounted to a Body of two hundred and fifty very good Horse, all put under the Command of Colonel *William Web*, an excellent Officer, bred up in *Flanders* in some emulation with Colonel *Gage*; and who, upon the Catholick Interest, was at this time contented to serve under him. With this small Party for so great an Action, *Gage* marched out of *Oxford* in the beginning of the Night; and, by the Morning, reached the place where he intended to refresh himself and his Troops; which was a Wood near *Wallingford*; from whence he dispatched an Express to *Sr William Ogle*, Governour of *Winchester*; who had made a promise to the Lords of the Council, "that, whensoever they would endeavour the raising of the Siege before *Basing*, he would send one hundred Horse, and three hundred Foot out of his Garrison for their Assistance; and a presumption upon this aid, was the principal motive for the undertaking: and so he was directed, at What hour in the Morning his Party should fall into *Basing* Park, in the Rear of the Rebel's Quarters; whilst *Gage* himself would fall on the other side; the Marquis being desired at the same time to make frequent Sallies from the House.

AFTER some hours of refreshment in the Morning, and sending this Express to *Winchester*, the Troops marched through by-Lanes to *Aldermaston*, a Village out of any great road; where they intended to take more rest that Night.

They

They had marched, from the time they left *Oxford*, with Orange Tawny Scarfs and Ribbans, that they might be taken for the Parliament Soldiers; and hoped, by that Artifice, to have passed undiscover'd even to the approach upon the Besiegers. But the Party of Horse which was sent before to *Aldermaston*, found there some of the Parliament Horse, and forgetting their Orange-Tawny Scarfs, fell upon them; and killed some, and took six or seven Prisoners; whereby the secret was discover'd, and notice quickly sent to *Basing* of the approaching danger; which accident made their stay shorter at that Village than was intended, and than the weariness of the Soldiers required. About eleven of the Clock, they begun their march again; which they continued all that Night; the Horsemen often alighting, that the Foot might ride, and others taking many of them behind them; however they could not but be extremely weary, and surbated.

BETWEEN four and five of the Clock on *Wednesday* Morning, it having been *Monday* Night that they left *Oxford*, they arriv'd within a Mile of *Basing*; where an Officer, sent from *Sr William Ogle*, came to them to let them know, "that he durst not send his Troops so far, in regard many of the Enemies Horse lay between *Winchester* and *Basing*. This broke all the Colonels measures; and, since there was no receding, made him change the whole Method of his proceedings; and instead of dividing his Forces, and falling on in several places, as he meant to have done if the *Winchester* Forces had comply'd with their obligation, or if his march had been undiscover'd, he resolv'd now to fall on joyntly with all his Body in one place; in order to which, he commanded the Men to be ranged in Battalions; and rid to every Squadron, giving them such words as were proper to the occasion; which no Man could more pertinently deliver, or with a better grace: he commanded every Man to tye a white Tape Ribban, or Handkerchief above the Elbow of their right Arme; and gave them the word *Sr George*; which was the sign and the word that he had sent before to the Marquis, lest in his Sallies their Men, for want of distinction, might fall foul of each other.

THUS they marched towards the House, Colonel *Webb* leading the right Wing, and Lieutenant Colonel *Bunkly* the left of the Horse; and *Gage* himself the Foot: they had not marched far, when at the upper end of a large Campagne Field, upon a little rising of an Hill, they discern'd a Body of five Cornets of Horse very full, standing in very good order to receive them. But before any impression could be made upon them, the Colonel must pass between two Hedges lin'd very thick with Musqueteers; from whom the Horse very

very Courageously bore a smart Volly, and then Charged the Enemies Horse so Gallantly, that, after a shorter resistance than was expected from the known Courage of *Norton*, though many of his Men fell, they gave ground; and at last plainly run to a safe place, beyond which they could not be pursued. The Foot disputed the business much better, and being beaten from Hedge to Hedge, retired into their Quarters and Works; which they did not abandon in less than two hours; and then a free entrance into the House was gained on that side, where the Colonel only stay'd to salute the Marquis, and to put in the Ammunition he had brought with him; which was only twelve Barrels of Powder, and twelve hundred weight of Match; and immediately marched with his Horse and Foot to *Basing-stoke*, a good Market Town two Miles from the House; leaving one hundred Foot to be led, by some Officers of the Garrison, to the Town of *Basing*, a Village but a Mile distant. In *Basing-stoke*, they found store of Wheat, Mault, Oats, Salt, Bacon, Cheese, and Butter; as much of which, was all that day sent to the House, as they could find Carts or Horses to transport, together with fourteen Barrels of Powder, and some Musquets, and forty or fifty head of Cattle, with above one hundred Sheep: whilst the other Party, that went to *Basing-Town*, beat the Enemy that was Quarter'd there, after having kill'd forty or fifty of them; some fled into the Church, where they were quickly taken Prisoners; and, among them, two Captains, *Jarvis* and *Jephson*, the two eldest Sons of two of the greatest Rebels of that Country, and both Heirs to good Fortunes, who were carried Prisoners to *Basing-House*; the rest, who Besieged that side, being fled into a strong Fort which they had raised in the Park. The Colonel spent that, and the next day, in sending all manner of Provisions into the House; and then reasonably computing that the Garrison was well provided for two Months, he thought of his retreat to *Oxford*; which it was time to do: for besides that *Norton* had drawn all his Men together, who had been dismayed, with all the Troops which lay Quarter'd within any distance, and appear'd within sight of the House more numerous and gay than before, as if he meant to be revenged before they parted, he was likewise well inform'd by the Persons he had employed, that the Enemy from *Abingdon* had lodged themselves at *Aldermaston*, and those from *Reading* and *Newbury*, in two other Villages upon the River *Kennet*; over which he was to pass.

HEREUPON, that he might take away the Apprehension that he meant suddenly to depart, he sent out Orders, which he was sure would come into the Enemies hands, to two or three Villages next the House, "that they should, by the next

“day-noon, send such proportions of Corn into *Basing*-House, “as were mention’d in the Warrants; upon pain, if they “failed by the time, to have a thousand Horse and Dragoons “sent to fire the Towns. This being done, and all his Men drawn together about eleven of the Clock at Night, *Thursday* the second Night after he came thither, the Marquis giving him two or three Guides who knew the Country exactly, he marched from *Basing* without sound of Drum or Trumpet, and passed the *Kennet*, undiscover’d, by a Ford near a Bridge which the Enemy had broke down; and thereby thought they had secured that passage; the Horse taking the Foot *en Croupe*; and then, marching by-ways, in the Morning they likewise passed over the *Thames*, at a Ford little more than a Mile from *Reading*; and so escaped the Enemy, and got before Night to *Wallingford*; where he securely rested, and refreshed his Men that Night; and the next Day arrived safe at *Oxford*; having lost only two Captains, and two or three other Gentlemen, and Common Men; in all to the number of eleven; and forty or fifty wounded, but not dangerously: what number the Enemy lost could not be known; but it was believ’d, they lost many, besides above one hundred Prisoners that were taken; and it was confess’d, by Enemies as well as Friends, that it was as Soldierly an Action, as had been perform’d in the War on either side; and redounded very much to the reputation of the Commander.

THE next day after the Army of *Essex* was gone, and dissolved, the King return’d to his Quarters at *Boconnocke*, and stayed there only a day to refresh his Men; having sent, the day before, *Greenvil*, with the *Cornish* Horse and Foot, towards *Plymouth*, to joyn with *Goring* in the pursuit of *Balfour*, and that Body of Horse; which, by passing over the Bridge near *Salt-ash*, they might easily have done. But he slacken’d his march that he might possess *Salt-ash*, which the Enemy had quitted, and left therein eleven pieces of Cannon with some Armes and Ammunition; which, together with the Town, was not worth his unwarrantable stay. This kept him from joyning with *Goring*; who thereby, and for want of those Foot, excused his not Fighting with *Balfour* when he was within distance; but contented himself with sending a Commanded Party to follow his Rear, and in that too eager a pursuit, Captain *Sam. Wainman*, a young Man of extraordinary parts and expectation, the Son of a very wise and eminent Father, was lost, to the irreparable damage of a Noble Family. Thus *Balfour*, by an orderly and well govern’d march, pass’d above one hundred Miles in the King’s Quarters, as hath been said before, without any considerable loss, to a place of safety within their own precincts.

THE

THE fear and apprehension of the Enemy was no sooner over, than the murmur begun, "that the King had been persuaded to grant too good conditions to that Body of Foot; and that he might well have forced them to have submitted to his mercy, as well as to have laid down their Arms; and so have made both Officers and Soldiers to become Prisoners of War: by which the Enemy would not have been able so soon to have raised another Army. But they who undertook to censure that Action, how great a Number soever they were, did not at all understand the present temper and constitution of the King's Army; which then was not near so strong as it was reputed to be: whatever it might have done by a brisk and vigorous attempt, when it first enter'd *Cornwal*, which was in the beginning of *August*, and when a Party of his Majesty's Horse surpris'd and seiz'd the Earl of *Essex*'s own Lieutenant Colonel, and many other Officers of Name at *Bocconnocke*, before his Majesty was suspected to be in any near distance: I say whatever might have been then done, in that consternation the Enemy was then in, the case was very much alter'd in the beginning of *September*, when the Articles were made; and when the number of the Foot who laid down their Arms, was in truth superior to those of the King's (as it will appear anon) when his Army march'd out of *Cornwal*. The oversight, which was a great one, was on the other side, when their Horse broke through. If they had then known, and it was hardly possible they should not know it, that all the King's Horse, his Guard only excepted, were at that time Quarter'd behind them, about *St Blaise*, their Foot might very well have march'd away with their Horse, their Cannon only being left behind, and having got but four or five hours before, which they might easily, and as undiscern'd have done, the King's Army in the condition and state it was in, naked and unshod, would through those inclosed parts, narrow Lanes, and deep Ditches, in *Devon* and *Somerset*, have been able to have done them little harm: Besides the King very well knew at the time the Articles were made, that *Middleton*, notwithstanding all his Affronts, was then come to *Triverton*; and therefore there can be no doubt, that his Majesty, in those concessions, proceeded with no less Prudence than Clemency.

AFTER this great Success, the King thought fit to renew his offer of Peace; and sent a Message to the two Houses of Parliament, to desire that there might be a Treaty to that purpose; which Message was sent by a Trumpet to the Earl of *Essex*, after his repair to *London*, to be deliver'd by him, of which there was no consideration taken in three Months after the receipt of it. This done, the King was persuaded, in his

M m 2

way

*The King
sends a Mes-
sage of
Peace.*

way (as it was not much out of it) to look upon *Plymouth*; for so far it might be presumed that the *Cornish* Troops, how impatient soever they were to be at their harvest, would attend him: And if he could, by appearing before it, become Master of it, which was not thought improbable, he might return to *Oxford* in great Triumph, and leave the West thoroughly reduced: for then *Lyme* could not hold out, and he might be sure to carry an Army with him strongly recruited; but if it proved not a work of ease and expedition, he might proceed in his march without farther stay; and he quickly found it necessary to do so; having sent a Summons to the Town, and receiv'd a rude Answer to it:

The King
leaves Sr
Richard
Greenvil
to Block up
Plymouth

FOR the Earl of *Essex* had left the Lord *Roberts* Governor in that Town; a Man of a sour and surly Nature, a great Opiniâtre, and one who must be overcome before he would believe that he could be so. The King, finding no good could be done with him, and that the reducing the Town would require some time, pursued his former Resolution, and marched away; having committed the Blocking up of *Plymouth* to Sr *Richard Greenvil*, a Man who had been bred a Soldier, and of great expectation, but of greater promises; having with all manner of Assurance undertaken to take the Town by *Christmas*, if such Conditions might be perform'd to him, all which were punctually comply'd with; whilst he made his Quarters as far as ever they had been formerly from the Town; beginning his War first upon his Wife, who had been long in possession of her own Fortune, by virtue of a Decree in *Chancery*, many years before the Troubles; and seizing upon all she had, and then making himself Master of all Their Estates who were in the Service of the Parliament, without doing any thing of importance upon the Town; only upon the first Message between the Lord *Roberts* and Him, there arose so mortal a misunderstanding, that there was never Civility or Quarter observ'd between them; but such as were taken on either side, were put to the Sword; or which was worse, to the Halter.

SINCE there will be often occasion to mention this Gentleman, Sr *Richard Greenvil*, in the ensuing discourse, and because many Men believ'd, that he was hardly dealt with in the next year, where all the proceedings will be set down at large, it will not be unfit, in this place, to say somewhat of him, and of the manner and merit of his entering into the King's Service some Months before the time We are now upon. He was of a very ancient and worthy Family in *Cornwall*, which had, in several Ages, produced Men of great Courage, and very signal in their Fidelity to, and Service of the Crown; and was Himself younger Brother (though in his Nature, or Humour,

Humour, not of Kin to him) to the brave *St Bevil Greenvil*, who so Courageously lost his Life in the Battle of *Lansdown*. Being a younger Brother, and a very young Man, he went into the Low Countries to learn the Profession of a Soldier; to which he had dedicated himself under the greatest General of that Age, Prince *Maurice*, in the Regiment of my Lord *Veere*, who was General of all the *English*. In that Service he was look'd upon as a Man of Courage, and a diligent Officer, in the quality of a Captain, to which he attain'd after few years Service. About this time, in the end of the Reign of King *James*, the War broke out between *England* and *Spain*; and in the Expedition to *Cales*, this Gentleman serv'd as a Major to a Regiment of Foot, and continued in the same Command, in the War that soon after follow'd against *France*; and, at the Isle of *Rhee*, insinuated himself into the very good grace of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was the General in that Invasion; and after the unfortunate retreat from thence, was made Colonel of a Regiment with general Approbation, and as an Officer that well deserv'd it.

His Credit every day encreased with the Duke; who, out of the generosity of his Nature, as a most generous Person he was, resolv'd to raise his Fortune; towards the beginning whereof, by his countenance, and sollicitation, he prevail'd with a rich Widow to Marry him, who had been a Lady of extraordinary Beauty, which she had not yet out liv'd; and though she had no great Dower by her Husband, a younger Brother of the Earl of *Suffolk*; yet she inherited a fair Fortune of her own, near *Plymouth*; and was besides very rich in a personal Estate, and was look'd upon as the richest Match of the West. This Lady, by the Duke's credit, *St Richard Greenvil* (for he was now made a Knight and Baronet) obtain'd; and was thereby possessed of a plentiful Estate upon the Borders of his own Country; where his own Family had great Credit and Authority. The War being quickly at an end, and he depriv'd of his great Patron, had nothing now to depend upon but the Fortune of his Wife; which, though ample enough to have supported the expence a Person of his Quality ought to have made, was not large enough to satisfy his Vanity and Ambition; nor so great, as He, upon common reports, had promised himself by her. By not being enough pleased with her Fortune, he grew less pleased with his Wife; who, being a Woman of a Haughty and Imperious Nature, and of a Wit superior to His, quickly resented the disrespect she receiv'd from him; and in no degree studied to make her self easy to him. After some years spent together in these Domestick unfociable Contestations, in which he possessed himself of all her Estate, as the Solo Ma-

ster of it, without allowing her, out of her own, any Competency for her self; and indulged to himself all those Licences in her own House, which to Women are most grievous, she found means to withdraw her self from him; and was with all kindness receiv'd into that Family, in which she had before been Married, and was always very much respected.

HER Absence was not ingrateful to him, till the Tenants refused to pay him any more Rent, and he found himself on a suddain depriv'd of her whole Estate, which was all he had to live upon: for it appear'd now, that she had, before her Marriage with him, settled her entire Fortune so absolutely upon the Earl of *Suffolk*, that the present right was in Him, and he requir'd the Rents to be paid to him. This begot a Suit in the Chancery between *Sr Richard Greenvil*, and the then Earl of *Suffolk*, before the Lord *Conventry*, who found the Conveyances in Law to be so firm, that he could not only not relieve *Sr Richard Greenvil* in Equity, but that in Justice he must Decree the Land to the Earl; which he did. This very sensible Mortification transported him so much, that, being a Man who used to speak very bitterly of those he did not love, after all endeavours to have engaged the Earl in a personal Conflict, he reveng'd himself upon him in such opprobrious Language, as the Government, and Justice of that time would not permit to pass unpunished; and the Earl appeal'd for Reparation to the Court of Star-Chamber; where *Sr Richard* was Decreed to pay three thousand pounds for damages to him; and was likewise fin'd the Sum of three thousand pounds to the King; who gave the fine likewise to the Earl: so that *Sr Richard* was committed to the Prison of the Fleet in Execution for the whole six thousand pounds; which at that time was thought by all Men to be a very severe and rigorous Decree, and drew a general Compassion towards the unhappy Gentleman.

AFTER he had endured many years of strict Imprisonment, a little before the beginning of the late Troubles, he made his escape out of the Prison; and transporting himself beyond the Seas, remain'd there till the Parliament was call'd that produced so many Miseries to the Kingdom; and when he heard that many Decrees which had been made, in that time, by the Court of Star-Chamber, were repeal'd, and the Persons griev'd, absolv'd from those Penalties, he likewise return'd, and petition'd to have his Cause heard; for which a Committee was appointed; but before it could be brought to any conclusion, the Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*. Among the first Troops that were rais'd, and transported for the suppression thereof, by the Parliament (to whom the King had unhappily committed the prosecution of it)

it) *St Richard Greenvil*, upon the same of being a good Officer, was sent over with a very good Troop of Horse; was Major of the Earl of *Leicester's* own Regiment of Horse, and was very much esteem'd by him, and the more by the Parliament, for the signal acts of Cruelty he did every day commit upon the *Irish*; which were of so many kinds upon both Sexes, Young and Old, hanging old Men who were Bedrid, because they would not discover where their Money was, that he believ'd they had; and old Women, some of Quality, after he had plunder'd them, and found less than he expected; that they can hardly be believ'd, though notoriously known to be true.

AFTER the Cessation was made in *Ireland*, he pretended that his Conscience would not give him leave to stay there, and was much the more welcome to the Parliament, for declaring so heartily against that Cessation; and *St William Waller* being in the beginning of this year to make his expedition into the West, after the Battle of *Alresford*, *St Richard Greenvil* was either commended to him, or invited by him, to Command the Horse under him; which he cheerfully accepted, not without many insinuations, how much his Interest in *Devon-shire*, and *Cornwal*, would advance Theirs. He receiv'd from the Parliament a great Sum of Money, for the making his Equipage; in which he always affected more than ordinary Lustre; and *St William Waller* communicated to him all his designs, with the ground and foundation of them, as to an entire Friend, and an Officer of that eminence, by whose Advice he meant to govern his own Conduct.

HIS first and principal design was to surprize *Basing-House*, by a correspondence with the Lord *Edward Pawlet*, Brother to the Marquis of *Winchester*, and then with him, as unsuspected as a Brother ought to be. For the better execution of this, *St Richard Greenvil* was sent before with a Body of the Horse, that all things might be well disposed, and prepared against the time *Waller* himself should come to him. He appointed a Rendezvous for the Horse at *Bagsbot*, and the same day march'd out of *London* only with his Equipage; which was very Noble; a Coach and six Horses, a Waggon and six Horses, many led Horses, and many Servants: with those, when he came to *Stanes*, he left the *Bagsbot* road, and march'd directly to *Reading*, where the King's Garrison then was; and thence, without delay, to *Oxford*; where he was very graciously receiv'd by the King, and the more, because he was not expected. He communicated then to the King the whole design of the surprize of *Basing*; upon which the King sent an Express immediately to the Marquis, with all the particular informations; who thereupon seized upon his Brother,

and the other Conspirators; who confess'd all, with all the circumstances of the correspondence and combination. The Marquis prevailed with the King, that he might only turn his Brother out of the Garrison, after Justice was done upon his Complices. This very happy and seasonable discovery, preserv'd that important place; which, without it, had infallibly been lost within few days, and therefore could not but much endear the Person of the Discoverer; upon whom the Parliament thunder'd out all those reproaches, which his deserting them in such a manner was liable to; and denounced all those judgements upon him of Attainder, Confiscation, and Incapacity of Pardon, which they used to do against those, who, they thought, had done them most mischief, or against whom they were most incensed: which was all the excuse he could make for his severe proceedings against those of their Party, who fell into his hands afterwards where he Commanded.

FROM *Oxford* he went quickly into the West, before he had any Command there; declaring that he would assist Colonel *Digby*; who, upon Prince *Maurice's* departure from thence with his Army, was left to Block up *Plymouth*; which he did with much Courage and Soldierly ability. To Him he had Letters from the King, that he should put *St Richard Greenvil*, into the possession of his Wife's Estate, that lay within his Quarters, and which was justly liable to a Sequestration by her living in *London*, and being too zealously of that Party; which the Colonel punctually did. And so he came, after so many years, to be again possessed of all that Estate; which was what he most set his heart upon.

ONE day he made a Visit from his House, which he call'd his own, to the Colonel; and dined with him; and the Colonel civilly sent half a dozen Troopers to wait on him home, lest any of the Garrison, in their usual Excursions, might meet with him. In his return home, he saw four or five fellows, coming out of a Neighbour Wood, with Burthens of Wood upon their backs, which they had stolen. He bid the Troopers fetch those fellows to him; and finding that they were Soldiers of the Garrison, he made one of them hang all the rest; which, to save his own Life, he was contented to do: so strong his appetite was to those Executions he had been accusom'd to in *Ireland*, without any kind of Commission or pretence of Authority.

SHORTLY after, upon a Salley made with Horse and Foot from the Town, Colonel *Digby* (who besides the keenness of his Courage had a more composed understanding, and less liable to fumes, than some of his Family who had sharper parts) Charging them with such vigour as Routed, and drove them

them back, receiv'd himself in the close an unhappy wound, with a Rapier, in the Eye; which pierced near his brain; so that, though he was brought off by his Soldiers, it was very long before he recover'd enough to endure the Air, and never did the Effects of the Wound. Upon this Accident, *Sr Richard Greenvil* was placed in that Command, which he executed for some Months; until, upon the Advance of the Earl of *Essex*, he was compelled to retire into *Cornwal*, where We found him at the King's coming thither.

THIS so large excursion upon a private Person may seem very extravagant, and to carry in it too much Animosity against the memory of a Man who did some things well, and was not without some merit in the King's Service: but they who know the Occurrences of the next year, which will be faithfully related, and consider the severity that he compelled the Prince to use towards him, of which he made a great noise afterwards in the world, and prevailed with some good Men to believe that the proceeding against him was too rigorous, and that the Council then about the Prince had some personal disrespect towards him, may reasonably believe, that this enlargement was in some degree necessary, that such a Man's Original, Nature, Manners, and Disposition, should be manifest and clearly understood.

THE King was now most intent to return into his Winter Quarters at *Oxford*, which was all he could propose to himself; in which he expected to meet with all the obstructions and difficulties his enraged Enemies could lay in his way. He knew well that *Waller* was even ready to come out of *London*, and that *Middleton* was retired from *Triverton* to joyn with him; that they had sent for the Earl of *Manckester* to march towards the West with his Victorious Army: So that, if he long deferr'd his march, he must look to Fight another Battle, before he could reach *Oxford*. Norwithstanding all which, his Army that had been upon hard duty, and had made long marches above six Months together, required some rest and refreshment; the Foot were without Cloaths, and Shoes; and the Horse in such ill humour, that without Money they would be more discontented. To provide the best remedy that could be applied to these evils, the next day after the King march'd from *Plymouth*, himself, attended only by his own Troop, and the principal Officers of the Court, went to *Exeter*; appointing the Army, by slow marches, to follow, and to be Quarter'd at *Triverton*, and the other Towns adjacent; where they arriv'd on the 21st of *September*.

HIS Majesty now quickly discern'd how continual hard duty, with little fighting, had lessen'd and diminish'd his Army. His own Body of Foot, which when he enter'd *Cornwal*,

wal, were above four thousand, was at this time much fewer; and Prince *Maurice's*, which consisted of full four thousand five hundred, when the King first view'd them at *Kirton*, was not now half the Number. Of all the Forces under *Greenvil*, which had made so much noise, and had been thought worthy of the Name of an Army, there were only five hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse left with him, for the Blocking up *Plymouth*; the rest were dwindled away; or else, which was his usual Artifice, he had encouraged them to stay for some time in *Cornwal*, and then to repair to him, as many of them did; for his Forces suddainly encreased; and the truth is, few of the *Cornish* march'd Eastward with the King. The King's Horse were harrassed, and many of them dead in the marches; which contributed to the discontent of the Riders; so that great Provisions were to be made before they could begin a new march. By the diligence and activity of the Commissioners, appointed in *Devon-shire* for those Affairs, his Majesty was within few days supplied with two thousand pounds in Money, which was presently distributed among the Horse; and three thousand Sutes of Cloaths, with good proportions of Shoes and Stockings; which were likewise deliver'd to the Foot. What remain'd yet wanting for the Horse and Foot, was promised to meet them, upon their first entrance into *Somerſet-shire*; where the Commissioners of that County, had undertaken they should be ready.

THERE was another thing of equal importance to be provided for, before the King left *Exeter*; which was, the Blocking up the Troops of *Lyme*; which were grown more insolent by the Success they had Had; and made Incurſions sometimes even to the Walls of *Exeter*; and to restrain a stronger Garrison in *Taunton*. For when Prince *Maurice* rais'd his Siege from *Lyme*, he had very unhappily drawn out the Garrison of *Taunton*, which consisted of eight hundred Men, under the Command of *St John Starwel*, a Person of that eminent Courage and Fidelity, that he would never have given it up; and left only fourſcore Men in the Castle to be kept by a Lieutenant, who basely gave it up, as soon as *Essex* in his passage demanded it; for which he deservedly afterwards suffer'd Death. And it was now, by the Garrison the Earl put into it, and the extreme malignity and pride of the Inhabitants, in both which they exceeded, become a sharp Thorn in the sides of all that populous County.

To remedy the first of these, some Troops which depended upon the Garrison of *Exeter*, were assign'd, and were to receive Orders from *St John Berkley*, Governour thereof; who was the more vacant for that Service by the reduction of *Barnstable*; which was done during the King's stay at *Exeter*.

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The other of *Taunton*, was more unhappily committed to Colonel *Windham*, the Governour of *Bridgewater*; who, though a Gentleman of known Courage and unquestionable Fidelity, by the Divisions and Factions in the Country, was not equal to the work. To dispatch all this, the King staid not a full week at *Exeter*; but hasten'd his march to *Chard* in *Somerset-shire*, where he staid longer; for which he paid dear after; for he might otherwise have reach'd *Oxford*, before the Enemy was in a conjunction strong enough to stop him: yet even that stay could not be prevented, except he would have left the Money and Cloaths (which the Commissioners of *Somerset-shire* promised, and did deliver there at last) behind him; which would not have been grateful to the Army.

It was the last of *September*, that the King march'd from *Chard*; and Quarter'd that Night at a Houle of the Lord *Pawlet's*, where Prince *Rupert* met him, and gave him an account of the unhappy Affairs of the North, and that he had left about two thousand Horse under the Command of *St Marmaduke Langdale*; which he might as well have brought with him, and then the King would have had a glorious end of his Western Expedition. Prince *Rupert* presently return'd to *Bristol*, with Orders, as soon as was possible, to march, with those Northern Horse under *St Marmaduke Langdale*, and two thousand Foot, which were in *Wales*, under Colonel *Charles Gerrard*, into *Glocester-shire*; by which the Enemy might be obliged to divide their Force, which if they should still keep united, the Prince from thence would be able to joyn with the King: But these Orders were not executed in time. The King's Army at this time consisted in the whole but of five thousand five hundred Foot, and about four thousand Horse; and *Waller* was already come with his Horse to *Blanford*; but some of his Troops being beaten up by those of the King's, he retired to *Shaftsbury*, and those parts of *Wilt-shire* adjacent. It concern'd the King very much, before he left those parts, to relieve *Portland-Castle*, which had been now Besieged from the time of the Earl of *Essex's* march that way. To that purpose, he march'd to *Sherborne*; where he staid six days too long, though in that time he rais'd the Siege before *Portland-Castle*, if he had not hoped by that delay that his Nephew Prince *Rupert* would have been well advanced in his march. *St Lewis Dives* was left with his own Regiment of one hundred and fifty old Soldiers, and some Horse in *Sherborne-Castle*, and made Commander in Chief of *Dorset-shire*; in hope that he would be able shortly by his activity and the very good affection of that County, to raise Men enough to recover *Weymouth*: and he did perform all that could be reasonably expected from him. His Majesty had a great desire,

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in his march to *Oxford*, to relieve *Donnington-Castle*, and *Basing*; which was again Besieged by almost the whole Army of the Enemy; and then to send a good Party to relieve *Banbury*, which had been close Besieged by Colonel *John Fiennes*, another Son of the Lord *Sey*, with all the Forces of *Northampton-shire*, *Warwick*, and *Coventry*; and bravely defended by *St William Compton*, full three Months; but by this time reduced to the utmost extremity.

IN order to preserve all this, the King came to *Salisbury* upon the fifteenth of *October*; where he understood, "that *Waller* lay at *Andover* with his Troops; that *Manchester* "was advanced as far as *Reading* with five thousand Horse and "Foot, and four and twenty pieces of Ordnance; and that "four Regiments of the Train'd-bands of *London*, were beginning their march to him; and that three thousand of the "Horse and Foot of the Earl of *Essex's* Army were near "*Portsmouth*, expecting Orders to joyn with the rest. This might very well have disposed his Majesty to have hasten'd his march to *Oxford*, which would have made a fair conclusion of the Campagne; and this was the more reasonable, because here the King receiv'd Letters from Prince *Rupert*, in which he declared, "that it was not possible for him to bring up his "Troops so soon as his Majesty expected; and indeed as his present condition required: and if this had been resolv'd, both *Donnington-Castle*, and *Banbury*, might have been seasonably set at liberty; but a great gayety possessed *Goring*, that he earnestly advised the King to march, with secrecy and expedition, to beat *Waller*; who lay at *Andover*, a good distance from the rest, with three thousand Horse and Dragoons; which the King, upon the unanimous consent of the Council, consented to.

HE had left all the Cannon that he had taken from *Essex*, in *Exeter*; and now he sent all his great Cannon to a Garrison he had within two Miles of *Salisbury* at *Langford*, a House of the Lord *Gorges*; where was a Garrison of one hundred Men, Commanded by a good Officer. The rest of the Cannon and Carriages were left at *Wilton*, the House of the Earl of *Pembroke*, with a Regiment of Foot to guard them; and the King appointed the Rendezvous for the Army to be the next Morning, by seven of the Clock, near *Clarendon-Park*; and good Guards were set at all the Avenues of the City, to keep all People from going out, that *Waller* might not have any notice of his purpose: and if the hour of the Rendezvous had been observ'd, as it rarely was (though his Majesty was himself the most punctual, and never absent at the precise time) that design had succeeded to wish. For though the Foot under Prince *Maurice* came not up till eleven of the Clock,

Clock, so that the Army did not begin it's march till twelve, yet they came within four Miles of *Andover*, before *Waller* had any Notice of their Motions; when he drew out his whole Body towards them, as if he meant to Fight; but upon view of their Strength, and the good Order they were in, he changed his mind, and drew back into the Town; leaving a strong Party of Horse and Dragoons to make good his Retreat. But the King's Van Charged, and Routed them with good Execution, and pursued them through the Town, and slew many of them in the Rear, until the darkness of the Night secured them, and hinder'd the others from following farther. But they were all scatter'd, and came not quickly together again; and the King Quarter'd that Night at *Andover*. The scattering this great Body under *Waller* in this manner, and the little resistance they made, so raised the Spirits of the King's Army, that they desired nothing more than to have a Battle with the whole Army of the Enemy; which the King meant not to seek out, nor to decline Fighting with them, if they put themselves in his way. And so he resolv'd to raise the Siege of *Donnington-Castle*, which was little out of his way to *Oxford*. To that purpose, he sent Orders for the Cannon which had been left at *Langford*, and *Wilton*, to make all hast to a place appointed between *Andover* and *Newbury*; where he staid with his Army, till they came up to him; and then marched together to *Newbury*, within a Mile of *Donnington*.

THE Blockade of *Donnington-Castle* had been (when *Middleton* from thence pursued his march into the West) left to the care of Colonel *Horton*; who for some time was contented to Block it up; but then finding his Summons neglected, and that they had store of Provisions within, and having an addition of Forces from *Abingdon* and *Reading*, he resolv'd to Besiege it; which he begun to do the 29th of *September*; and made his Approaches, and raised a Battery on the foot of the Hill next *Newbury*, and plyed it so with his great Cannon, that, after twelve days continual shooting, he beat down three Towers and a part of the Wall; which he believ'd had so humbled the Governour and the Garrison, that they would be no longer so stubborne as they had been; and therefore he sent them another Summons, in which he magnified his own clemency, "that prevailed with him, now they were even at his mercy, to offer them Quarter for their Lives, if they gave up the Castle before *Wednesday* at ten of the Clock in the Morning; but if that his favour was not accepted, he declared, in the presence of God, that there should no Man amongst them have his Life spared. The Governour made himself merry with his high and threatening Language;

Language; and sent him word, "he would keep the place, "and would neither give nor receive Quarter. At this time, the Earl of *Manchester* himself with his Forces came to *Newbury*; and receiving no better Answer to his own Summons, than *Horton* had done before, he resolv'd to Storm it the next day. But his Soldiers, being well inform'd of the resolution of those within, declined that hot Service; and plyed it with their Artillery until the next Night; and then remov'd their Battery to the other side of the Castle; and begun their Approaches by Saps; when the Governour made a strong Sally, and beat them out of their Trenches, and kill'd a Lieutenant Colonel, who Commanded in Chief, with many Soldiers; shot their Chief Cannoneer through the Head, brought away their Cannon-Baskets, and many Armes, and retired with very little loss: yet the next Night they finish'd their Battery: and continued some days their great shot, till they heard of the Approach of the King's Army; whereupon they drew off their Ordnance, and their Train'd-bands of *London* being not yet come to them, the Earl thought fit to march away to a greater distance; there having been, in nineteen days, above one thousand great shot spent upon the Walls, without any other damage to the Garrison, than the beating down some old parts thereof.

WHEN the King came to *Newbury*, the Governour of *Donnington* attended him; and was Knighted for his very good behaviour; and there was then so little apprehension of dread of the Enemy, that his Majesty thought not of prosecuting his Journey towards *Oxford*, before he should Relieve both *Basing* and *Banbury*. And now importunities being sent from the last, which was even upon the point of rendering for want of Victuals, they having already eaten most of their Horses, his Majesty was well content that the Earl of *Northampton*, who had the Supreme Government of that Garrison, where he had left his brave Brother his Lieutenant, should, with three Regiments of Horse, attempt the relieving it; Letters being sent to *Oxford*, "that Colonel *Gage*, with some "Horse and Foot from thence, should meet him; which they did punctually; and came time enough to *Banbury* before they were expected: yet they found the Rebels Horse (Superior in number by much to theirs) drawn up in five Bodies on the South side of the Town, near their Sconce; as if, upon the advantage of that ground, they meant to Fight. But two, or three shots, made at them by a Couple of Drakes brought from *Oxford* by Colonel *Gage*, made them stagger, and retire from their ground very disorderly. Their Cannon and Baggage had been sent out of the Town the Night before; and their Foot, being above seven hundred, run out of *Banbury* upon

Banbury-
Castle re-
liev'd by the
Earl of
Northam-
pton.

upon the first advance of the King's Troops. Colonel *Gage* with the Foot went directly to the Castle, that they might be at Liberty ; whilst the Earl of *Northampton* follow'd the Horse so closely, that they found it best to make a stand ; where he furiously Charged and Routed them ; and, notwithstanding they had lined some Hedges with Musqueteers, pursued them till they were scatter'd, and totally dispersed ; their General, young *Fiennes*, continuing his flight, till he came to *Coven-*
try, without staying. The Foot, for the most part, by dispersing themselves, escaped by the Inclosures, before Colonel *Gage* could come up. But there were taken, in the Chase, one Field piece, and three Waggon of Armes and Ammunition ; many slain ; and two Officers of Horse, with near one hundred other Prisoners, four Cornets of Horse, and two hundred Horses, were taken ; and all this with the loss of one Captain and nine Troopers ; some Officers, and others, being wounded, but not mortally. Thus the Siege was raised from *Banbury* ; which had continued full thirteen Weeks ; so notably defended, that though they had but two Horses left uneaten, they had never suffer'd a Summons to be sent to them ; and it was now Reliev'd the very day of the Month upon which both Town and Castle had been render'd to the King two years before ; being the 26th of *October*.

THOUGH the Relief of *Banbury* succeeded to wish, yet the King paid dear for it soon after : the very day after that Service was perform'd, Colonel *Urry*, a *Scotch*-man, who had formerly serv'd the Parliament, and is well mention'd, in the transactions of the last year, for having quitted them, and perform'd some signal Service to the King, had in the West, about the time the King enter'd into *Cornwal* (in a discontented humour, which was very natural to him) desired a Pass to go beyond the Seas ; and so quitted the Service : but instead of embarking himself, made hast to *London* ; and put himself now into the Earl of *Manchester*'s Army, and made a discovery of all he knew of the King's Army, and a description of the Persons and Customes of those who principally commanded ; so that as they well knew the constitution, and weakness of the King's Army, they had also Advertisement of the Earl of *Northampton*'s being gone, with three Regiments of Horse, to the Relief of *Banbury*. Whereupon, within two days after, all those Forces which had been under *Essex* and *Waller*, being united with *Manchester* (with whom likewise the Train'd-bands of *London* were now joyn'd ; all which made up a Body of above eight thousand Foot ; the number of their Horse being not Inferior) advanced towards the King, who had not half the number before the departure of the Earl of *Northampton*, and stay'd still at *Newbury* with a resolution

lution to expect the return of that Earl, that he might likewise do somewhat for *Basing*; not believing that the Enemy could be so soon united.

*The second
Battle of
Newbury.*

IT was now too late to hope to make a Safe retreat to *Oxford*, when the whole Body of the Enemies Army, which had receiv'd positive Orders to Fight the King as soon as was possible, appear'd as near as *Thackham*; so that his Majesty not at all dismay'd, resolv'd to stand upon the Defensive only; hoping that, upon the advantage he had of the Town of *Newbury* and the River, the Enemy would not speedily Advance; and that in the mean time, by being compell'd to lodge in the Field, which grew now to be very Cold, whilst his Army was under cover, they might be forced to retire. The King Quarter'd in the Town of *Newbury*; and placed strong Guards on the South of the Town: but the greatest part of the Army was placed towards the Enemies Quarters, in a good House belonging to Mr *Doleman* at *Shaw*, and in a Village near it, defended by the River that runs under *Donnington*-Castle, and in a House between that Village and *Newbury*, about which a Work was cast up, and at a Mill upon the River of *Kenet*; all which lay almost East from the Town. Directly North from thence were two open Fields, where most of the Horse stood with the Train of Artillery, and about half a mile West, was the Village of *Speen*; and beyond it a small Heath. In this Village lay all Prince *Maurice's* Foot, and some Horse, and at the Entrance of the Heath a work was cast up, which clear'd the Heath. In this posture they had many Skirmishes with the Enemy for two days, without losing any ground; and the Enemy was still beaten off with loss.

ON *Sunday* Morning, the seven and twentieth of *October*, by the break of day, one thousand of the Earl of *Manchester's* Army, with the Train'd-bands of *London*, came down the Hill; and pass'd the River that way by *Shaw*; and, undiscover'd, forced that Guard which should have kept the Pass near the House; that was entrench'd where *Sr Bernard Ashley* lay; who instantly, with a good Body of Musqueteers, fell upon the Enemy; and not only Routed them, but compell'd them to Rout two other Bodies of their own Men, who were coming to second them. In this pursuit very many of the Enemy were slain, and many drown'd in the River, and above two hundred Armes taken. There continued, all that day, very warm Skirmishes in several parts; the Enemies Army having almost encompass'd the King's; and with much more loss to Them, than to the King; till, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, *Waller* with his own, and the Forces which had been under *Essex*, fell upon the Quarter at *Speen*, and

and passed the River; which was not well defended by the Officer who was appointed to guard it with Horse and Foot, very many of them being gone off from their Guards, as never imagining that they would, at that time of day, have attempted a Quarter that was thought the strongest of all. But having thus got the River, they marched in good Order, with very great Bodies of Foot, winged with Horse, towards the Heath; from whence the Horse which were left there, with too little resistance, retir'd; being in truth much overpower'd, by reason the Major part of them, upon confidence of security of the Pass, were gone to provide Forage for their Horse.

By this means, the Enemy possessed themselves of the Ordnance which had been planted there; and of the Village of *Speen*; the Foot which were there, retir'd to the Hedge next the large Field between *Speen* and *Newbury*; which they made good: at the same time, the right Wing of the Enemies Horse advanced under the Hill of *Speen*, with one hundred Musqueteers in the Van, and came into the open Field, where a good Body of the King's Horse stood; which at first receiv'd them in some disorder; but the Queen's Regiment of Horse, commanded by *Sr John Cansfeild*, charged them with so much Gallantry, that he routed that great Body; which then fled; and he had the execution of them near half a mile; wherein most of the Musqueteers were slain, and very many of the Horse; insomuch that that whole Wing rallied not again that night. The King was at that time with the Prince, and many of the Lords, and other his Servants, in the middle of that Field; and could not, by his own Presence, restrain those Horse which at the first approach of the Enemy were in that disorder, from shamefully giving Ground. So that if *Sr John Cansfeild* had not, in that Article of Time, given them that brisk Charge, by which other Troops were ready to charge them in the Flank, the King himself had been in very great danger.

At the same time, the left Wing of the Enemies Horse advanced towards the North-side of the great Field; but before they got thither, *Goring* with the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigade, Charg'd them so vigorously, that he forced them back in great confusion over a Hedge; and following them, was Charg'd by another fresh Body; which he Defeated likewise, and slew very many of the Enemy upon the place; having not only Routed and beaten them off their ground, but endur'd the Shot of three Bodies of their Foot in their pursuit, and in their retreat, with no considerable damage, save that the Earl of *Cleveland's* Horse falling under him, he was taken Prisoner; which was an extraordinary loss. Whilst this was doing on that side, twelve hundred Horse, and three thousand

Foot, of those under the Earl of *Manchester*, advanced with great Resolution upon *Shaw-House*, and the Field adjacent; which quarter was defended by *Sr Jacob Astley*, and Colonel *George Lisle*; and the House, by Lieutenant Colonel *Page*. They came singing of Psalms; and, at first, drove forty Musqueteers from a Hedge, who were placed there to stop them; but they were presently Charg'd by *Sr John Brown* with the Prince's Regiment of Horse; who did good execution upon them, till he saw another Body of their Horse ready to Charge him, which made him retire to the Foot in *Mr Doleman's* Garden, which flank'd that Field, and give fire upon those Horse, whereof very many fell; and the Horse thereupon Wheeling about, *Sr John Brown* fell upon their Rear, kill'd many, and kept that Ground all the day; when the Reserve of Foot, Commanded by Colonel *Thetwell*, gall'd their Foot with several Vollies; and then fell on them with the But-ends of their Musquets, till they had not only beaten them from the Hedges, but quite out of the Field; leaving two Drakes, some Colours, and many dead Bodies behind them. At this time, a great Body of their Foot attempted *Mr Doleman's* House, but were so well entertain'd by Lieutenant Colonel *Page*, that after they had made their first effort, they were forced to retire in such Confusion, that he pursued them from the House with a notable Execution; insomuch that they left five hundred dead upon a little spot of ground; and they drew off the two Drakes out of the Field to the House, the Enemy being beaten off, and retired from all that Quarter.

It was now night; for which neither Party was sorry; and the King, who had been on that side where the Enemy only had prevail'd, thought that his Army had suffer'd alike in all other places. He saw they were entirely possessed of *Speen*, and had taken all the Ordnance which had been left there; whereby it would be easy for them, before the next morning, to have compassed him round; towards which they might have gone far, if they had found themselves in a condition to have pursued their fortune.

HEREUPON, as soon as it was night, his Majesty, with the Prince, and those Lords who had been about him all the day, and his Regiment of Guards, retired into the Fields under *Donnington-Castle*, and resolv'd to prosecute the resolution that was taken in the morning, when they saw the great Advantage the Enemy had in numbers, with which he was like to be encompassed, if his Forces were beaten from either of the Posts. That resolution was, "to march away in the night towards *Wallingford*"; and to that purpose, all the Carriages, and great Ordnance, had been that Morning drawn under

under *Downington-Castle*; so he sent Orders to all the Officers, to draw off their Men to the same Place; and receiving Intelligence at that time that Prince *Rupert* was come, or would be that night at *Bath*, that he might make no stay there, but presently be able to joyn with his Army, his Majesty himself, with the Prince, and about three hundred Horse, made hast thither; and found Prince *Rupert* there; and thence made what hast they could back towards *Oxford*. The truth is, the King's Army was not in so ill a condition, as the King conceiv'd it to have been: that Party which were in the Field near *Speen*, kept their ground very resolutely; and although it was a fair Moon-shine night, the Enemy, that was very near them, and much Superior in Number, thought not fit to assault or disturb them. That part of the Enemy that had been so roughly treated at *Shaw*, having receiv'd Succour of a strong Body of Horse, resolv'd once more to make an attempt upon the Foot there; but they were beaten off as before; though they stood not well enough to receive an equal loss, but retired to their Hill, where they stood still. This was the last Action between the Armies; for about ten of the Clock at night, all the Army, Horse, Foot, and Cannon, upon the King's Orders, drew forth their several Guards to the Heath about *Downington-Castle*; in which they left most of their wounded Men, with all their Ordnance, Ammunition, and Carriages; then Prince *Maurice*, and the other Officers, march'd in good Order away to *Wallingford*, committing the bringing up the Rear to *St. Humphrey Bennet* (who had behaved himself very Signally that day) who with his Brigade of Horse march'd behind, and receiv'd not the least disturbance from the Enemy; who, in so light a Night, could not but know of the Retreat, and were well enough pleased to be rid of an Enemy that had handled them so ill. By the Morning, all the Army, Foot as well as Horse, arriv'd at *Wallingford*; where having Refresh'd a little, they march'd to *Oxford*, without seeing any Party of the Enemy that look'd after them.

MANY made a Question which Party had the better of the Day; and neither was well enough satisfied with their Success. There could be no question there were very many more kill'd of the Enemy, than of the King's Army; whereof were missing, only *St. William St. Léger*, Lieutenant Colonel to the Duke's Regiment of Foot; Lieutenant Colonel *Topping*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Leake*, both Officers of Horse, who were all there slain, with not above one hundred Common Soldiers, in all places. The Earl of *Brentford*, General of the Army, was wounded on the head; *St. John Cansfeild*, *St. John Greenvil*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Page*, were wounded;

but all recover'd. The Officers of the Enemies side were never talk'd of, being, for the most part, of no better Families than the Common Soldiers. But it was reasonably computed, by those who saw the Action in all places, that there could not be so few as one thousand dead upon the place: yet because the King's Army quitted the Field, and march'd away in the Night, the other side thought themselves Masters; and the Parliament celebrated their Victory with their usual Triumphs; though, within few days after, they discern'd that they had little reason for it. They came to know, by what accident was not imagin'd, that the Earl of *Brentford* remain'd that night in the Castle, by reason of the hurt in his Head, and so sent Colonel *Urry* to him to perswade him to give up the Castle, and to make him other large Offers; all which the General rejected with the Indignation that became him. No more shall be said of the Colonel, because, after all his tergiversations, he chose at last to lose his Life for, and in the King's Service; which ought to expiate for all his transgressions, and preserve his memory from all unkind Reflections.

THE next day, when they knew that the King's Army was retired, and not till then, they made hast to possess themselves of *Newbury*; and then drew up their whole Army before *Donnington* Castle, and Summon'd the Governour "to deliver it to them, or else they would not leave one Stone upon another. To which the Governour made no other reply, than "that he was not bound to repair it; but however he "would, by God's help, keep the ground afterwards: seeing his obstinacy, they offer'd him "to march away with the "Armes, and all things belonging to the Garrison; and, when that moved not, "that he should carry all the Cannon, and "Ammunition with him; to all which he Answer'd, "that "he wonder'd they would not be satisfied with so many Answers that he had sent, and desired them "to be assured, "that he would not go out of the Castle, till the King sent "him Order so to do. Offended with these high Answers, they resolv'd to Assault it; but the Officer who Commanded the Party, being kill'd with some few of the Soldiers, they retired; and never after made any attempt upon it; but remain'd quietly at *Newbury* in great Faction among themselves; every Man taking upon himself to find fault, and censure what had been done, and had been left undone, in the whole day's Service.

THE King met Prince *Rupert*, as he expected, with Colonel *Gerrard*, and *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*; and made all the hast he could to joyn those Forces with his own Army, that so he might march back to *Newbury*, and disengage his Cannon.

Cannon, and Carriages. By the way he met the Earl of *Northampton*, and those Regiments which had Reliev'd *Banbury*; and having with marvellous Expedition caused a new Train of Artillery to be form'd, he brought his Army again to a Rendezvous on *Bullington-Green*; where, with the Addition of those Forces, and some Foot, which he drew out of *Oxford*, under the Command of Colonel *Gage*, it appear'd to be full six thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse; with which he march'd to *Wallingford*; and within a day more than a Week after he had left *Donnington-Castle*, found himself there again in so good a posture, that he resolv'd not to decline Fighting with the Enemy; but would be first possess'd of his Cannon, and put some Provision into the Castle; which he accomplish'd without any opposition.

The King relieves Donnington-Castle.

THE Enemies Army lay still at *Newbury*, perplexed with the Divisions and Factions among their own Officers, without any notice of the King's advance, till a Quarter of their Horse was beaten up. The next Morning, the King put his Army into Battalia; Prince *Rupert*, who was now declared General, led the Van; and got possession of the Heath, on the back side of the Castle; from which a small Party might have kept him, the entrance into it being very steep, and the way narrower. On that Heath, the King's Army was drawn up about Noon, every one being prepared to Fight; and none of the Enemy appearing, they marched by the Castle over the River by a Mill, and two Fords below it, without any opposition; and thence drew into the large Field between *Speen* and *Newbury*; which was thought a good place to expect the Enemy; who, in the mean time, had drawn a great Body of their Horse and Foot into the other Field toward *Shaw*, and had made Breast-works and Batteries on the back side of *Newbury*; which Town they resolv'd to keep, and stand upon the defensive, as the King had done before; presuming, that they now having the warmer lodging, might better attack the King after his Men had lain a night or two in the Fields; it being now the Month of *November*, but fair for that Season. Some light Skirmishes pass'd between the Horse, but when the King saw upon what disadvantages he must force them to Fight, he called his Council together; who were unanimous in opinion, "that since he had reliev'd the Castle, "and put sufficient Provisions into it, and that it was in his "power to draw off his Ordnance and Ammunition from "thence, he had done his business; and if any honour had "been lost the other day, it was regain'd now, by his having "pass'd his Army over the River in the face of theirs, and "offer'd them Battle; which they durst not accept. Upon which the King resolv'd to attempt them no farther, but gave

Orders to retire in their view, with Drums Beating and Trumpets Sounding, the same way he came over the River. So the King lay that night at *Donnington-Castle*, and all the Army about him.

THE King had not yet done all he meant to do, before he took up his Winter Quarters; and was willing, that the Enemy should have an opportunity to Fight with him, if they desired it: and therefore, on the *Sunday* morning the tenth of *November*, his Majesty marched with all his Cannon and Ammunition over the Heath from *Donnington*, over a fair Campaign, to *Lamborne*; in which march, some of the Enemies Horse attempted his Rear, but were repulsed with loss; many being slain, and some taken Prisoners. There the King Quarter'd that night, and the next day, to refresh his Men, for the ill lodging they had endured at *Donnington*; having sent some Persons of great Reputation and Interest to *Marlborough*, to make large provisions for Him, and his Army. And then, since he heard the Enemy lay still at *Newbury*, he marched to *Marlborough*; where he found all things to his wish. His heart was set upon the relief of *Basing*, which was now again distress'd; the Enemy having, as is said before, begirt it closely from the time that *Gage* had reliev'd it. He had a great mind to do it with his whole Army; that thereby he might draw the Enemy to a Battle: but, upon full Debate, it was concluded, "that the safest way would be to do it by a strong Party; that one thousand Horse should be drawn out, every one of which should carry before him a Bag of Corn, or other Provisions, and march so as to be at *Basing-House* the next morning after they parted from the Army; and then every Trooper was to cast down his Bag, and to make their retreat as well as they might: and Colonel *Gage*, who had so good success before, was appointed to Command this Party; which he cheerfully undertook to do. The better to effect it, *Hungerford* was thought the fitter place to Quarter with the Army, and from thence to dispatch that Party: so his Majesty marched back to *Hungerford*, which was half way to *Newbury*: the Enemy was in mean time marched from thence to *Basing*; which, they thought, would, upon the sight of their whole Army, presently have yielded; but finding the Marquis still obstinate to Defend it, they were weary of the Winter War, and so retired all their force from thence, and quitted the Siege the very day before *Gage* came thither; so that he easily deliver'd his Provisions, and retired to the King without any Inconvenience. His Majesty then marched to *Farrington*, with some hope to have surpris'd *Abingdon* in his way; but he found it too well provided; and so after he had consider'd where to Quarter his Horse, which had formerly had their head

head Quarter at *Abingdon*, and those places which were now under the power of that Governour, he return'd to *Oxford*; where he arriv'd to the universal joy, on the three and twentieth of *November*; a Season of the year fit for all the Troops to be in their Winter Quarters. *The King returns to Oxford.*

THE King was exceedingly pleased, to find how much the Fortifications there had been advanced by the care and diligence of the Lords; and was very gracious in his acknowledgement of it to them. And the Governour *Sr Arthur Aston*, having, some Months before, in the Managing his Horse in the Fields, caused him to fall, had in the fall broken his own Leg, and, shortly after, been compell'd to cut it off; so that, if he recover'd at all, which was very doubtful, he could not be fit for any active Service; his Majesty resolv'd to confer that Government upon another. Of which resolution, with all the circumstances of grace and favour, and sending him a Warrant for one thousand pounds a year Pension for his Life, he gave him notice; and then, to the most general satisfaction of all Men, he conferr'd that Government upon Colonel *Gage*; whom he had before Knighted. *Sr Arthur Aston* was so much displeased with his Successor, that he besought the King to confer that Charge upon any other Person; and when he found that his Majesty would not change his purpose, he sent to some Lords to come to him, who he thought were most Zealous in Religion, and desired them to tell the King from him, "that though he was himself a Roman Catholick, he had been very careful to give no scandal to his Majesties Protestant Subjects; and could not but inform him, that *Gage* was the most Jesuited Papist alive; that he had a Jesuit who liv'd with him; and that he was present at all the Sermons among the Catholicks; which he believ'd would be very much to his Majesties disservice. So much his Passion and Animosity over-ruled his Conscience.

THE King liked the choice he had made; and only advised the new Governour, by one of his Friends, "to have so much discretion in his Carriage, that there might be no notice taken of the Exercise of his Religion; to which animadversion he Answer'd, "that he never had dissembled his Religion, nor ever would; but that he had been so wary in the Exercise of it, that he knew there could be no Witness produced, who had ever seen him at Mass in *Oxford*; though he heard Mass every day; and that he had never been but once at a Sermon; which was at the Lodging of *Sr Arthur's* Daughter; to which he had been invited with great opportunity; and believ'd now that it was to entrap him. But the poor Gentleman enjoy'd the Office very little time; for within a Month, or thereabout, making an attempt to break

down *Culham*-Bridge near *Abingdon*, where he intended to erect a Royal Fort, that should have kept that Garrison from that side of the Country; he was shot through the Heart with a Musquet bullet. Prince *Rupert* was present at the Action, having approv'd, and been much pleas'd with the design; which was never pursu'd after his death: and in truth the King sustain'd a wonderful loss in his death; he being a Man of great wisdom and temper; and one among the very few Soldiers, who made himself to be Universally lov'd and esteem'd.

THOUGH the King's Condition was now much better, than, in the beginning of the Summer, he had reason to expect (he had broken, and defeated two Armies of the Parliament, and return'd into his Winter Quarter with advantage, and rather with an encrease than diminution of his Forces) yet his necessities were still the same, and the Fountains dry'd up from whence he might expect Relief; his Quarters shorten'd, and lessen'd by the Loss of the whole North: for after the Battle of *York*, the *Scots* return'd to Reduce *New-Castle*; which they had already done; and all other Garrisons which had held out for the King; and when that Work should be Thoroughly and Sufficiently done, it must be expected that Army should again move South-ward, and take such other Places, as the Parliament should not be at leisure to look after themselves.

*The Temper
of the Army,
and Court at
this time.*

THE King's Army was less united than ever; the old General was set aside, and Prince *Rupert* put into the Command, which was no popular Change: for the other was known to be an Officer of great Experience, and had committed no Oversight in his Conduct; was willing to hear every thing Debated, and always concurr'd with the most reasonable Opinion; and though he was not of many words, and was not quick in hearing, yet upon any Action he was Sprightly, and Commanded well. The Prince was Rough, and Passionate, and lov'd not Debate; liked what was propos'd, as he liked the Persons who propos'd it; and was so great an Enemy to *Digby* and *Colepepper*, who were only present in Debates of the War with the Officers, that he cross'd all they Propos'd. The truth is, all the Army had been dispos'd, from the first raising it, to a Neglect and Contempt of the Council; and the King himself had not been Sollicitous enough to preserve the Respect due to it; in which he lessen'd his own Dignity.

GORING, who was now General of the Horse, was no more gracious to Prince *Rupert*, than *Wilmot* had been; had all the other's faults, and wanted his regularity, and preserving his respect with the Officers. *Wilmot* lov'd Debauchery, but shut it out from his business; never neglected That, and rarely miscarried

miscarried in it. *Goring* had a much better Understanding, and a sharper Wit (except in the very exercise of Debauchery, and then the other was inspir'd) a much keener Courage, and presentness of Mind in danger: *Wilmot* discern'd it farther off, and because he could not behave himself so well in it, commonly prevented, or warily declin'd it; and never drank when he was within distance of an Enemy: *Goring* was not able to resist the Temptation, when he was in the middle of them, nor would decline it to obtain a Victory: as, in one of those fits, he had suffer'd the Horse to escape out of *Cornwal*; and the most signal Misfortunes of his Life in War, had their rise from that uncontrollable Licence. Neither of them valued their promises, professions, or friendships, according to any Rules of Honour, or Integrity; but *Wilmot* violated them the less willingly, and never but for some great benefit, or convenience to himself; *Goring* without scruple, out of Humour, or for Wit's sake; and lov'd no Man so well, but that he would cozen him, and then expose him to publick Mirth for having been cozen'd: therefore he had always fewer Friends than the other, but more Company; for no Man had a Wit that pleas'd the Company better. The Ambition of both was unlimited, and so equally incapable of being contented; and both unrestrain'd by any respect to good Nature or Justice, from pursuing the satisfaction thereof: yet *Wilmot* had more Scruples from Religion to startle him, and would not have attain'd his end by any gross, or foul Act of wickedness; *Goring* could have pass'd through those pleasantly; and would, without hesitation, have broken any Trust, or done any Act of Treachery to have satisfied an ordinary passion, or appetite; and in truth, wanted nothing but Industry (for he had Wit, and Courage, and Understanding, and Ambition, uncontroll'd by any fear of God, or Man) to have been as eminent, and successful in the highest attempt of wickedness, as any Man in the Age he liv'd in, or before. Of all his Qualifications, Dissimulation was his Master-piece; in which he so much excell'd, that Men were not ordinarily alham'd, or out of countenance, with being deceiv'd but twice by him.

THE Court was not much better dispos'd than the Army; they who had no Preferment, were angry with those who had; and thought they had not deserv'd so well as themselves: they who were envied, found no satisfaction or delight in what they were envied for, being poor and necessitous, and the more sensible of their being so, by the Titles they had receiv'd upon their own violent Importunity. So that the King was without any joy in the Favours he had conferr'd, and yet was not the less Solicited to grant more to others of the

the same kind; who, he foresaw, would be no better pleas'd than the rest: and the pleasing one Man this way, displeas'd one hundred; as his Creating the Lord *Colepepper* at this time, and making him a Baron (who in truth had serv'd him with great Abilities; and, though he did imprudently in desiring it, did deserve it) did much dissatisfy both the Court, and the Army; to neither of which he was in any degree gracious, by his having no Ornament of Education, to make Men the more propitious to his parts of Nature; and dispos'd many others to be very importunate to receive the same Obligation.

THERE had been another Counsel enter'd upon, and concluded with great Deliberation and Wisdom, which turn'd at this time to his Majesty's disadvantage; which was the Cessation in *Ireland*; enter'd into, as hath been said before, with all the reason imaginable, and in hope, to have made a good Peace there, and so to have had the Power of that united Kingdom, to have assisted to the suppressing the Rebellion in this. - But now, as all the Supplies he had receiv'd from thence upon the Cessation, had been already destroy'd without any benefit to the King, so his Majesty found, that he should not be able to make a Peace there; and then the Government there would be in the worse condition by being depriv'd of so many good Officers, and Soldiers, upon the conclusion of the Cessation. There had been Commissioners from that time sent over to the King from the Confederate Roman Catholicks, to treat a Peace; the Lord Lieutenant, and Council, had sent likewise Commissioners to inform the King of all things necessary to be consider'd in the Treaty; and the Parliament which was then sitting in *Ireland*, had sent likewise Commissioners, in the Name of the Protestants in that Kingdom, to prevent the making any Peace; and with a Petition to dissolve the Cessation that had been made.

Propositions
from Ire-
land, reject-
ed by the
King.

THE Commissioners from the Confederate Roman Catholicks, demanded "the Abrogation, and Repeal of all those Laws, which were in force against the Exercise of the Roman Religion: That the Lieutenant, or Chief Governour, should be a Roman Catholick; and that there should be no distinction made, whereby those of that Religion should not be capable of any Preferment in the Kingdom, as well as the Protestants; together with the Repeal of several Laws, which that Nation thought to have been made in their prejudice.

THE Commissioners from the State (whereof some were of the Privy Council) profess'd "that they desir'd a Peace might be made; but propos'd in order, as they said, to the security of the Kingdom, "that all the *Irish* might be Disarm'd;

"arm'd; and such among them, as had been most signal and
 "barbarous in the Massacres in the beginning of the Rebel-
 "lion, might be excepted from Pardon, and prosecuted with
 "the utmost rigour of Law: That the Laws might be put
 "in Execution against all Roman Catholicks, and especially
 "against all Jesuits, Priests, and Fryars; and that they might
 "be obliged to pay all the Damages which had been sustain'd
 "by the War.

THE Commissioners from the Protestants demanded,
 "that the Cessation might be Dissolv'd, and the War car-
 "ried on with the utmost Rigour, according to the Act
 "of Parliament that had been made in the beginning of
 "the Rebellion; and that no Peace might be made on any
 "Conditions.

THE King demanded of the *Irish*, "whether they believ'd
 "it could be in his Power, if it were agreeable to his Con-
 "science, to grant them their Demands? and whether he
 "must not thereby purchase *Ireland* with the loss of *England*
 "and *Scotland*? There were among them some sober Men,
 "who confessed "that as his Majesty's Affairs then stood, they
 "believ'd he could not grant it; and they hoped, that their
 "General Assembly would, when they should be inform'd of
 "the truth of his Majesty's Condition, which was not known
 "to them, be perswaded to depart from some of their De-
 "mands; but that, for the present, they had not Authority to
 "recede from any one Proposition.

THE King then asked the Commissioners who had been
 sent over by the Marquis of *Ormond*, Lieutenant of the King-
 dom, "which Forces they thought to be the stronger, the
 "King's Army, or that of the Rebels? they confessed "the
 "Rebels to be much superior in Power, and that they were
 "possessed of more than three parts of the Kingdom. The
 King then asked them, "whether they thought it probable,
 "now they found themselves to be the Stronger, that the
 "Rebels would be perswaded to yield to so disadvantageous
 "terms, as they propos'd, and to be so wholly at the Mercy
 "of those whom they had so much provoked? and if they
 "could be so disposed, whether they believ'd that they were
 "able, though they should be willing, to sell all they have in
 "*Ireland* to pay the Damages which had been sustain'd by
 "the War? The Commissioners acknowledged, "that they
 "thought the last impossible; and that there might be a mi-
 "tigation in that particular; but for the former, they durst
 "not advise his Majesty to recede at all; for that there could
 "be no other security for the Protestants in that Kingdom,
 "but by leaving the *Irish* without any capacity, or ability to
 "Trouble them: for their perfidiousness was such, that they
 "could

“could not be trusted; and therefore they must be put into such a Condition, by being totally Disarm’d, that they should not be able to do any Mischief; or that all the Protestants must leave the Kingdom to the entire possession of the *Irish*; and whether that would be for his Majesty’s Service and Security, they must refer to his own Wisdom.

THE King then sent for the Commissioners from the Parliament, on the behalf of the Protestants, and asked them, “whether they were ready, if the Cessation were expir’d, to renew the War, and to prosecute it hopefully, to the Reduction or Suppression of the *Irish*? They answer’d very clearly, “that in the State they were in, they could not carry on the War, or defend themselves against the *Irish*, who were much Superior to them in Power; but if his Majesty would recruit his Army, and send over Money, and Arms, and Ammunition, with Shipping, they made no doubt, but with God’s blessing, they should be able shortly to reduce them, and drive them out of the Kingdom. The King then asked them, “whether they did in truth think, that his Majesty was able to send them such Supplies as they stood in need of? or whether they did not, in their Consciences, know, that he was not able to send them any part of it, and stood in want of all for his own Support? They answer’d, “that they hoped he would make a Peace with the Parliament, and would then be able to send over such Assistance to *Ireland*, as would quickly settle that Kingdom.

BUT after all these discourses, his Majesty prevail’d not with any of them to depart from the most unreasonable of all their Demands; whereupon he dismissed them; and told the *Irish*, “it had been in their Power so far to have obliged him, that he might hereafter have thought himself bound to have gratified them in some particulars, which were not now seasonable to have been done; but they would repent this their senseless perverseness, when it would be too late, and when they found themselves under a Power that would destroy them, and make them cease to be a Nation.

So they all left *Oxford*; and his Majesty, notwithstanding all this Resolution, not to depart from any thing, that might in any degree be prejudicial to the Protestant Interest in that Kingdom, found that he suffer’d under no reproach more in *England*, than by having made that Cessation: so wonderfully unreasonable was the generality of the Nation then by the absurd imputation of his Majesty’s favouring the *Irish*.

THE Streights in which the King now was, brought him to some reflections he had never made before; and the considerations of what might probably be the event of the next Summer, disposed him to inclinations which were very contrary to what he

he had ever before entertain'd. His three younger Children were taken from the Governess in whose hands he had put them, and were not only in the Parliament Quarters, but expressly by their Order, put into the Custody of One in whom the King could have the less confidence, because it was One in whom the Parliament confided so much. He had with him the Prince, and the Duke of *York*, both young; and he had no resolution more fixed in him, than that the Prince should never be absent from him; which, as hath been touched before, made him less consider what Governour, or Servants he put about him; resolving to form his Manners by his own Model. But now he began to say "that Himself and the Prince were too much to venture in one bottom; and that it was now time to unboy him, by putting him into some action and acquaintance with business, out of his own sight: but communicated these thoughts only with the Lord *Digby*, the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and was thought to confer more with the Lord *Colepepper* upon the Subject, than with either of the other; but had some particular thoughts upon which he then conferr'd with no body. There was but one Province in which the Prince could reside, after he was sever'd from the King; and that was the *West*; which was yet in a worse condition than it had been, by the Rebels being possess'd of *Taunton*, one of the chief Towns in *Somerset-shire*; and though it was an open, and unfortified place, it was very strong against the King in the natural disaffection of the Inhabitants, which were very numerous; and all the places adjacent of the same ill Principles; and *Waller* had already sent some Troops thither to confirm them in their Rebellious Inclinations, and had himself a resolution speedily to go thither, with a Body sufficient to form an Army for the reduction of the *West*: nor was the design improbable to succeed; for the reputation of the *Scotch* Army, upon the recovery of all the North, had shaken and terrified all the Kingdom; and the King's Army was the last Enemy the *West* had been acquainted with, and had left no good Name behind it.

To prevent this mischief, *Goring* (who had now made a fast friendship with the Lord *Digby*; either of them believing he could deceive the other, and so with equal passion embracing the Engagement) was sent with some Troops to *Salisbury*, from whence he might easily prevent any motion of *Waller*; without which, *Taunton* would be in a short time reduced by the Garrisons the King had in the Country: so that this alteration rather confirm'd, than diverted his Majesty, in his thoughts of sending the Prince thither: and he began to publish his purpose, and named Counsellors to be with his

Highness,

A Council
settled for
the Prince
of Wales.

Highness, by whose Advice all things should be done; his Majesties purpose being, in truth, only at that time that the Prince should go no farther West than *Bristol*; and that there might no jealousies arise from this Action (whichever Body knew was so far from the King's former purpose; and it might be imagin'd, that his Highness would be sent to the Queen his Mother into *France*; which many unreasonably apprehended) the King declared what Council he intended should be about his Son; the Reputation of whom, he thought, would allay all jealousies of that kind. He named the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Hopton*, the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and appointed them "to meet frequently at the Prince's Lodging, to consider with his Highness, what preparations should be made for his Journey, and in what manner his Family should be established. There was one Person more, who of necessity was to wait on the Prince, the Earl of *Berk-shire*, his Governour; and then his Majesty found, what wrong Measures he had taken in the conferring that Trust; and lamented his own error to those he trusted; but knew not how to prevent the Inconveniences that might ensue, unless by applying two remedies, which were not natural, and might have been productive of as great Inconveniences. The one was, to lessen the Prince's Reverence, and Esteem for his Governour; which was very sufficiently provided for. The other, to leave the Governour without any more Authority, than every one of the Council had; and so much less, as the Prince had a better esteem of every one of Them, than he had of Him: and so left him without a Governour, which would have been a little better, if he had been without the Earl of *Berk-shire* too.

Divisions amongst those at Westminster.

WHEN the King was in this Melancholick posture, it was a great refreshment, and some advantage to him, to hear that the disorder the Parliament was in, was Superior to His. The Cause of all the Distractions in his Court, or Army, proceeded from the extreme poverty and necessity his Majesty was in; and a very moderate supply of Money would, in a Moment, have extinguished all those distempers. But all the Wealth of the Kingdom, for they were well nigh possessed of all, could not prevent the same, and greater distractions and emulations, from breaking into the whole Government of the Parliament: for all the personal Animosities imaginable broke out in their Councils, and in their Armies; and the House of Peers found themselves, upon the matter, excluded from all power, or credit, when they did not concur in all the demands which were made by the Commons.

THAT violent Party, which had at first cozen'd the rest into

into the War, and afterwards obstructed all the Approaches towards Peace, found now that they had finished as much of their work, as the tools which they had wrought with, could be applied to; and what remain'd to be done, must be dispatched by new Workmen. They had been long unsatisfied with the Earl of *Essex*, and He as much with Them; both being more solicitous to suppress the other, than to destroy the King. They bore the loss and dishonour he had sustain'd in *Corwen*, very well; and would have been glad, that both He and his Army had been quite cut off, instead of being dissolved; for most of his Officers and Soldiers, were corrupted in their Affections towards them; and desired nothing but Peace: so that they resolv'd never more to trust, or employ any of them. But that which troubled them more, was, that their beloved Earl of *Manchester*, upon whom they depended as a fast Friend, by whom they might insensibly have divested the Earl of *Essex* of all inconvenient Authority in the Army, appear'd now as unapplicable to their purposes as the other; and there was a breach fallen out between Him and *Oliver Cromwell*, which was irreconcilable, and had brought some Counsels upon the Stage, before they were ripe.

CROMWELL accused the Earl of *Manchester*, "of having betray'd the Parliament out of Cowardice; for that he might, at the King's last being at *Newbury*, when he drew off his Cannon, very easily have Defeated his whole Army, if he would have permitted it to have been engaged: that he went to him, and shew'd him evidently how it might be done; and desired him that he would give him leave, with his own Brigade of Horse, to Charge the King's Army in their Retreat; and the Earl, with the rest of his Army, might look on, and do as he should think fit; but that the Earl had, notwithstanding all importunity used by him and other Officers, positively and obstinately refused to permit him; giving no other reason, but that, he said, if they did engage, and overthrow the King's Army, the King would always have another Army to keep up the War; but if that Army which he Commanded, should be overthrown, before the other under the Earl of *Essex* should be reinforced, there would be an end of their pretences; and they should be all Rebels, and Traytors, and executed and forfeited by the Law.

THIS pronounciation what the Law would do against them, was very heavily taken by the Parliament, as if the Earl believ'd the Law to be against them, after so many Declarations made by them, "that the Law was on Their side, and "that the King's Armes were taken up against the Law. The Earl confessed "he had used words to that effect, that they "should

“should be treated as Traytors, if their Army was Defeated, when he did not approve the advice that was given by the Lieutenant General; which would have exposed the Army to greater hazard, than he thought seasonable in that Con-juncture, in the middle of the Winter, to expose it to. He then recriminated *Cromwell*, “that, at another time, *Crom-* “well discourfing freely with him of the State of the King- “dom, and propofing fomewhat to be done, the Earl had An- “swer’d, “that the Parliament would never approve it; to which *Cromwell* prefently replied, “My Lord, if you will “ftick firm to honeft Men, you fhall find your felf in the “head of an Army that fhall give the Law to King and Par- “liament; which difcourfe, he faid, made great impreffion “in him; for he knew the Lieutenant General to be a Man “of very deep defigns; and therefore he was the more care- “ful to preserve an Army, which he yet thought was very “faithful to the Parliament.

THIS difcourfe ftartled thofe who had always an averfion to *Cromwell*, and had obferv’d the fiercenefs of his Nature, and the Language he commonly ufed when there was any mention of Peace; fo that they defired that this matter might be thoroughly examin’d, and brought to Judgement. But the other fide put all obftuctions in the way, and rather chofe to lofe the advantage they had againft the Earl of *Mancheſter*, than to have the other matter examin’d; which would unavoidably have made fome discoveries they were not yet ready to produce. However the Animofities encreafed, and the Parties appear’d barefaced againft each other; which augmented the diftractions, and divided the City as well as the Parliament; and new opinions ftarted up in Religion; which made more fubdivifions; and new terms and diftinctions were brought into difcourfe; and *Fanaticks* were now firft brought into appellation: which kind of confufions exceedingly dif- pofed Men of any fober underftanding, to wifh for Peace; though none knew how to bring the mention of it into the Parliament.

THE *Scottifh* Commiffioners were as jealous, and as unfatis- fied as any other Party; and found, fince the Battle of *York*, neither their Army, nor Themfelves fo much confider’d, as before; nor conditions perform’d towards them with any pun- ctuality. They had long had jealousy of *Cromwell*, and *St Henry Vane*, and all that Party; which they faw encreafed every day; and grew powerful in the Parliament, in the Council, and in the City. Their fared Vow and Covenant was mention’d with lefs reverence, and refpect, and the Inde- pendants, which comprehended many Sects in Religion, fpake publickly againft it; of which Party *Cromwell* and *Vane*, were

were the Leaders ; with very many of their Clergy Men, who were the most Popular Preachers, and in the Assembly of Divines had great Authority : so that the *Scots* plainly perceiv'd, that though they had gone as far towards the destruction of the Church of *England*, as they desired, they should never be able to Establish their Presbyterian Government ; without which they should lose all their Credit in their own Country, and all their Interest in *England*. They discern'd likewise, that there was a purpose, if that Party prevail'd, to change the whole Frame of the Government, as well Civil as Ecclesiastical, and to reduce the Monarchy to a Republick ; which was as far from the end and purpose of that Nation, as to restore Episcopacy. So that they saw no way to prevent the Mischief and Confusion that would fall out, but by a Peace ; which they begun heartily to wish, and to conspire with those of that Party which most desired to bring it to pass ; but how to set a Treaty on foot, they knew not.

THE House of Peers, three or four Men excepted, wished it ; but had no power to compass it. In the House of Commons, there were enough who would have been very glad of it, but had not the Courage to propose it. They who had an inward aversion from it, and were resolv'd to prevent it by all possible means, wrought upon many of the other to believe, "that they would accept of a Proposition for a Treaty, "if the King desired it ; but that it would be dishonourable, "and of very pernicious consequence to the Nation, if the "Parliament first propos'd it. So that it seem'd evident, that if any of the Party which did in truth desire Peace, should propose it to the Parliament, it would be rejected ; and rejected upon the point of Honour, by many of those who in their hearts pray'd for it.

THEY tried their old Friends of the City, who had serv'd their Turns so often, and set some of them to get hands to a Petition, by which the Parliament should be mov'd, "to send "to the King to Treat of Peace. But that design was no sooner known, but others of an opposite Party were appointed to set a counter Petition on foot, by which they should "dis- "claim and Consent to, or Approbation of the other Petition ; "not that they did not desire Peace, as much as their Neigh- "bours (no body was yet arriv'd at the impudence to pro- "fess against Peace) "but that they would not presume to move "the Parliament in it, because they knew, their wisdom "knew best the way to obtain it, and would do what was "necessary and fit towards it, to which they wholly left it.

THIS Petition found more Countenance among the Magistrates, the Mayor, and Aldermen ; Sr *Henry Vane* having diligently provided, that Men of his own Principles and In-

clinations, should be brought into the Government of the City; of which he saw they should always have great need, even in order to keep the Parliament well disposed. So that they who did in truth desire any reasonable Peace, found the way to it so difficult, and that it was impossible to prevail with the two Houses to propose it to the King, that they resolv'd, "it could only rise from his Majesty; and to that purpose they should all labour with their several Friends at Oxford, to incline the King to send a Message to the Parliament, to offer a Treaty of Peace in any place where they should appoint; and then they would all run the utmost hazard before it should be rejected.

THE Independent Party (for under that Style and Appellation they now acted, and own'd themselves) which fear'd and abhorr'd all Motions towards Peace, were in as great streights as the other, how to carry on their designs. They were resolv'd to have no more to do with either of their Generals, but how to lay them aside, was the difficulty; especially the Earl of *Essex*, who had been so entirely their Founder, that they ow'd not more to the Power and Reputation of Parliament, than to His sole Name, and Credit: the being able to raise an Army, and conducting it to Fight against the King was purely due to Him, and the effect of His Power. And now to put such an Affront upon him, and to think of another General, must appear the highest Ingratitude, and might provoke the Army it self, where he was still exceedingly belov'd; and to continue him in that Trust, was to betray their own Designs, and to render them impracticable. Therefore, till they could find some expedient to explicate and disintangle themselves out of this Labyrinth, they made no advance towards the Recruiting or Supplying their Armies, nor to provide for any Winter Expedition; only they sent *Waller* out, with such Troops towards the West, as they cared not for, and resolv'd to use their Service no more.

THEY knew not how to propose the great alterations, they intended, to the Parliament; and of all Men, the *Scottish* Commissioners were not to be trusted. In the end, they resolv'd to pursue the Method in which they had been hitherto so successful, and to prepare, and ripen things in the Church, that they might afterwards in due time grow to maturity in the Parliament. They agreed therefore in the Houses (and in those Combinations they were always unanimous) "that they would have a Solemn Fast-Day, in which they would seek God (which was the new phrase they brought from Scotland with their Covenant) "and desire his Assistance, to lead them out of the perplexities they were in: and they did as readily agree in the nomination of the Preachers who

were

were to perform that Exercise, and who were more Trusted in the deepest Designs, than most of those who named them were: for there was now a Schism among their Clergy, as well as the Laity; and the Independents were the Bolder, and more Political Men.

WHEN the Fast-Day came (which was observ'd for eight or ten hours together in the Churches) the Preachers pray'd "the Parliament might be inspir'd with those thoughts, as "might contribute to their Honour and Reputation; and "that they might preserve that opinion the Nation had of "their Honesty and Integrity, and be without any Selfish "ends, or seeking their own Benefit and Advantage. After this preparation by their Prayers, the Preachers, let their Texts be what they would, told them very plainly, "that it was "no wonder there was such Division among them in their "Counsels, when there was no Union in their hearts: That "the Parliament lay under many reproaches, not only among "their Enemies, but with their best Friends; who were the "more out of countenance, because they found that the asper- "sions and imputations which their Enemies had laid upon "them, were so well grounded, that they could not wipe "them off: That there was as great Pride, as great Ambition, "as many private Ends, and as little Zeal and Affection for "the Publick, as they had ever imputed to the Court: That, "whilst they pretended, at the Publick cost, and out of the "Purses of the poor People, to make a general Reformation, "their chief care was to grow great and rich Themselves; "and that both the City and Kingdom took notice, with "great anxiety of Mind, that all the Offices of the Army, and "all the profitable Offices of the Kingdom, were in the hands "of the Members of the two Houses of Parliament; who, "whilst the Nation grew poor, as it must needs do under "such insupportable Taxes, grew very rich; and would, in "a short time, get all the Money of the Kingdom into their "hands; and that it could not reasonably be expected, that "such Men, who got so much, and enriched Themselves to "that degree, by the continuance of the War, would heartily "pursue those ways which would put an end to it; the end "whereof must put an end to their Exorbitant Profit. When they had exaggerated these reproaches, as pathetically as they could, and the sense the People generally had of the corruption of it, even to a despair of ever seeing an end of the Calamities they sustain'd, or having any prospect of that Reformation in Church and State, which they had so often and so solemnly promised to effect, they fell again to their Prayers, "that God would take his own Work into his hand; "and if the Instruments be had already employ'd, were not

"worthy to bring so glorious a Design to a conclusion,
 "that He would inspire others more fit, who might perfect
 "what was begun, and bring the Trouble of the Nation to a
 "Godly period.

*After a Fast
 Day, Vane
 and Crom-
 well pro-
 posed a self-
 denying Or-
 dinance.*

WHEN the two Houses met together, the next day after these devout Animadversions, there was another Spirit appear'd in the looks of many of them. *Sr Henry Vane* told them, "if ever God had appear'd to them, it was in the exercise of Yesterday; and that it appear'd, it proceeded from God, because (as he was credibly inform'd by many, who had been Auditors in other Congregations) the same lamentations, and discourses, had been made in all other Churches, as the Godly Preachers had made before Them; which could therefore proceed only from the immediate Spirit of God. He repeated some things which had been said, upon which he was best prepar'd to enlarge; and besought them to remember their obligations to God, and to their Country; and that they would free themselves from those just reproaches; which they could do no otherwise, than by divesting themselves of all Offices, and Charges, that might bring in the least advantage and profit to themselves; by which only they could make it appear, that they were publick-hearted Men; and as they pay'd all Taxes and Impositions with the rest of the Nation, so they gave up all their time to their Countries Service, without any reward or gratuity.

HE told them, "that the Reflections of Yesterday, none of which had ever enter'd upon his Spirit before, had rais'd another Reflection in him than had been mention'd; which was, that it had been often taken notice of, and objected by the King himself, that the Numbers of the Members of Parliament, who sat in either House, were too few to give reputation to Acts of so great Moment, as were transacted in their Councils; which, though it was no fault of theirs, who kept their proper Stations, but of those who had deserted their places, and their trusts, by being absent from the Parliament; yet that, in truth, there were too many absent, though in the Service of the House, and by Their appointment; and if all the Members were obliged to attend the Service of the Parliament, in the Parliament, it would bring great reputation to their Numbers, and the People would pay more reverence, and yield a fuller obedience to their Commands: and then concluded, "that he was ready to accuse himself for one of those who gain'd by an Office he had; and though he was possess'd of it before the beginning of the Troubles, and owed it not to the favour of the Parliament (for he had been joyn'd with *Sr William*

liam

liam Ruffel in the Treasurer-ship of the Navy by the King's Grant) "yet he was ready to lay it down, to be disposed of
"by the Parliament; and wished, that the profits thereof might
"be applied towards the support of the War.

WHEN the Ice was thus broke, *Oliver Cromwell*, who had not yet arrived at the faculty of Speaking with decency and temper, commended the Preachers "for having dealt plainly
"and impartially, and told them of their faults, which they
"had been so unwilling to hear of: that there were many
"things, upon which he had never reflected before, yet upon
"revolving what had been said, he could not but confess,
"that all was very true; and till there were a perfect reformation in those particulars which had been recommended
"to them, nothing would prosper that they took in hand: that
"the Parliament had done very wisely, in the entrance into
"the War, to engage many Members of their own in the most
"dangerous parts of it, that the Nation might see that they
"did not intend to embark them in perils of War, whilst
"themselves sat securely at home out of Gun-shot, but would
"march with them where the danger most threaten'd; and
"those honourable Persons, who had exposed themselves this
"way, had merited so much of their Country, that their memories should be held in perpetual veneration; and whatsoever should be well done after them, would be always imputed to their Example: But, that God had so blessed their
"Army, that there had grown up with it, and under it, very
"many excellent Officers, who were fitter for much greater
"Charges than they were now possessed of; and desired them
"not to be terrify'd with an imagination, that if the highest
"Offices were vacant, they should not be able to put as fit
"Men into them; for, besides that it was not good to put so
"much trust in any arm of flesh, as to think such a Cause as
"This depended upon any one Man, he did take upon him
"to assure them, that they had Officers in their Army, who
"were fit to be Generals in any Enterprize in Christendom.

He said "he thought nothing so necessary as to purge,
"and vindicate the Parliament, from the partiality towards
"their own Members; and made a proffer to lay down his
"Commission of Command in the Army; and desir'd, "that
"an Ordinance might be prepar'd, by which it might be made
"unlawful, for any Member of either House of Parliament,
"to hold any Office or Command in the Army, or any Place
"or Employment in the State; and so concluded with an enlargement upon "the Vices, and Corruptions, which were
"gotten into the Army; the prophaneness, and impiety, and
"absence of all Religion; the drinking and gaming, and all
"manner of Licence, and Laziness; and said plainly, that till

“the whole Army were new Modell’d, and Govern’d under
“a stricter discipline, they must not expect any notable Suc-
“cess in any thing they went about.

THIS debate ended in appointing a Committee, “to pre-
“pare an Ordinance for the Exclusion of all Members from
“their Trusts aforesaid; which took up much debate, and
depended very long before it was brought to a conclusion;
and in the end was call’d the *Self-denying Ordinance*; the driv-
ing on of which, exceedingly encreased the inclination of the
other Party to Peace; which they did now foresee would only
prevent their own ruines, in that of the Kingdom.

ADVICE came from so many several hands to *Oxford*, that
the King should send a Message to the Houses for Peace, with
an Assurance that it would not be rejected, that his Majesty
(who still apprehended as great a division among his own
Friends upon the conditions of Peace, out of the universal
weariness of the War, as he discern’d there was among his
Enemies upon the Emulation in Command, or differences in
Religion) entered upon the consideration how to bring it to
pass. The Members of Parliament were still sitting at *Ox-
ford*: but they at *London* who were most desirous of Peace,
had given warning to avoid that Rock; and that their Names
should never be mention’d; which would have procured an
Union between the most irreconcilable Parties, in throwing
out such Overtures. On the other side the sending a bare
Message, by a Trumpet, was not probably like to produce
any other effect, than an insolent Answer in the same way,
or no answer at all, as his two or three last Messages had
done.

IN conclusion, the King resolv’d that there should be a
short Message drawn; in which, “the continuance of the War,
“and the mischiefs it brought upon the Kingdom, should be
“lamented: and his desire express’d, that some reasonable
“conditions of Peace might be thought upon; assuring them
“that his Majesty would be willing to consent to any thing,
“that could consist with his Conscience and Honour. He re-
solv’d, that he would send this Message by some Persons of
Condition; who might, upon conference with their Friends,
be able to make some impression; at least discover what might
be reasonably expected. And if the Parliament should re-
fuse to grant a Safe Conduct for such Messengers, it might
well be presum’d, what reception the Message it self was like
to find. The Persons he resolv’d to send, were the Duke of
Richmond, and the Earl of *Southampton*; both of unblemished
Honour, and of general Reputation in the Kingdom. So a
Trumpet was sent to the Earl of *Essex* for a Safe Guard, or
Pass, to those two Lords; to the end they might deliver a
Message

Messâge from the King to the two Houses concerning a Treaty of Peace. To which the Earl of *Essex* only answer'd, "that he would acquaint the Houses with it, and return their Answer; and so dismissed the Trumpet.

THE King had now done His part; and the rest was to be perfected there. They, who were resolv'd never to admit a Peace, though they could not still prevent a Treaty, thought they had advantage enough to object against this unusual Messâge: "If the Messâge it self had been sent, they might have judged, whether it had been like to be attended with good Success, and so might have accepted a Treaty, if they had approv'd of it; but this sending of Messengers before they knew what they would bring, was an invention to begin a Treaty before they admitted it; and to send Enemies into their Quarters, with Authority to scatter their Poyson abroad: and therefore, with great passion, they press'd, "that no such Pass should be sent. On the other hand it was, with equal passion, alledged, "that the refusal of the Safe Conduct was a total rejection of Peace, before they understood upon what terms it would be offer'd; which the People would take very ill from them; and conclude that the War must continue for ever; they therefore wish'd that a Safe Guard might be sent without delay, and that they would have a better opinion of their Friends, than to imagine that the Presence, or Power of two Men how considerable soever, would be able to corrupt, or pervert their Affections from the Parliament.

IN this opinion the *Scotish* Commissioners likewise concurr'd; so that the other Party found it necessary to consent, and the Safe Conduct, after many Debates, was sent accordingly. But that they might not seem to their Friends abroad, to be overpower'd; they revenged themselves in pursuing the dispatch of their *Self-denying Ordinance* with great vehemence; and because the effect of that was manifestly that they should be without a General, it was already propos'd "that *Sr Thomas Fairfax* (who had behaved himself so signally in their Service, in the Defeat of Colonel *Bellasis*, and taking him Prisoner, which gave them their first footing in *York-shire*, from their being shut up and Besieged in *Hull*; in the overthrow of the Lord *Byron*, and taking all the *Irish* Regiments; and lastly in the late Battle at *York*, where he had turned the fortune of the day, when the *Scotish* Army was Routed and their General Fled) "might now be made their General; for which *Oliver Cromwell* assur'd them he was very equal. In the discourses upon this Subject (which found all opposition) as the Service of the Earl of *Essex* was much magnified, and his merit extolled, by those who desired to have no other General,

Sr Thomas Fairfax is propos'd in the House of Commons to be made their General.

neral, so it was undervalued, and depressed, with some bitterness and contumely, by those who believ'd that all they could do would be to no purpose, if He were not totally excluded from any power.

The Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton sent to London with a Message for a Treaty. ABOUT the beginning of *December*, the Duke of *Richmond* and the Earl of *Southampton*, upon their Pass, went from *Oxford* to *London*; where they were advised not to go much abroad, lest the People should be apt to do them injury; and very few had the Courage to come to them, except with great privacy. Only the *Scotish* Commissioners, as Men in Sovereign Authority, and Independent upon the Parliament, made no scruple of visiting them, and being visited by them. The Houses did not presently agree upon the manner of their reception, how they should deliver their Message; in which there had been before no difficulty, whilst the War was carried on only by the Authority of the Parliament. Heretofore the Message being deliver'd to either House, was quickly communicated to the other; but now the *Scotish* Commissioners made a third Estate, and the Message was directed to Them as well as to the Houses. In the end it was resolv'd, "that there should be a Conference between the two Houses in the Painted Chamber; at which the *Scotish* Commissioners should be present, and sit on one side of the Table; and that the upper end of it should be kept for the King's Messengers: where there was a Seat provided for them, all the rest being bare, and expecting that They would be so too: for though the Lords used to be cover'd whilst the Commons were bare, yet the Commons would not be bare before the *Scotish* Commissioners; and so None were cover'd. But as soon as the two Lords came thither, they cover'd, to the trouble of the other; but, being presently to speak, they were quickly freed from that Eye-sore.

THE two Lords used very few words, in letting them know the King's great Inclinations to Peace; and deliver'd and read their Message to that purpose; which was receiv'd by the Lords without any other expressions than "that they should report it to the Houses; and so the meeting broke up: and then many of the Lords, and some of the Commons, pass'd some Compliments and Ceremony to the two Lords, according to the acquaintance they had with them, and found opportunities to see them in private, or to send confiding Persons to them. By which means, they found there were great Divisions among them, and upon Points that would admit no reconciliation: and therefore they believ'd that there would be a Treaty of Peace; but they could not make any such Guess of the moderation of the conditions of the Peace, as to conclude that it would be with effect. For they that most desired

desired the Peace, and would have been glad to have had it upon any Terms, durst not own that they wist'd it, but upon the highest terms of honour, and security for the Parliament; which could neither be secure, nor honourable for the King. They discover'd, that they who did heartily wish the Peace, did intend to promote a Treaty between Persons named by the King, and Persons named by the Parliament, to meet at some third Place, and not to send Commissioners to *Oxford* to Treat with the King himself; which they had already found to be ineffectual, and not more likely now to produce a better end: whereas they did believe, or seem'd to believe, that how unreasonable soever the Propositions should be, upon which they Treated, they would, by yielding to some things, when they refused others, sooner prevail with the Houses to mollify their demands, than at first to reform them.

THIS Method was not ungrateful to the two Lords; who had the same conceptions, that, if sober Men were named for Commissioners, somewhat would result from the freedom of their Communication. And the Duke of *Richmond* sent his Secretary *Web* expressly to *Oxford*, to know the King's pleasure, "whether, if a third place were proposed for Commissioners on both sides to meet, they should consent to it?" which his Majesty (though he had no mind to trust others, but where himself was present) was perswaded to approve. But all this was but discourse, and private wishes: for it was never brought into Debate; and it was told them very plainly, "that, as long as they staid in Town, the Houses would never so much as confer upon the Subject of their Message; because they found it would be matter of great Debate, and spend much time; during which they did not desire their Company, nor to be troubled with their Insufions. And therefore, as soon as they had receiv'd the King's Message, they proceeded upon their Trial of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* before both Houses of Parliament, upon an Impeachment of High Treason, resolving likewise to give that evidence to the People, of what inclination they had to make a Peace with the King. The two Lords, observing this affected delay in the business they were sent about, and being advised by their Friends not to stay longer, but to expect the determination to be sent to *Oxford*, return'd to the King, with some confidence that a Treaty would be consented to; and that it would be at some third place, and not at *Oxford*, and less at *London*, by Commissioners which should be agreed on by both sides. But they brought an express desire, and even a condition to the King, from all those with whom they had conferr'd, and who were the chief Persons who advanced the Treaty, "that, if that which they labour'd for, should be
"yielded

"yielded to by the Parliament, his Majesty would not Name
 "a Person (whom they mention'd to the King) "for one of
 "his Commissioners; for that he was so odious, that they
 "would absolutely decline the Treaty, before they would
 "admit Him to be one of the Treaters.

*The Trial of
 the Arch-
 Bishop of
 Canterbury*

IT was, as is said before, a very sad Omen to the Treaty, that, after they had receiv'd the King's Message by those Noble Lords, and before they return'd any Answer to it, they proceeded in the Trial of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; who had lain Prisoner in the Tower, from the beginning of the Parliament, about four years, without any prosecution till this time. Now they brought him to the Barrs of both Houses; charging him with several Articles of High Treason; which, if all that was alledged against him, had been true, could not have made him guilty of Treason. They accused him "of a design to bring in Popery, and of having "correspondence with the Pope, and such like particulars, as the Consciences of his greatest Enemies absolv'd him from. No Man was a greater, or abler Enemy to Popery; No Man a more resolute and devout Son of the Church of *England*. He was prosecuted by Lawyers, assign'd to that purpose, out of those, who from their own Antipathy to the Church and Bishops, or from some disobligations receiv'd from him, were sure to bring Passion, Animosity, and Malice enough of their own; what evidence soever they had from others. And they did treat him with all the rudeness, reproach, and barbarity imaginable; with which his Judges were not displeased.

*He is con-
 demn'd by an
 Ordinance.*

HE defended himself with great and undaunted Courage, and less Passion than was expected from his constitution; answer'd all their objections with clearness, and irresistible reason; and convinced all impartial Men of his integrity, and his detestation of all Treasonable Intentions. So that though few excellent Men have ever had fewer Friends to their Persons, yet all reasonable Men absolv'd him from any foul crime that the Law could take notice of, and punish. However, when They had said all they could against him, and He all for himself that need to be said, and no such crime appearing, as the Lords, as the Supreme Court of Judicatory, would take upon them to judge him to be worthy of death; they resorted to their Legislative Power, and by Ordinance of Parliament, as they call'd it, that is by a determination of those Members who sat in the Houses (whereof in the House of Peers there were not above twelve) they appointed him to be put to death as guilty of High Treason. The first time that two Houses of Parliament had ever assumed that Jurisdiction, or that ever Ordinance had been made to such a purpose; nor could any Rebellion be more against the Law, than that Murtherous Act.

WHEN

WHEN the first Mention was made of their monstrous purpose, of bringing the Arch-Bishop to a Trial for his Life, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had always a great Reverence and Affection for him, had spoken to the King of it, and propos'd to him, "that in all events, there might be a Pardon prepared, and sent to him, under the Great Seal of *England*; to the end, if they proceeded against him in any form of Law, he might plead the King's Pardon; which must be allow'd by all who pretended to be govern'd by the Law; but if they proceeded in a Martial, or any other extraordinary way, without any form of Law, his Majesty should declare his Justice and Affection to an old faithful Servant, whom he much esteem'd, in having done all towards his preservation that was in his Power to do. The King was wonderfully pleas'd with the Proposition; and took from thence occasion to commend the Piety and Virtue of the Arch-Bishop, with extraordinary Affection; and commanded the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to cause the Pardon to be prepared, and his Majesty would Sign and Seal it with all possible secrecy; which at that time was necessary. Whereupon the Chancellor sent for *St Thomas Gardiner* the King's Solicitor, and told him the King's pleasure; upon which he presently drew the Pardon, which was Sign'd and Seal'd with the Great Seal of *England*, and carefully sent, and deliver'd into the Arch-Bishop's own hand, before he was brought to his Trial; who receiv'd it with great joy, as it was a Testimony of the King's gracious Affection to him, and care of him, without any opinion that they who endeavour'd to take away the King's Life, would preserve His by his Majesty's Authority.

WHEN the Arch-Bishop's Council had perus'd the Pardon, and consider'd that all possible Exceptions would be taken to it, though they should not reject it, they found, that the Impeachment was not so distinctly set down in the Pardon as it ought to be; which could not be helped at *Oxford*, because they had no Copy of it; and therefore had supplied it with all those general expressions, as, in any Court of Law, would make the Pardon valid against any exceptions the King's own Council could make against it. Hereupon, the Arch-Bishop had, by the same Messenger, return'd the Pardon again to the Chancellor, with such directions and copies as were necessary; upon which it was perfected accordingly, and deliver'd safely again to him, and was in his hands during the whole time of his Trial. So when his Trial was over, and the Ordinance pass'd for his Execution, and He called and asked, according to custom in criminal proceedings, "what he could say more, why he should not suffer death?" he told them,

*The Arch-
Bishop be-
headed.*

them, "that he had the King's gracious Pardon, which he
"pleaded, and tender'd to them, and desired that it might
"be allow'd. Whereupon he was sent to the Tower, and
the Pardon read in both Houses; where, without any long
Debate, it was declared "to be of no effect, and that the
"King could not Pardon a Judgement of Parliament. And
so, without troubling themselves farther, they gave order for
his Beheading; which he underwent with all Christian Cou-
rage and Magnanimity, to the Admiration of the Beholders
and Confusion of his Enemies. Much hath been said of the
Person of this great Prelate before, of his great Endowments,
and natural Infirmities, to which shall be added no more in
this place (his memory deserving a particular celebration)
than that his Learning, Piety, and Virtue, have been attain'd
by very few, and the greatest of his Infirmities are common
to all, even to the best Men.

WHEN they had dispatched this important work, and
thereby receiv'd a new Instance of the good Affection and Cou-
rage of their Friends, and involv'd the two Houses in fresh
guilt and obloquy (for too many concurr'd in it, without
considering the heinousness of it, and only to keep their cre-
dit clear and entire, whereby they might with the more Au-
thority advance the Peace that was desired) they now enter
upon the Debate, "what Answer they should send the King,
"concerning a Treaty for Peace. They who desired to ad-
vance it, hoped thereby to put an end to all the designs of new
modelling the Army, and to prevent the encrease of those
Factions in Religion, which every day broke out among them,
to the notorious Scandal of Christianity. They who had no
mind to a Treaty, because they had minds averse from all
thoughts of Peace, discern'd plainly, that they should not be
able to finish their design upon the Army, and set many other
devices on foot, which would contribute to their convenience,
until this longed-for Treaty were at an end; and therefore
they all agreed to give some conclusion to it; and resolv'd,
that there should be a Treaty, and upon the Method that should
be observ'd in the conducting it; from which they who should
be employ'd by them, should not recede or be diverted.

*The two
Houses agree
to a Treaty
at Ux-
bridge.*

THEN they nominated sixteen Commissioners for the two
Houses, and four for the Parliament of *Scotland*, and named
Uxbridge for the place where the Treaty should be; which
Treaty should be limited to be finished within twenty days
from the time when it should begin.

UPON this conclusion, they sent their Answer to the Mes-
sage, they had receiv'd from the King by a Trumpet, in a Let-
ter from their General to the King's General; in which they
inform'd his Majesty, "that, out of their passionate desire of
"Peace,

Peace, they had agreed to his Proposition for a Treaty ;
 " and that they had assign'd *Uxbridge* for the place where it
 " should be ; and had appointed the Earl of *Northumberland*,
 " the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Earl of
 " *Denbeigh*, of the House of Peers ; and of the Commons,
 " the Lord *Wainman*, Mr *Pierpoint*, Mr *Hollis*, Mr *Saint-John*
 " (whom they called the King's Solicitor General) " Sr *Henry*
 " *Vane* the younger, Mr *Whitlock*, Mr *Crew*, and Mr *Pri-*
 " *deaux* ; and for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Lord *Lowden*,
 " Chancellor of *Scotland* ; the Lord *Maitland* (who, by the
 " death of his Father, became Earl of *Lauterdale* by the time of
 " the Treaty) " Sr *Charles Erskin*, and one Mr *Barclay*, to be
 " their Commissioners ; together with Mr *Alexander Hender-*
 " *son*, in matters only which relate to the Church ; to Treat,
 " upon the particulars they had entrusted them with, with such
 " Persons, as his Majesty should please to Nominate ; for all
 " whom a Safe Conduct should be sent, as soon as his Majesty
 " had named them ; as they desired his Majesty's Safe Conduct
 " for the Persons named by them : to none of which the King
 " took any exception, but sign'd their Pass ; and sent word to
 " the Houses, " that he accepted the Treaty, and the place, and The King accepts it.
 " that he had nominated, as Commissioners for Him, the Duke
 " of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earl of *South-*
 " *ampton*, the Earl of *Kingston*, the Earl of *Chichester*, the Lord
 " *Capel*, the Lord *Seymour*, the Lord *Hatton*, Controller of
 " the King's Household ; the Lord *Colepepper*, Master of the
 " Rolls ; Sr *Edward Hyde*, Chancellor of the Exchequer ; Sr
 " *Edward Nicholas*, Principal Secretary of State ; Sr *Richard*
 " *Lane*, Lord Chief Baron of his Court of Exchequer ; Sr *Tho-*
 " *mas Gardiner*, his Majesty's Solicitor General ; Sr *Orlando*
 " *Bridgman*, Attorney of his Court of Wards ; Mr *John Alb-*
 " *burnham*, and Mr *Geoffery Palmer* ; and desired, that a Safe
 " Conduct might be sent for them, as his Majesty had sent for
 " the others ; and they should then be ready, at the day that
 " was set down, at *Uxbridge*.

WHEN this was return'd to *Westminster*, there arose new
 disputes upon the Persons named by the King, or rather a-
 gainst the Additions, and Appellations of Title, which were
 made to their Names ; for they did not except against the
 Persons of any of them, though several were most ungracious
 to them.

WHEN the Lord Keeper *Littleton* had fled from *Westmin-*
ster, upon his Majesty's Commands to attend him at *York*,
 the two Houses had, in their fury, declared, " that nothing
 " which should, from that time, pass under the Great Seal,
 " should be good and valid ; but void and null : this they
 did to discredit any Commission, which they foresaw might
 issue

issue out for their Conviction, Trial, and Attainder : and, in some time after, they had caused a Great Seal to be made with the King's Image, for the dispatch of the necessary process in Law, and proceedings in Courts of Justice ; which Seal was committed by them to some of their Members, who had fate in the Chancery, and transacted the business of that Court, and applied the Seal to all those uses and purposes it had been accustomed unto. They found this Declaration and Ordinance of theirs, invaded in this Message they had now received from the King. The Lord *Dunsmore* had been created Earl of *Chichester* ; *Sr Christopher Hatton*, Lord *Hatton* ; *Sr John Colepepper*, Lord *Colepepper*, with the Addition of Master of the Rolls ; which Office they had bestowed upon *Lenthall* their Speaker, who was in possession of it ; *Sr Edward Hyde* was declared Chancellor of the Exchequer ; which, though it was an Office they had not meddled with bestowing, yet it had passed the Great Seal, after it came into the King's hands. *Sr Thomas Gardiner* was made the King's Solicitor ; and the Patent formerly granted to their beloved *Saint-John*, stood revoked ; which they would not endure ; having, as is said, annexed that Title to his Name when they mentioned him as a Commissioner for their Treaty. They had the same exception to the Chief Baron, and to the Attorney of the Wards ; both which Offices were in the possession of Men more in their favour.

AFTER long Debate, they were contented to insert their Names in their Safe Conduct, without their Honours, or Offices ; and they were so angry with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that they had no mind that he should be styled a Knight, because he was not so when he left the Parliament : But the *Scotish* Commissioners prevail'd in that point, since they had not yet pretended to take away the Use of the King's Sword from him : so they allow'd him, by a Majority of Votes, to be a Knight, and sent their Safe Conduct, in the manner as is mention'd, to *Oxford* : Upon which the King, at the desire of the Persons concern'd, forbore to insist ; but giving them still in his own Pass, and in his Commission whereby they were authorized to Treat, the Style and Appellation which belonged to them, and which must be allow'd by the others before they begun to Treat. The Style of their Pass was not thought worthy any reply ; and because there was private advice given at the same time, "that they would not, when they met at the Treaty, consider any Authority "that qualified the King's Commissioners to Treat, but only "what should be under the King's Sign-Manual, though they would not have taken that for a sufficient Warrant for themselves to Treat with the King's Enemies ; at last the King's

Commissioners were contented, together with a Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, to take another likewise with them in that form, and only under the Sign-Manual, as was desired.

ABOUT the end of *January*, or the beginning of *February*, ^{The Treaty} the Commissioners on both sides met at *Uxbridge*; which be- ^{at Ux-} ing within the Enemy's Quarters, the King's Commissioners ^{bridge.} were to have such Accommodations, as the other thought fit to leave to them; who had been very civil in the distribution, and left one entire side of the Town to the King's Commissioners, one House only excepted, which was given to the Earl of *Pembroke*; so that they had no cause to complain of their Accommodation; which was as good as the Town would yield, and as good as the other had. There was a good House at the end of the Town, which was provided for the Treaty, where was a fair Room in the middle of the House, handsomely dressed up for the Commissioners to sit in; a large square Table being placed in the middle with Seats for the Commissioners, one side being sufficient for those of either Party; and a Rail for others who should be thought necessary to be present, which went round. There were many other Rooms on either side of this great Room, for the Commissioners on either side to retire to, when they thought fit to consult by themselves, and to return again to the publick Debate; and there being good Stairs at either end of the House, they never went through each others Quarters; nor met, but in the great Room.

AS SOON as the King's Commissioners came to the Town, all those of the Parliament came to visit and to welcome them; and, within an hour, those of the King's return'd their visits with usual Civilities; each professing great desire and hope, that the Treaty would produce a good Peace. The first visits were altogether, and in one Room; the *Scots* being in the same Room with the *English*. Each Party eat always together, there being two great Inns which serv'd very well to that purpose. The Duke of *Richmond*, being Steward of his Majesty's House, kept his Table there for all the King's Commissioners: nor was there any restraint from giving and receiving Visits apart, as their acquaintance, and inclinations disposed them; in which those of the King's Party used their accusom'd Freedom, as heretofore. But on the other side, there was great wariness and reservedness; and so great a jealousy of each other, that they had no mind to give, or receive Visits to, or from their old Friends; whom they loved better than their New. Nor would any of them be seen alone with any of the King's Commissioners, but had always one of their Companions with them, and sometimes one whom they
least

least trusted. It was observ'd by the Town, and the People that flocked thither, that the King's Commissioners looked as if they were at home and govern'd the Town; and the other as if they were not in their own Quarters; and the truth is, they had not that alacrity and serenity of Mind, as Men use to have who do not believe themselves to be in a fault.

THE King's Commissioners would willingly have performed their Devotions in the Church, nor was there any restraint upon them from doing so, that is by Inhibition from the Parliament, otherwise than that by the Parliament's Ordinance (as they call'd it) the Book of Common-Prayer was not permitted to be read, nor the Vestures, nor Ceremonies of the Church to be used. So that the days of Devotion were observ'd in their great Room of the Inn; whither many of the Country, and the Train of the Commissioners, and other Persons, who came every day from *London*, usually resorted.

WHEN the Commissioners, on both sides, met first together in the Room appointed for the Treaty, and had taken their Seats, it being left to the King's Commissioners, which side of the Table they would take; the Earl of *Northumberland*, who always deliver'd any thing that was agreed between them, and read all the Papers (after the Powers of both sides were examined, and perused) propos'd some Rules to be observ'd in the Treaty; "as of having Nothing binding, unless "All were Agreed upon; and such like; to which there was "no objection; and offer'd, as a direction they had receiv'd from the Parliament, "that they should first enter upon the "matter of Religion, and Treat three entire days upon that "Subject, without entring upon any other; and if all Differences, in that particular, were not adjusted within those "days, they should then proceed to the next Point, which was "the Militia; and observe the same Method in that, and from "thence pass to the business of *Ireland*; which three Points "being well settled, they believ'd the other differences would "be with more ease compos'd: and after those Nine days "were pass'd, they were to go round again upon the several "Subjects, as long as the time limited would continue: his "Majesty being left at liberty to propose what he thought fit, "at his own time, and to change the Method propos'd. It was declar'd, "that the Twenty days, limited for the Treaty, "were to be reckon'd of the days which should be spent in "the Treaty; and not the days of coming or returning, or "the days spent in Devotion; there falling out three Sundays and a Fast-Day in those Twenty days. The Method was willingly consented to; the King's Commissioners conceiving it would be to no purpose to propose any thing on the King's behalf,

behalf, till they discerned what agreement was like to be made in any one particular ; by which they might take their Measures, and might propose any thing of Moment under one of the three Heads mention'd before.

THERE happen'd a very odd Accident, the very first Morning they met at the House to agree upon their Method to be observ'd in the Treaty. It was a Market day, when they used always to have a Sermon, and many of the Persons who came from *Oxford* in the Commissioners Train, went to the Church to observe the forms. There was one *Love*, a young Man, that came from *London* with the Commissioners, who preached, and told his Auditory, which consisted of the People of the Town, and of those who came to the Market, the Church being very full, "that they were not to expect any good from the Treaty ; for that they came from *Oxford* with hearts full of Blood, and that there was as great distance between this Treaty and Peace, as between Heaven and Hell ; and that they intended only to amuse the People with expectation of Peace, till they were able to do some notable mischief to them ; and inveighed so seditiously against all Cavaliers, that is, against all who followed the King, and against the Persons of the Commissioners, that he could be understood to intend nothing else, but to stir up the People to mutiny ; and in it to do some Act of Violence upon the Commissioners. They were no sooner advertised of it, by several Persons who had been present in the Church, and who gave very particular Information of the very words which had been spoken, than they inform'd the other Commissioners of it ; gave them a Charge in writing against the Preacher ; and demanded publick Justice. They seem'd troubled at it, and promised to examine it, and cause some severe punishment to be inflicted upon the Man ; but afterwards confessed, "that they had no Authority to punish him, but that they had caused him to be sharply reprehended, and to be sent out of the Town ; and this was all that could be obtain'd : so unwilling they were to discountenance any Man who was willing to serve them. This is the same *Love*, who some years after, by *Cromwell's* particular prosecution, had his head cut off, for being in a Plot with the *Scots* against the Army, and their Parliament.

It is not the purpose of this Discourse to set down the particular transactions of this Treaty ; which were published by the King's Order, shortly after the conclusion of it, and all the Papers, which had been delivered by the Commissioners on either side, expos'd to the View of the Kingdom, in the method and manner in which they were delivered. Only such particulars as fell out in that time, and were never communicated,

and many of them known to very few, shall be briefly mentioned, that any, who hereafter shall have the perusal of this History, may know how impossible it was, that this Treaty could produce such a Peace as both sides would have been glad of; and that they who govern'd the Parliament then, had at that time the resolution to Act those monstrous things, which they brought afterwards to pass.

First of Religion.

THE first business to be entred upon, being that of Religion, the Divines of both sides were admitted to be present in the places appointed for them, opposite to each other; and Dr *Steward*, Clerk of the Closet to the King, was a Commissioner, as Mr *Henderson* was on the other side; and they both sat cover'd without the Bar, at the backs of the Commissioners. On the Parliament Part, it was propos'd, "that all the Bishops, Deans and Chapters, might be immediately taken away, and abolished; and in the room thereof, that there might be another Government erected; such as should be most agreeable to God's word, and the Practice of the best Churches: That the Book of Common-Prayer might be taken away, and totally suppress'd; and that, instead thereof, a Directory might be used (in which there was likewise set down as much of the Government, which they meant to erect for the future, as was necessary to be provided for the present, and which supplied all the use of Articles or Canons, which they had likewise abolished) and "that the King himself should take the Covenant; and consent to an Act of Parliament, whereby all Persons of the Kingdom should be likewise oblig'd to take it. And the Copies of the Covenant, and the Directory were deliver'd at the same time to the King's Commissioners; which were very long, and necessary to be read over, before any Answer could be made to them. So they took that afternoon to peruse them together, and adjourn'd their Treaty till the next Morning; and though they enter'd upon the reading them before dinner, the Directory was so very long, that they spent all that Afternoon, and some part of the Night, before they had finish'd the reading of them. Then, there being many new terms in the Directory, as *Congregational*, *Classical*, *Provincial*, and *Synodical*, which were not known in practice, and some expressions in the Covenant, which were ambiguous, and, they well knew, were left so, because the Persons who fram'd them, were not all of one mind, nor had the same Intentions in some of the other terms mentioned before, the King's Commissioners caus'd many Questions to be prepared in writing, to be offer'd at the next meeting; wherein they desired to be inform'd, what their meaning was in such and such Expressions, in which they knew well they had several meanings, and would hardly concur in one, and the same Answer.

ABOUT

ABOUT the beginning of the Treaty, or the day before it did begin, the Earl of *Lowden*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, visited the Duke of *Richmond* privately in his Chamber; and either proposed, or was very willing, to have private conference there with the Chancellor of the Exchequer; upon which the Duke, who knew well the other would not decline it, sent to him; and He presently went to the Duke's Chamber; where he found them both; and after some short Compliments, the Earl told him, "how stoutly he had defended his Knighthood; which the Parliament had resolv'd to have denied, if he had not convinced them. Thence, he discoursed of "the great prejudice the Parliament had against him, "as a Man who more industriously oppos'd Peace than any other of the King's Council; that he had now a good opportunity to wipe off all those jealousies, by being a good Instrument in making this Peace, and by perswading his Majesty to comply with the desires and supplications of his Parliament; which he hoped he would be.

THE Chancellor told him, "that the King did so much desire a Peace, that no Man need advise him to it, or could divert him from it, if fair and honourable conditions of Peace were offer'd to him; but if a Peace could not be had, but upon such conditions as his Majesty judged inconsistent with his Honour, or his Conscience, no Man could have credit enough to perswade him to accept it; and thar, for His own part, without reflecting upon the good or ill opinion the Parliament might have of him, he would dissuade him from consenting to it. The other seem'd disappointed in his so positive Answer; yet, with great freedom, enter'd upon discourse of the whole matter; and, after some kind of Apology, "that *Scotland* was so far engaged in the Quarrel, contrary to their former Intentions, and Professions, he did as good as conclude, "that if the King would satisfy them in the business of the Church, they would not concern themselves in any of the other Demands. In which Proposition, finding no kind of Compliance from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but sharp protestations against the demands, as inconsistent with Conscience, Justice, or Religion, the conference broke off, without inclination in either of them to renew it. But, from that time, there was more contradiction, and quick repartees between them two throughout the Treaty, than between any other of the Commissioners. And it was manifest enough, by the private Conferences with other of the Commissioners, that the Parliament took none of the points in controversy less to heart, or were less united in, than in what concern'd the Church.

WHEN, upon the next meeting of the Commissioners,

the Questions, which were mention'd before, were read, and deliver'd by the Duke of *Richmond*, who always perform'd that part on the behalf of the King's Commissioners, as the Earl of *Northumberland* did on the Parliament's, there was a visible disorder in their Countenances; some of them, smiling, said, We look'd into Their Game; but without offering at any Answer, they arose, and went to their Room of consultation; where they remain'd in great passion, and wrangling, many hours: so that the other Commissioners, finding that they were not like suddenly to agree, adjourn'd till the Afternoon, and departed to dinner. As soon as they came together in the Afternoon, and were sate, the Earl of *Northumberland* said, "that they wonder'd there should appear any difficulty in any expressions, upon which those Questions had been administer'd in the Morning; which to Them seem'd very clear and plain; however, to give their Lordships satisfaction, that they had appointed another noble Lord, there present, who was well acquainted with the signification of all those words, to explain what the common sense, and meaning of them was. Thereupon, the Earl of *Lautberdale* made a discourse upon the several Questions, and what acceptation those expressions and words had. But, being a young Man, not accusom'd to an orderly and decent way of speaking, and having no gracious pronunciation, and full of passion, he made every thing much more difficult than it was before: So that the Commissioners desired, "that they might receive an Answer in writing; since it was declared upon the entrance of the Treaty, that though in Debate any Man might say what he thought necessary, yet nothing should be understood to be the sense of either side, but what was deliver'd in Writing; and therefore they desired, that what that Noble Lord had said, which they presumed was the sense of all the rest, because they had referr'd to Him, and seem'd satisfied with what he had deliver'd, might be given to them in writing; without which they knew not how to proceed, or give an Answer to what was propos'd to them. This demand, founded upon a Rule of their own, which they knew not how to decline, put the *Scotish* Commissioners into great passion: for all the *English* sate still without speaking a word, as if they were not concern'd. The Lord *Lautberdale* repeated what he had said before, a little more distinctly; and the Chancellor of *Scotland*, said, "that the things were so plain, that no Man could choose but understand, and remember what was spoken; and that the pressing to put it in writing was only to spend time; which would be quickly out, half the time assign'd for the business of Religion being to expire that night; and therefore passionately desired them,

them, "that they would rest satisfied with what had been spoken, and proceed upon the matter.

It was replied, "that they could not trust their Memories so far, as to prepare an Answer to their demands concerning the Covenant, or Directory, except they were sure that they understood the full and declared meaning of their demand; which they had less reason now to believe they did, than before; since there was so much difficulty made to satisfy them in writing; and therefore they must insist upon receiving an Answer to the Papers they had given: And two or three of the King's Commissioners withdrew, and prepared another Paper; in which they set down the reasons which obliged them not to be satisfied with the discourse which had been made, and why they must insist upon the having it in writing; which being communicated to the rest as they sat, was likewise deliver'd to the others; who could not refuse to receive it, though it was plain enough they never intended to give any Answer in writing; nor they on the King's side, to desist from demanding it: but they declared, "that as they presumed, they should, in the end, receive their Answer in writing, which they should not depart from, so "it was their resolution not to defer their farther proceeding upon the matter; but they were ready to prosecute that in the method they would desire; and so it was resolv'd, "the next Morning, to hear the Divines, who were of either Party, what they would say against or for Episcopacy, and "the Government, and Lands of the Church; which were equally concern'd in the Debate.

ON the King's part, besides Dr *Steward*, who was a Commissioner in matters relating to the Church, there was Dr *Sheldon*, afterwards Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; Dr *Lamy*, afterwards Bishop of *Ely*; Dr *Fern*, afterwards Bishop of *Chester*; Dr *Potter*, then Dean of *Worcester*, and Provost of *Queen's College* in *Oxford*; and Dr *Hammond*; all who, being the King's Chaplains, were sent by him to attend the Commissioners for their Devotions, and for the other Service of the Church, as the management of the Treaty required; which could not be foreseen: On the Parliament side, besides Mr *Alexander Henderson*, who was the Commissioner, Mr *Morshall* a Country Parson in *Essex*, and an eminent Preacher of that Party, who was the Chief Chaplain in the Army, Mr *Vines*, a Parson likewise in *Warwickshire*, and a Scholar (both of them of the Assembly of Divines, and so, very conversant in those points relating to the Church, which had been so often disputed there) Mr *Cheynel*, one who had been Fellow of *Merton College* in *Oxford*, and two or three others; who, bearing no parts in the disputes, had not their names remember'd.

Mr *Henderson* begun rather with Rhetorick, than Logick, of the necessity to change the Government of the Church, for the preservation of the State; which was so much in danger, that it could be preserv'd no other way; and therefore that in conscience it ought to be consented to; that the Question was not about the preservation of Both, which, by the Wifdoms of the Parliaments of both Nations, was found to be impossible; but since there could but one stand, whether they should be both sacrificed, or the Church given up, that the State might be preserv'd: nor was the Question now whether Episcopacy was Lawful, and the Government by Bishops consistent with Religion, but whether it was so necessary, that Religion could not be preserv'd without it; which was to condemn all the Reform'd Churches of *Europe*, where there were no Bishops, *England* only excepted. It ought therefore to suffice, that the Parliament, which best understood what was good for the Nation, had found it to be a very unnecessary, inconvenient, and corrupt Government, that had been productive of great mischief to the Kingdom from the very time of the Reformation; that the Bishops had always favour'd Popery, and preserv'd, and continued many of the Rights and Customs thereof in their Government, and Practice; and had of late introduced many Innovations into the Church, by the example and pattern of the Church of *Rome*, and to the great scandal of the Protestant Churches of *Germany*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Holland*; that they had been the occasion of the War between the two Nations of *Scotland*, and *England*; and then of the Rebellion in *Ireland*; and now of the Civil War in *England*; and thereupon, that the Parliament, in order to the uniting all the Protestant Churches, which was the only way to extinguish Popery, had resolv'd to change this inconvenient, mischievous Government, and erect another in the place of it, which should advance Piety, and true Religion; and that he hoped the King would concur in so Godly an Action, which would prove so much for his Glory. * He took notice of "an old Answer formerly made by a King of *England*, when the alteration of some Laws had been desired of him, *Nolumus leges Anglia mutare*; which, he said, must be a mistake in the impression: that it was impossible for any King to lay it down as a Rule, that he will not change the Laws; for most Kings had changed them often for their own, and their Subjects benefit; but the meaning must be, *Nolumus leges Anglia mutari*, We will change them as often as there shall be occasion, but We will not suffer them *mutari* to be changed by the presumption of others, without our consent. He said, "they

* Let the reader take notice that Mr *Henderson* is mistaken in the *English* story. *Nolumus* &c. was not said by a King, but to him. See *Coke* upon the Statute of *Merton*. Cap. 9.

"did

“did not presume to think of Compelling the King to change
 “the Government of the Church; but they hoped he would
 “Willingly do it, upon the humble Petition of both King-
 “doms, and for his own, and Their benefit: That he should
 “say no more, till he should hear the reasons from the Di-
 “vines on the other side, why his Majesty should not consent
 “to the Advice of his Parliament, since he conceiv’d nothing
 “of Conscience could be alledged against it, because it ap-
 “pear’d by what his Majesty had consented to in *Scotland*,
 “for the utter abolishing of Bishops, that he did not believe
 “in his Conscience, that Episcopacy was absolutely necessary
 “for the support of Christian Religion.

Dr *Steward*, with a much better countenance, told the
 Commissioners, “that he hoped and knew, that their Lord-
 “ships were too well acquainted with the Constitution of the
 “Church of *England*, and the Foundation upon which it sub-
 “sisted, to believe it could be shaken by any of those Argu-
 “ments which had been made against it. He said, that
 “though he did believe, it was impossible to prove that a
 “Government, settled and continued without intermission,
 “from the time when Christianity was first planted in *Eng-
 “land*, and under which the Christian Religion had so much
 “flourished, was an unlawful and Anti-Christian Govern-
 “ment; yet that he expected, that they who had sworn to
 “abolish it, and came now to persuade their Lordships to
 “concur with them in pressing the King to joyn in the same
 “obligation, would not urge a less argument for such their
 “Engagement, than the unlawfulness, and wickedness of that
 “Government, which conscience obliged them to remove.
 “But Mr *Henderson* had wisely declined that Argument,
 “though in their Common Sermons, and other discourses in
 “Print, they gave it no better Style than *Anti-Christian*;
 “and had urged only the inconveniences which had fallen out
 “from it, and benefit which would result by the Change, of
 “which no judgement could be made, till it might be known
 “what Government they did intend to erect in the place of
 “it; and since the Union with the Forreign Protestant
 “Churches, seem’d to be their greatest reason for the prodi-
 “gious alteration they propos’d, he wish’d that they would
 “let down, which Forreign Church it is, to which they meant
 “to conform, and make their new Government by; for that
 “he was assured, that the model which they seem affected to
 “in their Directory, was not like to any of the Forreign Re-
 “form’d Churches now in the world. He said, “though he
 “would not take upon him to censure the Forreign Churches,
 “yet it was enough known, that the most Learned Men of
 “those Churches, had lamented that their Reformation was

“not so perfect as it ought to be, for want of Episcopacy; “which they could not be suffer’d to have: and they had always paid that Reverence to the Church of *England*, which “they conceiv’d due to it, as to the Church to which God “had vouchsafed the most perfect Reformation, because it retains all that was innocent, or venerable in Antiquity. He then enlarged upon the original Institution of Episcopacy; using all those Arguments, which are still used by the most Learned Men in those disputes, to prove, that without Bishops there could be no Ordination of Ministers, and consequently no administration of Sacraments, or performance of the Ministerial Functions. He said, “he would not presume to say any thing “of his Majesty’s having consented to the abrogation of Episcopacy in *Scotland*, though he knew what his Majesty himself thinks of it, only that he had an obligation upon him “in Conscience in this Kingdom, which he had not in that, “his Coronation Oath, by which he was bound to defend the “Rights of the Church; and That alone would make it unlawful for his Majesty to consent to what was proposed, “both in the point of Episcopacy, and the alienation of the “Lands of the Church; which would be direct Sacrilege.

UPON these several points, and what resulted from thence, the Divines on both sides spent all that day, morning and afternoon, till it was very late in the night, and most part of the next day; only the Commissioners on either side, at the first coming together, mornings and afternoons, presented such Papers as they thought fit, upon what had passed in Debate: As, the King’s Commissioners desired to know in writing, “whether the Parliament Commissioners did believe that the Government of the Church by Bishops was unlawful? To which they could never obtain a Categorical Answer.

WHEN the last of the three first days was past (for it was near twelve of the Clock at Night) and the *Scottish* Commissioners observ’d that nothing was consented to which they looked for, the Chancellor of *Scotland* enter’d into a long discourse, with much passion, against Bishops, “of the mischief “they had done in all Ages, and of their being the sole Causes “of the late Troubles in *Scotland*, and of the present Troubles in *England*: Remember’d, “that the Arch-Bishop of “*Canterbury* had pursued the Introduction of the Liturgy and “the Canons into *Scotland*, with so great vehemence, that, “when it was desired, that the publishing them might be suspended for one Month, that the People might be the better prepared to submit to what they had not been before acquainted with, he would by no means consent to that delay; but caused it to be enter’d upon the next *Sunday*, against the advice of many of the Bishops themselves; which “put

“put the People into such a fury, that they could not be appeased. He lamented and complain’d, that three days had been now spent in fruitless Debates ; and that though their Divines had learnedly made it appear, that Episcopacy had no foundation in Scripture, and that it might be lawfully taken away ; and that notwithstanding it was evident, that it had been the cause of great mischief, and the Wisdom of Parliament had thought the utter taking it away to be absolutely necessary for the preservation of the Kingdom ; their Lordships were still unmoved, and had yielded in no one particular of importance, to give them satisfaction ; from which they could not but conclude, that they did not bring that hearty inclination to Peace, which they hoped they would have done ; and so concluded with some expressions more rude and insolent, than were expected.

WHEREUPON the Chancellor of the Exchequer, not without some commotion, said, “that he did not wonder, that their Lordships, who had for some years been accustomed to such Discourses, and the more inclin’d to suppose all that was confidently said to be reasonably prov’d, and so having not been used to converse with any Persons of a contrary opinion, had been brought to consent and approve those alterations, which they had proposed ; but that it seem’d very admirable to him, that their Lordships could expect, or imagine it possible, that they who never had heard such things said before, nor could understand in so little time what had been now said, should depart from a Faith, and a form of Worship, in which they had been educated from their Cradle ; and which, upon so long observation, and experience, they looked upon with all possible approbation and reverence, upon only hearing it inveighed against three days ; which would have been much too little time to have warranted a Conversion from much less important opinions, they had so long entertain’d ; though their Arguments had Had as much weight as they Wanted. He said, “they were of opinion, that all those mischiefs and inconveniences which they had mention’d, had in truth proceeded from an over vehement desire to overthrow Episcopacy, not from the Zeal to support it : that if the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury had been too precipitate in pressing the reception of that, which He thought a Reformation, he paid dearly for it ; which made him the more wonder, that they should blame Them, for not submitting to much greater alterations, than were at that time proposed, in three days ; when they reproached Him, for not having given Them a whole month to consider. He said, “he might assure their Lordships with great sincerity, that they were come thither with
“all

"all imaginable passion and desire, that the Treaty might conclude in a happy and blessed Peace; as he still hoped it would; but if it should be otherwise, that they would still believe, their Lordships brought with them the same honourable and pious Inclinations, though the Instructions, and Commands from those who trusted them, restrain'd them from consenting to what in their own judgments seem'd reasonable. And so, without any manner of reply, both sides arose, and departed, it being near midnight.

THERE happen'd a pleasant Accident on one of these days, which were assign'd for the matter of Religion. The Commissioners of both sides, either before their sitting, or after their rising, entertaining themselves together by the fire side, as they sometimes did, it being extremely cold, in general and casual discourses, One of the King's Commissioners asked one of the other with whom he had familiarity, in a low Voice, "why there was not in their whole Directory, any mention of all of the Creed, or the Ten Commandments, and so little of the Lords Prayer? which is only once recommended. The Earl of *Pembroke*, overhearing the discourse, answer'd aloud, and with his usual passion, "that He, and many others, were very sorry that they had been left out; that the putting them in had taken up many hours debate in the House of Commons, and that at last the leaving them out had been carried by eight or nine Voices; and so they did not think fit to insist upon the addition of them in the House of Peers; but many were afterwards troubled at it, and he verily believ'd, if it were to do again, they should carry it for the inserting 'em all; which made many smile, to hear that the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, had been put to the Question, and rejected: and many of the other were troubled, and out of Countenance with the reason the good Lord had given for the Exclusion.

Secondly of
the Militia.

THE next Subject of the Treaty was the business of the Militia; which their Commissioners positively requir'd, "to be entirely vested in the Parliament, and in such Persons as they thought fit to be confided in. This they said, was more necessary than ever, for the securing the People from their Fears and Jealousies; which were now much encreased, and were capable of being asswaged by no other means: and delivered a large Paper to that purpose, which contained no more than had been often said in their Declarations, and as often answered in those which had been published by the King. And when the Commissioners of the King, whereof there were four very eminent in the knowledge of the Law, *Lane, Gardiner, Bridgman, and Palmer*, made the demand appear to be without any pretence of Law, or Justice, and asserted it

to

to be vested in the King by the Law, they never offer'd to alledge any other Argument, than the determination of the Parliament, which had declared the right of the Militia to be in Them, from which they could not recede; so that the Conferences were very short upon those days, but the Papers very long which were mutually delivered; the preparing whereof took up the time; they of that side (even they who most desired the Peace) both publickly and privately insisting upon having the whole Command of the Militia by Sea, and Land, and all the Forts, and Ships of the Kingdom at their disposal; without which they looked upon themselves as lost, and at the King's mercy; not considering that He must be at Theirs, if such a power was committed to them. But in this particular, he who was most reasonable among them, thought it very unreasonable to deny them that necessary Security; and believed it could proceed from nothing else, but a Resolution to take the highest Vengeance upon their Rebellion.

THEN they entred upon the business of *Ireland*; in which they thought they had the King at very great advantage; and that his Commissioners would not be able to answer the Charges they should make upon that particular. And many of the Commissioners on the King's part, who had not been well acquainted with those Transactions, thought it would be a hard matter to justify all that the King had been necessitated to do; and any thing of Grace towards the *Irish* Rebels, was as ungracious at *Oxford*, as it was at *London*; because they knew the whole Kingdom had a great detestation of them. They ripped up all that had been done from the beginning of that Rebellion; "how the King had voluntarily committed the carrying on that War to the two Houses of Parliament; that they had Levied great Sums of Money upon the Kingdom for that Service; but finding that it was like to bring a greater Burthen upon the Kingdom than it could bear, that his Majesty had consented to an Act of Parliament for the Encouragement of Adventurers to bring in Money, upon Assurance of having Land assign'd to them in that Kingdom, out of the Forfeitures of the Rebels, as soon as the Rebellion should be suppressed; and had likewise, by the same Act, put it out of his Power to make any Peace, or Cessation with those Rebels, or to grant Pardon to any of them without consent of Parliament; and thereupon many of his Majesty's Subjects had brought in very considerable Sums of Money, by which they had been able to manage that War without putting this Kingdom to farther Charge; and God had so blessed the Protestant Forces there, that they had subdued and vanquished the Rebels in all Encounters; and
"probably,

“probably, by that time, the whole Rebellion had been extinguished, if the King had not, contrary to his promise, and obligation by that Act of Parliament, made a Cessation with those execrable Rebels, when they were not able to continue the War; and had call’d over many of those Regiments, which the Parliament had sent over against the *Irish*, to return hither to Fight against the Parliament: by means whereof his Protestant Subjects of that Kingdom were in great danger to be destroy’d, and the Kingdom to be entirely possessed by the Papists. They enlarged themselves upon this Subject, with all the invidious insinuations they could devise, to make the People believe, that the King was inclined to, and favoured that Rebellion. They demanded, “that the King would forthwith declare that Cessation to be Void; and that he would prosecute the War against those Rebels with the utmost fury; and that the Act of Parliament for their reduction, might be executed as it ought to be.

THE Commissioners of the King prepar’d and deliver’d a very full Answer in writing to all their Demands; at the delivery whereof, they appointed the Chancellor of the Exchequer to enlarge upon any of those particulars, which prov’d the Counsels that had been taken, just, and necessary. This he did so particularly and convincingly, that those of the Parliament were in much confusion, and the King’s Commissioners much pleased. He put them in mind of “their bringing those very Troops, which were levied by the King’s Authority for the Suppression of the Rebellion in *Ireland*, to Fight against the King at *Edge-hill*, under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*; of their having given over the prosecution of that War, or sending any supply of Armes, Money, or Ammunition thither; having employ’d those Magazines which were provided for that Service, against his Majesty; inasmuch as the Privy Council of that Kingdom had sent to his Majesty, that he would provide some other way for the preservation of that Kingdom, since they could not be able to support the War any longer, against the United Power of the Rebels: That all Overtures, which his Majesty had made towards Peace, had been rejected by the Parliament; and one hundred thousand pounds, brought in by the Adventurers for *Ireland*, had been sent in one entire Sum into *Scotland*, to prepare and dispose that Kingdom to send an Army to invade This; which they had done, and till then his Majesty had not, in the least degree, swerved from the observation of that Act of Parliament; but when he saw that the Parliament, instead of prosecuting the end and intention of that Statute, apply’d it wholly to the carrying on the War against Himself, he thought
“himself

"himself absolv'd before God and Man, if he did all he could
 "to rescue and defend himself against their Violence, by mak-
 "ing a Cessation with the Rebels in *Ireland*, and by drawing
 "over some Regiments of his own Army from thence, to assist
 "him in *England*: which Cessation had hitherto preserved
 "the Protestants of that Kingdom; who were not able with-
 "out supplies to preserve themselves from the strength and
 "power of the Rebels; which supplies his Majesty could not,
 "and the Parliament would not send; and therefore, if the
 "Protestants there, should hereafter be oppressed by the Re-
 "bels, who every day procur'd assistance from abroad, and
 "so were like to be more powerful, all the Mischiefs and Mi-
 "sery that must attend them, would, before God and Man,
 "be put to the Account of the Parliament; which had de-
 "frauded them of those supplies, which, by his Majesty's care,
 "had been rais'd, and provided for them; and not to his Ma-
 "jesty, who had done nothing but what he was obliged to do
 "for his own preservation; and if he had not sent for those
 "Soldiers from *Ireland*, they could not have stay'd there with-
 "out a supply of Money, Cloaths, and Provisions; which the
 "Parliament had not yet sent to that part of the Army which
 "remain'd there, and which could by no other way have sub-
 "sisted, but by the benefit, and security of the Cessation.

He told them, "that all this unjustifiable way of proceed-
 "ing, though it had compelled the King to yield to a Cessa-
 "tion, yet could not prevail with him to make a Peace with
 "the *Irish* Rebels; from whom he had admitted Commissi-
 "oners to attend him with Propositions to that purpose; but
 "that, when he found those Propositions and Demands so un-
 "reasonable, that he could not consent to them in Conscience,
 "and that they were inconsistent with the security of his Pro-
 "testant Subjects there, he had totally reject'd them, and
 "dismiss'd their Commissioners with severe and sharp Ani-
 "madversions: yet that he had given his Lieutenant, and
 "Council there, Authority to continue the Cessation longer,
 "in hope that the Rebels there, might be reduced to better
 "Temper; or that his Majesty might be enabl'd by a happy
 "Peace here, which he hoped this Treaty would produce, to
 "Chastise their odious and obstinate Rebellion: And if the
 "Parliament would yet give his Majesty sufficient caution that
 "the War should be vigorously prosecuted there against the
 "*Irish*, by sending over strong Supplies of Men and Money,
 "he would put an end to that Cessation without declaring it to
 "be void; which otherwise he could not in Justice do, and the
 "doing whereof would be to no purpose.

THE Commissioners, visibly out of Countenance and An-
 gry, made no other reply, but "that they were sorry to find,
 "that

“that odious and detestable Rebellion had receiv’d so much Grace, as that Commissioners from it had been admitted into the King’s Presence; and that they wonder’d, there should be any scruple made of Declaring that Cessation void, that was entred into expressly against the Letter of an Act of Parliament. This reply they gave in writing, with many pathetical expressions against the Murthers and Cruelties, that had been used in the beginning of that Rebellion; which obliged the King’s Commissioners to a little more sharpness in their returns than they were inclined to; and to tell them, That they wished it were in the King’s Power to punish all Rebellion, with that severity that was due to it; but since it was not so, he must condescend to Treaties, and to all other Expedients which are necessary to reduce his Subjects who are in Rebellion, to return to their Duty and Obedience.

THE nine first days were now spent upon the three great heads, in which there was little advance made towards giving satisfaction to either Party; for though, in the matter of Religion, the King’s Commissioners had made such condescensions, as would oblige Bishops to be more diligent in Preaching, and to be themselves present in the administration of the most important parts of their Jurisdiction; yet no such Reformation was considerable to those who cared for nothing without extirpation; and in neither of the other particulars any ground had been gotten; and they were sensible, that in the matter of *Ireland*, the King’s defence would weigh down their Clamour and Calumny. There happen’d some Accidents in this time of the Treaty, which made impression on each Party; the first was found in the looks of the Parliament Commissioners, upon the Advertisement they receiv’d, that *St Lewis Drives*, who was Governour of a small Garrison in *Sherborne* in *Dorset-shire*, had from thence, in a Night, upon Intelligence with the King’s Governour of *Portland-Castle*, surpris’d *Weymouth*, a Sea Port possessed by the Parliament; which was like to be attended with great benefit to the King.

BUT whilst the King’s Commissioners entertain’d some hope that this loss might have the more disposed the Parliament to a just Peace, they receiv’d Advertisement of a much greater loss sustain’d by the King, and which was more like to exalt the other side. Colonel *Laughorn*, and *Mitton*, two very Active Officers in the Parliament Service, about *Shrop-shire* and North *Wales*, by correspondence with some Townsmen, and some Soldiers in the Garrison of *Shrewsbury*, from whence too many of that Garrison were unhappily drawn out, two or three days before, upon some Expedition, seized upon

upon that Town in the Night; and, by the same Treachery, likewise enter'd the Castle; where *Sr Michael Earnly* the Governour had been long sick, and rising, upon the Alarm, out of his Bed, was killed in his Shirt; whilst he behaved himself as well as was possible; and refused Quarter; which did not shorten his Life many days, he being even at the point of Death by a Consumption; which kept him from performing all those Offices of Vigilance he was accusom'd to, being a Gallant Gentleman, who understood the Office and Duty of a Soldier by long experience, and diligent observation. The loss of *Shrewsbury* was a great blow to the King, and streighten'd his Quarters exceedingly, and broke the secure Line of Communication with *Chester*, and exposed all North *Wales*, *Hereford*, and *Worcester*, to the daily inroads of the Enemy: and the News of this, recover'd the dejected Spirits of the Parliament Commissioners at *Uxbridge*.

YET there had been an odd Accident which accompanied the Enterprize upon *Weymouth*, which gave them afterwards more trouble. *Sr Lewis Dives* had, in his March from *Sherborne*, intercepted a Packet of Letters sent out of *Somersetshire* to the Parliament; and among those, there was a Letter from *John Pyne*, a Gentleman well known, and of a fair Estate in that Country, to Colonel *Edward Popham*, a principal Officer of the Parliament in their Fleets at Sea, and of a passionate and virulent Temper, of the Independent Party. The Subject of the Letter was a bitter invective against the Earl of *Essex*, and all those who advanced the Treaty of Peace, and a great detestation of the Peace, with very indecent expressions against the King himself, and all who adhered to him. This Letter had been sent by *Sr Lewis Dives* to one of the Secretaries at *Oxford*, and from Him to the Commissioners at *Uxbridge*; who, as soon as they receiv'd it, communicated it to some of those Commissioners, who they knew desired a Peace, and were very great Friends to the Earl of *Essex*. The *Scots* were likewise as much inveigh'd against as any Body else. They to whom this Letter was communicated, durst not undertake to appear to know any thing of it; but advised, "that the Marquis of *Hertford*, might send a Copy of it to "his Brother the Earl of *Essex*, with such reflections as He "thought fit: which being done accordingly, the Earl of *Essex*, who was yet General, took it so much to heart that he desired the Marquis of *Hertford* would send him the Original; which was presently done; hoping that it would have given some Advantage to the Earl of *Essex*, towards whom the Parliament yet behaved it self with all imaginable decency and respect.

THE Conversation that this Letter occasion'd between some

some of the Commissioners of both sides, who in private used their old freedom, made a great discovery of the Faction that was in the Parliament: that there were many who desired to have Peace, without any alteration in the Government, so they might be sure of Indemnity, and security for what was past; that the *Scots* would insist upon the whole Government of the Church, and in all other Matters would defer to the King; but that there was another Party, that would have no Peace upon what conditions soever, who did resolve to change the whole frame of the Government in State, as well as Church; which made a great Party in the Army: all those of the Parliament who desired to remove the Earl of *Essex* from being General of the Army, and to make another General, were of that Party. There was likewise, among the Commissioners themselves, very little Trust, and Communication; *Sr Harry Vane*, *Saint-John*, and *Prideaux*, being, upon the matter, but Spies upon the rest; and though most of the rest did heartily desire a Peace, even upon any Terms, yet none of them had the Courage to avow the receding from the most extravagant Demand. Besides, there was reason enough to believe, that, if the King had yielded to all that was then proposed, they would likewise have insisted upon all which they had formerly Demanded, and upon the delivery up of all those Persons who had faithfully serv'd the King, and had been by them always excepted, as Persons never to be Pardon'd.

For though they had assign'd those three general Heads, of the Church, of the Militia, and of *Ireland*, to be first Treated upon, which were all plausible and popular Arguments, and in which they who most desir'd Peace, would insist at least upon many concessions, yet they had not, in the least degree, declin'd any other of their Propositions; as the exemption of many of the greatest Quality, or of the most declared Affections to the King, in the three Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, from Pardon; and the making the Estates of the rest, under the Name of Delinquents, liable to pay the Charges of the War; from which, or any of the other very unreasonable demands, the Houses had not in their Instructions given their Commissioners Authority, in the least particle to recede: They who desired Peace, being satisfied, that they had prevail'd to have a Treaty, which they imagin'd would do all the rest, and that these lesser demands, would fall off, of themselves, when satisfaction should be given in those important particulars which more concern'd the publick; and, on the other side, they who resolv'd the Treaty should be ineffectual, were well content, that their Commissioners should be instructed only to insist upon those three Generals, without power to depart from any one expression, in the Propositions concerning those

particulars; being satisfied, that in the particular which concern'd the Church, the *Scots* would never depart from a title; and as sure, that the King would never yield to it; and that, in the Militia, they who most desired Peace, would adhere to that which most concern'd their own Security; and in the business of *Ireland*, besides the opportunity to asperse the King, upon an Argument in which the People generally concurr'd with them, they were safe enough; except the King should absolutely retract, and recant all that he had done, and by declaring the Cessation void, expose all those who had a hand in it, to Their censure, and judgement; and so dissolve all the Authority he had in that Kingdom for the future; which they knew he would never do. So that they were safe enough in those three heads of their Treaty, without bringing any of their other demands into Debate; which would have spent much time, and raised great difference in opinion among them; yet they had those still in reserve, and might reasonably conclude, that if the King satisfied them in the Terms of those three Propositions, he would never insist upon any of the rest; which could not relate so much to his Conscience, or his Honour, as the other. Besides, they knew well, that, if, by the King's Condescensions, they had full satisfaction in the former Three, they who had most passion for Peace, would, for their own shares in the particular revenge upon those Men with whom they were angry enough, and in the preferments, which would be then in their disposal, never divide from them in any thing that remain'd to be demanded.

ONE Night, late, the Earl of *Pembroke* came to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Lodging, to return him a visit; and sat with him some hours; all his discourse being to persuade him, to think it reasonable to consent to all that the Parliament had demanded. He told him, "that there was never such a Pack of Knaves, and Villaines, as they who now govern'd in the Parliament; who would so far prevail, if this Treaty were broke off, as to remove the Earl of *Essex*; and then they would constitute such an Army as should force the Parliament, as well as the King, to consent to whatsoever they demanded; which would end in the Change of the Government into a Common-wealth. The Chancellor told him, "if he believ'd That, it was high time for the Lords to look about them, who would be then no less concern'd than the King. He confessed it, and "that they were now sensible, that they had brought this mischief upon themselves; and did heartily repent it, though too late; and "when they were, in no degree, able to prevent the general destruction, which they foresaw: but, if the King would be

“so gracious to them, as to preserve them, by consenting to those unreasonable Propositions which were made by the Parliament, the other wicked Persons would be disappointed by such his concessions; the Earl of *Essex* would still keep his power; and they should be able, in a short time after the Peace concluded, by adhering to the King, whom they would never forsake hereafter, to recover all for him that he now parted with, and to drive these wicked Men, who would destroy Monarchy, out of the Kingdom; and then his Majesty would be greater than ever. How extravagant soever this discourse seems to be, the matter of it was the same, which the wisest of the rest, and there were Men of very good parts among them, did seriously urge to other of the King's Commissioners, with whom they had the same confidence: so broken they were in their Spirits, and so corrupted in their Understanding, even when they had their own ruin in their View.

THE Earl of *Northumberland*, who was the proudest Man alive, could not look upon the Destruction of Monarchy, and the contempt the Nobility was already reduced to, and which must be then encreased, with any pleasure: yet the repulse he had formerly receiv'd at *Oxford*, upon his Addreses thither, and the fair escape he had made afterwards from the jealousy of the Parliament, had wrought so far upon him, that he resolv'd no more to depend upon the one, or to provoke the other, and was willing to see the King's Power and Authority so much restrain'd, that he might not be able to do him any harm.

THE Earls of *Pembroke*, and *Salisbury*, were so totally without credit, or interest in the Parliament, or Country, that it was no matter which way Their inclinations or affections disposed them; and their Fear of the Faction that prevailed, was so much greater than their Hatred towards them, that though they wished They might rather be destroy'd than the King, they had rather the King and his Posterity should be destroy'd, than that *Wilton* should be taken from the one of them, or *Hatfield* from the other; the preservation of both which from any danger, they both believ'd to be the highest point of prudence, and politick circumspection.

THE Earl of *Denbigh* had much greater parts, and saw farther before him into the desperate designs of that Party that had then the power, than either of the other three, and detested those designs as much as any of them; yet the pride of his Nature, not inferior to the proudest, and the conscience of his Ingratitude to the King, in some respects superior to theirs who had been most obliged, kept him from being willing to quit the Company with whom he had conversed too long.

long. Though he had receiv'd from them most signal Affronts and Indignities, and well knew he should never more be employ'd by them, yet he thought the King's condition to be utterly desperate, and that he would be at last compell'd to yield to worse conditions than were now offer'd to Him. He conferr'd with so much freedom with one of the King's Commissioners, and spent so much time with him in the vacant hours, there having been formerly a great Friendship between them, that he drew some jealousy upon himself from some of his Companions. With Him he lamented his own condition, and acknowledged his disloyalty to the King, with expressions of great compunction; and protested, "that he would most willingly redeem his Transgressions by any attempt that might serve the King signally, though he were sure to lose his Life in it; but that to lose Himself, without any benefit to the King, would expose him to all misery; which he would decline, by not separating from his Party. He inform'd him more fully of the wicked purposes of those who then govern'd the Parliament, than others apprehended or imagin'd; and had a full prospect of the vile condition Himself, and all the Nobility should be reduced to; yet thought it impossible to prevent it, by any Authority of their own; and concluded, "that if any conjuncture fell out, in which, by losing his Life, he might preserve the King, he would embrace the Occasion; otherwise, he would shift the best he could for himself.

OF the Commissioners of the House of Commons, though, the three named before being excepted, the rest did in their hearts desire a Peace, and upon much honest conditions than they durst own; yet there were not two of them who had entire confidence in each other, or who durst communicate their thoughts together: so that though they could speak their minds freely enough, severally, to those Commissioners of the King's side with whom they had former friendship, they would not, in the presence of any of their own Companions, use that freedom. The Debate that had been in the House upon the *Self-denying Ordinance*, had raised so many Jealousies, and discomposed the confidence that had formerly been between many of them, that they knew not what any Man intended to do; many who had, from the beginning of the Troubles, professed to have most devotion for the Earl of *Essex*, and to abhor all his Enemies, had lately seem'd to concur in that Ordinance, which was contrived principally for his dishonour and destruction; and others who seem'd still to adhere to him, did it with so many cautions, that there could be no confidence of their perseverance.

HOLLIS, who was the frankest among them in owning
 his

his Animosity and Indignation against all the Independent Party, and was no otherwise affected to the Presbyterians, than as they constituted a Party upon which he depended to oppose the other, did foresee that many of those who appear'd most resolute to concur with him, would, by degrees, fall from him purely for want of Courage, in which he abounded. *Whitlock*, who, from the beginning, had concurr'd with them without any Inclinations to their Persons, or their Principles, had the same reason still not to separate from them. All his Estate was in their Quarters, and he had a Nature that could not bear, or submit to be undone: though to his Friends, who were Commissioners for the King, he used his old openness, and professed his detestation of all the proceedings of his Party, yet could not leave them. *Pierpoint*, and *Crew*, who were both Men of great Fortunes, and had always been of the greatest moderation in their Counsels, and most solicitous upon all opportunities for Peace, appear'd now to have contracted more bitterness, and sourness than formerly; and were more reserv'd towards the King's Commissioners, than was expected; and in all Conferences insisted peremptorily, "that the King must yield to whatsoever was required in the three Demands, which had been Debated. They all valued themselves "upon having induced the Parliament, against all Opposition, to consent to a Treaty; "which producing no effect, they should hereafter have no more credit; and it plainly appear'd, that they had perswaded themselves, that, in the Treaty, they should be able to perswade the King's Commissioners to concur with them; and that the King would yield upon the very same argument, and expectation, that the Earl of *Pembroke* had offer'd to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

SOME of them, who knew how impossible it was to prevail with the Commissioners, or, if They could be corrupted so far in their judgements, how much more impossible it would be to perswade the King to consent to what was so diametrically against his Conscience, and his Honour; and, in truth, against his Security, did wish, "that, to get the time "of the Treaty prolonged, some Concessions might be made "in the point of the Militia, in order to their security; which "being provided for, might probably take off many Persons, "who, out of that consideration principally, adhered to those "who they thought were most jealous of it, and most solicitous for it. This seem'd such an Expedient to those to whom they propos'd it, that they thought fit to make a Debate among all the Commissioners about it; "and if it should "produce no other effect, than the getting more days to the "Treaty, and making more Divisions in the Parliament, both "which

"which they might naturally expect from it, the benefit was
 "not small that would attend it; for, as long as the Treaty
 "lasted, there could be little advance made towards new mo-
 "delling the Army, the delay whereof would give the King
 "likewise more time to make His preparations for the Field;
 "towards which he was in no forwardness. This considera-
 "tion prevail'd with the Commissioners to send their opinion
 "to the King, "that he would give them leave to propose,
 "when the next day came for the Debate of the point of the
 "Militia, that the whole Militia of the Kingdom should be
 "settled in such a Number of Persons, for seven or eight
 "years, who might be all sworn to the observation of all the
 "Articles which should be agreed upon in the Treaty; after
 "the expiration of which time, which would be sufficient to
 "extinguish all jealousies, it should be restored to the King.
 And they sent the King a List of such Names, as they wish'd
 might be inserted in the Proposition, of Persons in credit
 with the Parliament, to which his Majesty might add the like
 Number of such, of whose fidelity he was most assured.

THE Earls of *Essex*, *Northumberland*, *Warwick*, and *Man-
 chester*, with *Fairfax*, and *Cromwell*, were among those they
 recommended to be named by the King. With this Message
 they sent two of their own Body, who added other reasons,
 which they conceiv'd might prevail with him; and it was
 with great difficulty that his Majesty was prevailed with to
 consent, that such an Overture should be made. But being
 unwilling to dissent from his Commissioners judgement, and
 believing it would be rejected, and in hope that it would
 gain time by lengthning the Treaty, his Majesty was con-
 tented, that the Commissioners should make such an Offer as
 is mention'd, and name the Persons they had proposed of the
 Parliament Party; and withal, he sent a List of such Per-
 sons as himself thought fit to trust in that Affair; in whom,
 together with the others, he would have the power of the
 Militia to be vested. But by this time, the Term assign'd for
 the Treaty drawing towards an end, they who had first ad-
 vised this Expedient, had not the same opinion of the suc-
 cess; and had plainly discover'd, that the Parliament would
 not consent to add one day more to the Treaty. So the far-
 ther prosecution of the Overture in that manner was laid aside.
 For the King's Commissioners concluded, "that at this time
 "to offer any particular Names from the King to be trusted
 "with the Militia, was but to expose those Persons to re-
 "proach, as some of them were very ungracious and unpo-
 "pular to them; and to give the other side an excuse for re-
 "jecting the offer, upon exception to their Persons. How-
 ever, that they might see a greater condescension from the

King in that point, than he had ever yet been induced to, they offer'd, "that the Militia should be so settled for the "space of seven years, as they had desired, in such a Number "of Persons as should be agreed upon; a moiety of which "Persons, should be nominated by the King, and the other "moiety by the Parliament: which was rejected by them with their usual Neglect.

FROM this time the Commissioners, on both sides, grew more reserv'd, and colder towards each other; insomuch as in the last Conferences, the Answers and Replies upon one another, were sharper and more reflecting than they had formerly been: and in their Conference upon the last day, which held most part of the Night, it was evident, either side labour'd most to make the other seem to be most in fault. The King's Commissioners deliver'd a Paper, which contain'd a Sum of all that had been done in the Treaty, and observ'd, "that after a War of so many years, enter'd into, as was pretend'd, for the Defence, and Vindication of the Laws of "the Land, and the Liberty of the Subject, in a Treaty of "twenty days, they had not demanded any one thing, that, "by the Law of the Land, they had the least Title to demand; but insisted only on such particulars as were against "Law, and the establish'd Government of the Kingdom; "and that much more had been offer'd to them for the obtaining of Peace, than they could with justice or reason "require: with which they were so offended, that they, for some time, refused to receive the Paper, upon pretence, "that "the time for the Treaty was expired; because it was then after twelve of the Clock of the Night of the twentieth day: but at last they were contented to receive it, finding, that it would not be less publick, and would more reflect upon them, if they rejected it: and so they parted, a little before the break of day.

*The end of
the Treaty
without effect.*

THE next day, being *Sunday*, they rested in the Town, that they might in the Afternoon, decently take their leaves of each other; though *Monday*, according to the Letter of their Pass, was the last day of their freedom, and at that Season of the year their Journey to *Oxford* might require two days, as they had spent two days in coming thither; and the Commissioners for the Parliament, had given them a Paper in which they declared, "that they might safely make use of another day for their return, of which no Advantage should "be taken. But they having on *Sunday*, perform'd their mutual Visits to each other, parted with such coolness towards each other, as if they scarce hoped to meet again; and the King's Commissioners were so unwilling to run any hazard, that they were on the *Monday* Morning so early in their Coaches,

Coaches, that they came to *Oxford* that Night, and kiss'd the King's hand; who receiv'd them very graciously; thanking them for the pains they had taken. Surely the pains they had taken, with how little success soever, was very great; and they who had been most inured to business, had not in their lives ever undergone so great fatigue for twenty days together, as at that Treaty. The Commissioners seldom parted, during that whole time, till two or three of the Clock in the Morning. Besides, They were obliged to sit up later who were to prepare such Papers as were directed for the next day, and to write Letters to *Oxford*; so that, if the Treaty had continued much longer, it is very probable many of the Commissioners must have fallen sick for want of sleep; which some of them were not satisfied with in three or four days after their return to *Oxford*. Thus ended the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, the Particulars whereof were, by the King's Command, shortly after publish'd in Print, and never contradicted by the Parliament.

THE King spoke to those he trusted most at that time, with much more Melancholy of his own condition, and the State of his Affairs, than he had used to do. The loss of *Shrewsbury* was attended with many ill consequences; and that which had seem'd to bring some kind of recompence for it, the Surprise of *Weymouth*, prov'd but a Dream; for the Enemy had lost but one part of the Town, which they, in a short time after, recover'd again by the usual Negligence of the King's Governours. So that his Majesty told them, "he found it absolutely necessary to pursue his former resolution of separating the Prince his Son from himself, that the Enemy might not, upon any Success, find them together; which, he said, would be ruin to them both; where-as, though he should fall into their hands whilst his Son was at liberty, they would not dare to do him harm. He seem'd to have very reasonable Apprehensions, that upon the loss of a Battle, he might become a Prisoner; but he never imagin'd, that it would enter into their thoughts to take away his Life; not that he believ'd they could be restrain'd from that impious Act, by any remorse of Conscience, or that they had not wickedness enough to design, and execute it: but he believ'd it against their Interest; and would often, in discourse, say, "of what moment the preservation of his Life was to the Rebels; and how much they were concern'd to preserve it, in regard, that if he Himself were dead the Parliament stood dissolv'd; so that there would be an end of their Government: which, though it were true in Law, would have little shaken their Power, of which they were too long possess'd to part with it easily.

THIS was a speculation of that Nature, that no body had reason to endeavour to change the King's opinion in that particular; and his Majesty thought of nothing so much as hastning the Prince's Journey; and to that purpose, commanded those who were appointed to attend him to be ready by a short day, resolving that his Highness should make his Journey directly to *Bristol*, and continue his residence there, till some emergent alteration should make his remove from thence necessary. For whatever discourse was made of raising an Army in the West, the King had no purpose to put the Prince into the head of any such Army; and though *Goring* had prevail'd to be sent, with a strong Party of Horse, and some Foot, into *Hampshire*, upon pretence of securing the West from *Waller's* Incurſion, and upon some other design; yet the King had not the least purpose, that he should be where the Prince was; though he was not himself without that design at that present, as shall be made out anon, meaning by that device to withdraw himself from the Command of Prince *Rupert*, which the King did not apprehend. But his Majesty having no more in his purpose than is said before, he sent the Lord *Hopton* to *Bristol* to provide a House for his Highness, and to put that City into as good a posture of Security for the Prince's Residence, as was necessary; nor was there any other Strength design'd to attend about his Highness's Person; than one Regiment of Horse, and one Regiment of Foot, for his Guards, both to be under the Command of the Lord *Capel*; who was likewise to raise them upon his own Credit and Interest; there being, at that time, not one Man raised of Horse or Foot, nor any means in view for the payment of them, when they should be raised; nor, indeed, for the support of the Prince's Family, or his Person. In so great scarcity, and poverty, was the King himself, and his Court at *Oxford*.

THERE happen'd an Accident at this time, that reconcil'd the minds of many to this Journey of the Prince into the West, and look'd like a good Omen that it would produce good effects; though it prov'd afterwards an occasion of much trouble and inconvenience. When the King return'd through *Somersetshire*, after the Defeat of the Earl of *Effex* in *Cornwall*, there had been a Petition deliver'd to him, in the Names of the Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and others his Majesty's Protestant Subjects of the County of *Somerset*, in which they desired, "that his Majesty would give them leave to Petition "the Parliament, that there might be a Treaty for Peace; "and that they might have liberty to wait upon his Majesty "in Person in his march; and that when they came to a "nearer distance, they might then go before, and deliver their
" Petition;

"Petition; and if they should not obtain their so just Request, they would then assist his Majesty to get that by the "Sword, which could be obtain'd no other way. To that purpose, they desired leave "to put themselves in Armes, to "attend his Majesty in the Journey. This Petition, how indigested, or impracticable soever in the manner, and way proposed, was contriv'd by some Persons of unquestionable Fidelity to the King; who thought, that under this specious Title of Petitioners for Peace, they might draw even that whole populous County to appear for the King; and therefore the King gave them a gracious reception, and liberty to do all that they desired; believing it possible, that he might even from thence recruit his Foot; which he most desired. But his Majesty's speedy march, left that design to be better weighed and digested.

UPON the first Fame of the Prince's being to visit the West, and to keep his Court there, some Gentlemen, of the best Quality in the West, came to *Oxford*, as entrusted by the rest to acquaint his Majesty, "that they had now form'd "the Design, they had formerly presented to him, much better than it was; and that the four Western Counties, *Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall*, had resolv'd to enter "into an Association, and to be joynt Petitioners to the Parliament for Peace; and that their Petition should be sent "by very many thousands of the most substantial Freeholders "of the several Counties, who should have Money enough "in their purses to defray their Charges, going and returning; and whosoever refused to joyn in the Petition, should "be look'd upon as Enemies to Peace and their Country, "and accordingly treated; so that this Address could not but "have great influence upon the Parliament, being under the "Style of One and All; and could not but be look'd upon as such. They desir'd the King, "that the Prince might be "made General of this Association; in order to which, they "would provide for his support according to his Dignity; "and, in the first place, take care for the raising a good Guard "of Horse and Foot, for the safety of his Person.

THOUGH this design, in the Notions thereof, was as unpracticable as the former, yet his Majesty thought not fit to discountenance, and reject it. It was very vehemently pressed by many Persons of Quality, in the name of the four Western Counties, and among those who took it most to heart, *Sr John Stawel* was the Chief; a Gentleman of one of the largest Estates, that any Man possessed in the West, who had, from the beginning of the Parliament, shew'd very great Affection to the Person of the King, and to the Government that was settled, both in Church and State; and from the beginning

beginning of the War had engaged both his own Person, and his two Sons, in the most active part of it, with singular Courage; and had render'd himself as odious to the Parliament, as any Man of that condition had done. This Gentleman was assisted, and counsel'd by Mr *Fountain*, a Lawyer of eminency, who had been imprison'd, and banish'd *London*, for his declar'd affection to the Crown; and they two had first entertain'd and form'd this project in their own thoughts, and then, upon the communication of it with some Gentlemen, and more of the Farmers, and Freeholders of the County, found such a general concurrence with them, that they concluded it could not but have good Success, and would bring the Parliament to be glad of Peace. They were both very tenacious of what they had once resolv'd, and believ'd all who objected against their undertaking to be averse from Peace; so that the King concluded, that he would so far comply with them, as to make the Prince General of their Association; which he was sure could do no harm; and they were so much delighted with the condescension, that they promised speedily to make Provision for the Prince's support, and for the raising his Guards of Horse and Foot; and to that purpose made hast to *Bristol*, that all things might be ready against the Prince came thither.

The Prince of Wales made General of the King's Forces, and of the Western Association.

UPON these reasons, the Prince had two Commissions granted to him; one, to be General of the Association; and another, to be General of all the King's Forces in *England*. For when the King declared his Nephew Prince *Rupert* to be General, in the place of the Earl of *Brentford*, his Highness desired, "that there might be no General in *England* but the Prince of *Wales*, and that he might receive his Commission from Him; which his Majesty took well; and so that Commission of Generalissimo was likewise given to the Prince, when in truth it was resolv'd he should Act no part in either, but remain quiet in *Bristol*, till the fate of all Armies could be better discern'd.

THE Indisposition and Melancholy which possessed the Court at *Oxford*, and all the King's Party, was preserv'd from despair, only by the extraordinary discontents and animosities in the Parliament; which kept them from pursuing the advantages they had had by united Counsels. As soon as the Commissioners were return'd from *Uxbridge*, and that a Treaty could be now no farther urged, the Independent Party (for so they were now contented to be call'd, in opposition to the other which was styl'd Presbyterian) appear'd bare faced, and vigorously press'd on their *Self-denying Ordinance*, that so they might proceed towards modelling their new Army, by putting out the old Officers; during the suspension whereof, there

there was no care for providing for the Troops they had, or making recruits, or preparing any of those Provisions, which would be necessary for taking the Field. They were now enter'd into the Month of *March*, which was used as a strong Argument by both Parties, the one urging, "from the Season of the year, the necessity of expediting their resolution for the passing the Ordinance, that the Army might be put into a posture of marching; the other pressing, "that so great an Alteration ought not to be attempted, when there was so short a time to make it in: That there would be apparent danger, that the Enemy would find them, without any Army at all fit to take the Field; and therefore desired, "that all things might stand as they were, till the end of the next Campaign; when, if they saw cause, they might resume this Expedient. The other Party were loud against the delay; and said, "that was the way to make the War last; for managed as it had been, they should be found at the end of the next Campaign in the same posture they were now in; whereas they made no doubt but, if this Ordinance was pass'd, they should proceed so vigorously, that the next Campaign should put an end to the War.

THE Debate continued many days in the House of Commons, with much passion, and sharp reflections upon Things, and Persons; whilst the House of Peers look'd on, and attended the resolution below. Of the Presbyterian Party, which passionately opposed the Ordinance, the chief were, *Hollis, Stapleton, Glin, Waller, Long*, and others, who believ'd their Party much Superior in Number; as the Independent Party was led by *Nathaniel Fiennes, Vane, Cromwell, Haslerig, Martin*, and others; who spoke more and warmer than they that opposed them. Of the House of Peers, there was none thought to be of this last Party, but the Lord *Say*; all the rest were supposed to be of the Earl of *Essex's* Party; and so, that it was impossible that the Ordinance should ever pass in the House of Peers, though it should be carried by the Commons: But they were in This, as in many other things, disappointed; for many, who had sate silent, and been thought to have been of one Party, appear'd to be of the other. They who thought they could never be secure in any Peace, except the King were first at their Mercy, and so obliged to accept the conditions They would give him, were willing to change the hand in carrying on the War: and Many, who thought the Earl of *Essex* behaved himself too imperiously, were willing to have the Command in one who was more their equal. Many were willing he should be anger'd, and humbled, that Himself might be more concern'd to advance a Peace, which he had not been forward enough to do, whilst he held the Supreme Command.

WHEN

WHEN the Debate grew ripe, *Saint-John, Pierpoint, Whitlock, and Crew*, who had been thought to be of the Party of the Earl of *Effex*, appear'd for passing the Ordinance, as the only way to unite their Counsels, and to resist the Common Enemy; saying, "they discover'd by what they heard abroad, "and by the Spirit that govern'd in the City, that there would "be a general dissatisfaction in the People, if this Ordinance "were not pass'd. Then they fell into a high Admiration of the Earl of *Effex*, extolling his great merit, and seem'd to fear, "that the War would never be carried on so happily, as "it had been under Him; or if it were, that the good success must be still imputed to His Conduct, and Courage, "which had form'd their Armies, and taught them to Fight. By this kind of Oratory, and professing to decline their own inclinations and wishes, purely for Peace and Unity, they so far prevail'd over those who were still surpris'd, and led by some Craft, that the Ordinance was pass'd in the House of Commons, and transmitted to the Peers for Their consent; where no body imagin'd it would ever pass.

The Self-denying Ordinance pass'd the Commons.

AFTER the Battle at *York*, and that the Earl of *Manchester* was requir'd to march with his Army against the King, upon the defeat of the Earl of *Effex* in *Cornwal*, the *Scotish* Army marched Northwards, to reduce the little Garrisons remaining in those parts; which was easily done. After which they marched to *New-Castle*; which, being defended only by the Townsmen, and in no degree fortified for a Siege, was given up to them, after as good a resistance as could be made in such a place, and by such People. So that they having no more to do in those parts, the Parliament thought not fit however to dismiss them to return into their own Country, not knowing yet, how far their new modell'd Army would be able to carry on all their designs. And therefore the *Scotish* Army was again advanced as far as *York*, and was to be applied as there should be occasion.

An account of the Earl of Mountrose's Expedition into Scotland.

THE King had formerly, towards the end of the year forty three, consider'd how to give such a disturbance to *Scotland*, as might oblige their Army to stay at home to quench a fire in their own Country; but all the Advance, which had been made towards the execution of that design, in the Conferences with the Earl of *Mountrose* and in the Commitment of Duke *Hamilton*, had been check'd for some time, by the King's not being able to give any Troops to that Earl, by the Protection whereof the Loyal Party of that Kingdom might come to his Assistance, and discover their Affection to his Majesty. Notwithstanding which, the vigorous spirit of the Earl of *Mountrose*, had stirr'd him up to make some attempt, whether he had any help or no. The Person whom

that

that Earl most hated, and condemn'd, was the Marquis of *Argyle*, who had then the Chief Government of *Scotland*; and though he was a Man endued with all the faculties of craft and dissimulation, that were necessary to bring great designs to effect, and had, in respect of his Estate and Authority, a very great Interest in that Kingdom; yet he had no Martial Qualities, nor the reputation of more Courage, than insolent and imperious Persons, whilst they meet with no opposition, are used to have.

THE Earl of *Mountrose* believ'd that his getting safely into *Scotland*, was much more difficult than it would be to raise Men enough there to controul the Authority of *Argyle*. There was, at that time, at *Oxford*, the Earl of *Antrim*, remarkable for nothing, but for having Married the Dowager of the great Duke of *Buckingham*, within few years after the death of that Favourite. By the possession of Her ample Fortune, he had liv'd in the Court in great expence and some lustre, until his Riot had contracted so great a debt, that he was necessitated to leave the Kingdom, and to retire to his own Fortune in *Ireland* (which was very fair) together with his Wife; who gave him reputation, being a Lady, besides her own great extraction and fortune, as Heiress to the House of *Rutland*, and Wife and Mother to the Dukes of *Buckingham*, of a very great Wit and Spirit; and made the mean parts of her present Husband (a handsome Man too) well enough receiv'd in all places: so that they had liv'd in *Ireland* in splendour, as they might well do, till that Rebellion drove the Lady again from thence, to find a livelihood out of her own Estate in *England*. And upon the Queen's first coming to *Oxford*, She likewise came thither; where she found great respect from all. The Earl of *Antrim*, who was a Man of excessive pride and vanity, and of a very weak and narrow understanding, was no sooner without the counsel and company of his Wife, than he betook himself to the Rebels, with an imagination that his Quality and Fortune would give him the supreme power over them; which, probably, he never intended to employ to the prejudice of the King, but desired to appear so considerable, that he might be look'd upon as a greater Man than the Marquis of *Ormond*; which was so uneasy and torturing an Ambition to him, that it led him into several faults and follies. The Rebels were glad of His presence, and to have his Name known to be among them, but had no confidence in his abilities to advise or command them; but relied much more upon his Brother, *Alexander Macdonnell*, who was fast to their Party, and in their most secret Counsels.

THE Earl, according to his natural unsteadiness, did not like his Station there, but, by disguise, got himself into the Protestant

Protestant Quarters, and from thence into *England*, and so to *Oxford*; where his Wife then was; and made his presence not unacceptable; the King not having then notice of his having ever been among the *Irish* Rebels; but he pretended to have great credit and power in *Ireland* to serve the King, and to dispose the *Irish* to a Peace, if he should have any countenance from the King; which his Majesty knew him too well to think him capable of. Whether the Earl of *Antrim* had his original Extraction in *Scotland*, or the Marquis of *Argyle* His in *Ireland*, must be left to the determination of those that are skill'd in the Genealogy of the Family of the *Macdonnells*; to the superiority whereof they both pretend; and the Earl of *Antrim*, to much of those Lands in the Highlands of *Scotland*, which were possessed by *Argyle*; and the greatest part of his Estate in *Ireland* was in that part of *Ulster* that lies next *Scotland*, and his Dependents near of the same Language, and manner of living with the Highlanders of *Scotland*. The knowledge of this, disposed the Earl of *Mountrose* to make a great acquaintance with him as soon as he came to *Oxford*, and to consult with him, whether it might not be possible to draw a Body of Men out of *Ireland* to be such a foundation for raising Forces in *Scotland*, as might advance the Enterprize he had so long in his heart; it being notorious enough that the Highlanders in *Scotland* had very good Affections for the King; and desired nothing more than to free themselves from the hard slavery, they had long endured under the Tyranny of *Argyle*. The passage over the Sea in those places, between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, is so narrow, that the People often make their Markets in one and the other, in the space of few hours; and the hardness of both People is such, that they have no delight in the superfluity of diet, or cloathing, or the great commodity of Lodging; and were very fit to constitute an Army that was not to depend upon any Supplies of Money, or Armes, or Victual, but what they could easily provide for themselves, by the dexterity that is universally practiced in those parts.

THE Earl of *Antrim*, who was naturally a great Undertaker, and desired nothing so much, as that the King should believe him to be a Man of interest and power in *Ireland*, was highly exalted, when he discover'd by the Earl of *Mountrose*, that he was thought to have credit enough in that part of *Ireland*, to perform a Service for the King, which he never before entertain'd a thought of. So that he presently undertook to the Earl of *Mountrose*, "that, if the King would grant him a Commission, he would raise an Army in *Ireland*, and transport it into *Scotland*; and would himself be in the head of it; by means whereof he believ'd all the Clan of the

“*Macdonnells* in the Highlands of *Scotland*, might be perswad-
 “ed to follow him. When the Earl of *Mountrose* had form’d
 such a reasonable undertaking, as he believ’d the Earl of *An-*
trim might in truth be able to comply with, he acquainted
 the Lord *Digby* with it, who was a friend to all difficult de-
 signs, and desired him “to propose it to the King, and to let
 “his Majesty know, that he was so confident of the Earl of
 “*Antrim*’s being able to perform what should be necessary
 “(for he would be very well content, if he would send over
 “a Body but of two thousand Men into *Scotland*, which he
 “well knew he could easily do) that he would himself be in
 “the Highlands to receive them; and run his fortune with
 “them; if his Majesty would give him leave to gather up
 “such a Number of his Country-men about *Oxford*, as would
 “be willing to accompany him; with whom he would make
 “his way thither; and that, if no time were lost in prosecut-
 “ing this design, he did hope that by the time the *Scottish* Army
 “should be ready to take the Field, they should receive such
 “an Alarm from their own Country, as should hinder their
 “advance.

UPON this Overture, the King conferr’d with the two
 Earls together; and finding the Earl of *Antrim* forward to
 undertake the raising as many Men as should be desired, if he
 might have the King’s Commission to that purpose; and know-
 ing well, that he had, in that part of the Kingdom, Interest
 enough to do it; and the Earl of *Mountrose* as confidently as-
 suring his Majesty, “that with two thousand Men landed in
 “the Highlands, he would quickly raise an Army, with which
 “he could disquiet that Kingdom; and the design being more
 probable, than any other that could be proposed to the same
 purpose, his Majesty resolv’d to encourage it all he could, that
 is, to give it countenance; for he had neither Money, nor
 Armes, nor Ammunition, to contribute to it in any degree.
 The great objection, that appear’d at the first entrance into it,
 was, “that though the Earl of *Antrim* had power in *Ulster*,
 “and among the Roman Catholicks, he was very odious to
 “the Protestants, and obnoxious to the State at *Dublin*, many
 “things being discover’d against him of his correspondence
 “with the Rebels, which were not known when he came into
 “*England*. But that which gave most Umbrage (for no body
 suspected his conjunction with the Rebels) “was his declar’d
 “Malice to the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of *Ormond*,
 “and the contempt the Marquis had of him, who would there-
 “fore undervalue any Proposition should be made by him, be-
 “ing a Man of so notorious a levity and inconstancy, that
 “he did not use to intend the same thing long. There could
 “be no trusting him with any Commission independent upon
 “the

“the Marquis of *Ormond*, or allowing him to do any thing in
 “*Ireland* without the Marquis’s Privity, and such a limitation
 “would by no means be grateful to him. And though the be-
 “nefit, the King’s Friends in *Scotland* would receive by the
 “carrying away any Body of Men out of *Ulster*, would be a
 “great lessening and abatement of the strength of the *Irish*
 “Rebels, who had the Command over those parts, yet if the
 “Earl of *Antrim*, under any Authority from the King, should
 “indiscreetly behave himself (as no Man who lov’d him best,
 “had any confidence in his discretion) all the reproaches cast
 “upon his Majesty, of his countenancing those Rebels, would
 “receive the greatest confirmation imaginable.

THE foresight of these difficulties gave life to an Intrigue
 in the Court, which for some time had not succeeded. *Daniel*
O Neile (who was in subtlety and understanding much supe-
 rior to the whole Nation of the old *Irish*) had long labour’d
 to be of the Bed-Chamber to the King. He was very well
 known to the Court, having spent many years between that,
 and the Low Countries, the Winter Season in the one, and
 the Summer always in the Army in the other; as good an
 Education towards advancement in the world, as that Age
 knew. He had a fair reputation in both Climates, having a
 competent Fortune of his own, to support himself without
 dependance, and a natural Insinuation, and Address, which
 made him acceptable in the best Company. He was a great
 observer, and discerner of Mens Natures and Humours, and
 was very dexterous in compliance where he found it useful.
 As soon as the Troubles begun in *Scotland*, he had, with the
 first, the Command of a Troop of Horse; to which he was
 by all Men held very equal; having had good experience in
 the most Active Armies of that time, and a Courage very
 notorious. And though his inclinations were naturally to ease
 and luxury, his industry was indefatigable, when his honour
 required it, or his particular interest, which he was never
 without, and to which he was very indulgent, made it neces-
 sary or convenient.

IN the second Troubles in *Scotland*, he had a greater Com-
 mand, and some part in most of the Intrigues of the Court,
 and was in great confidence with those who most design’d
 the destruction of the Earl of *Strafford*; against whom he
 had contracted some prejudice in the behalf of his Nation:
 yet when the Parliament grew too imperious, he enter’d very
 frankly into those new designs, which were contrived at
 Court, with less circumspection than both the Season, and the
 weight of the Affair required. And in this combination, in
 which Men were most concern’d for themselves, and to re-
 ceive good recompence for the Adventures they made, he

had either been promised, or at least encouraged by the Queen to hope to be made Groom of the Bed-Chamber, when a vacancy should happen. When the Civil War begun, he, being then in the Low Countries, having made an escape out of the Tower, where he stood committed by the Parliament upon a Charge of High Treason, chose rather to be Lieutenant Colonel of Horse to Prince *Rupert*, than the Name of a greater Officer, which he might well have pretended to; presuming that, by his dexterity, he should have such an Interest in that young Prince, as might make his relation to him Superior to those who had greater Titles. He had the misfortune, at the first coming of the Prince, to have credit with him to make some impressions, and prejudices, which he would have been glad afterwards to have removed, when he saw others had credit likewise to build upon those foundations, which he hoped to have had the sole Authority to have supervised, and directed. When he saw some of his Fraternity promoted to Offices and Honours, who had not ventur'd, or suffer'd more than He (for if he had not made his escape out of the Tower very dextrously, in a Ladies dress, he had been in manifest danger of his Life) and whose pretences were not better founded, than upon the promises made at the same time, when he had promised himself to be of the Bed-Chamber, he now pressed likewise to be admitted into that attendance; and the Queen had been very solicitous with the King on his behalf, being conscious to her self, that he had been encouraged by Her to hope it. But the King could by no means be prevailed with to receive him, having contracted a prejudice against him with reference to the Earl of *Strafford*; or upon some other reason, which could not be removed by all his Friends, or by the Queen her self; who therefore bid him expect a better conjuncture. This, *O Neile* took very heavily; and the more, because his condition in the Army was less pleasant to him, by Prince *Rupert's* withdrawing his Graces from him.

THE design of the Earls of *Mountrose* and *Antrim*, which was yet wholly managed with the King by the Lord *Digby*, who was likewise of intimate Friendship with *O Neile*, gave him opportunity to set this pretence again on foot. It was generally known that *O Neile*, whether by Alliance, or Friendship, or long acquaintance, had more power with the Earl of *Antrim* than any Man; and that by the ascendent he had in his understanding, and the dexterity of his Nature, in which he was Superior to most Men, he could persuade him very much; and it was as notorious, that the Marquis of *Ormond* lov'd *O Neile* very well, and had much esteem for him. Upon this ground the Lord *Digby* told the King, "that he had thought of an expedient, which he did believe might relieve

"him in the perplexities he sustain'd concerning the Conduct
 "of the Earl of *Antrim*; and then propos'd, "the sending
 "O *Neile* with him; who should first dissuade him from affect-
 "ing to have any Commission Himself to Act in *Ireland*; and
 "then incline him to depend upon the Assistance and Autho-
 "rity of the Marquis of *Ormond*; who should be required by
 "the King to contribute all he could, for the making those
 "Levies of Men, and for impressing of Ships, and other Ves-
 "sels for their Transportation into the Highlands; and then,
 "that he should go over himself with the Earl, and stay with
 "him during his abode in *Dublin*; by which he might begin,
 "and preserve a good Intelligence between Him, and the
 "Marquis of *Ormond*; and dispose the Marquis of *Ormond*
 "to gratify him, in all things that might concern so impor-
 "tant a Service; which, besides the Letters he should carry
 "with him from the King, his own credit with the Marquis,
 "and his singular Address, would easily bring to pass.

THIS Proposition was very agreeable to the King, who
 knew O *Neile* was equal to this business; and the Lord *Digby*
 did not in the least insinuate any design for O *Neile*'s advan-
 tage in the Service, which would have diverted the Negotia-
 tion: thereupon his Majesty himself spoke to him of the whole
 design, the Lord *Digby* desiring he would do so, pretending
 that he had not communicated any part of it to him, being
 not sure of his Majesty's Approbation. He receiv'd it as a
 thing he had never thought of; and when the King asked
 him, "whether he thought the Earl had interest enough in
 "those parts of *Ireland*, to Levy and Transport a Body of
 "Men into the Highlands? he Answer'd readily, "that he
 "knew well, that there were so many there, where the Earl's
 "Estate lay, who depended absolutely upon him, that there
 "would be Men enough ready to go whither, or do what he
 "required them: and that the Men were hardy and stout for
 "any Service; but the drawing a Body of them together, and
 "Transporting them, would require, he doubted, more power
 "than the Earl himself had, or could be Master of. He said,
 "there were two Objections in view, and a third, that he
 "was not willing, for many reasons, to make. The first was,
 "that nothing of that Nature could be done without the Au-
 "thority and Power of the Marquis of *Ormond*, which, no
 "doubt, would be applied to any purpose his Majesty should
 "direct; yet that the Earl of *Antrim* had behaved himself so
 "indiscreetly towards the Marquis, and so unhandsonly dis-
 "obliged him, that it could not but be the severest Command
 "his Majesty could lay upon the Marquis, to enter into any
 "kind of conjunction, or conversation with that Earl. The
 "second was, that, though the Earl's Interest could make as
 "many

"many Men as he desired, to enter into any Action or Engagement he would prescribe, he much doubted the *Irish* Commander in Chief, who had the Military power of those parts, would hardly permit a Body of those Men, which they reckon'd their best Soldiers, to be Transported; and thereby their own strength to be lessen'd; which was an objection of Weight, and not mention'd before to the King, nor consider'd by him. He said, "he was unwilling to make another objection, which reflected upon a Person so dear to him, and for whom he would at any time lay down his Life; which was, that he much fear'd the Earl of *Antrim* had not steadiness of mind enough to go through with such an Undertaking, which otherwise would be as easy as honourable.

THE King, well satisfied with the Discourse he made, told him, "that he was not Himself without the same apprehensions he had, and knew but one way to secure the business, if he would undertake the Journey with him, by which all his fears would be compos'd; His Counsel would govern the Earl in all things, and his credit with the Marquis of *Ormond*, which should be improv'd by his Majesty's recommendation, would prevent any prejudice in him towards the Earl. The King added, "that the Service it self was of so vast importance, that it might preserve his Crown, and therefore his conducting it, without which he saw little hope of Success, would be a matter of great merit, and could not be Unrewarded. O *Neile* seem'd wonderfully surpris'd with the Proposition, and in some disorder (which he could handsomly put on when he would) said, "that he would never disobey any Command his Majesty would positively lay upon him; but that he should look upon it as the greatest misfortune that could befall him, to receive such a Command, as would deprive him of attending upon his Majesty in the next Campaign, where he was sure there must be a Battle; from which he had rather lose his life than be absent. Then he said, "though the Earl of *Antrim* was his Kinsman, and his Friend, and one who, he thought, lov'd him better than he did any other Man, yet he was the last Man in *England* with whom he would be willing to joyn in any Enterprize; mentioning his Pride, and Levity, and Weakness, and many Infirmities, which made it appear more requisite, that a Wiser Man should have the application of his Interest; which he knew must be himself. The King renew'd his desire to him to undertake the Service, as the greatest he could perform for him; and commanded him to confer with the Lord *Digby*, who should inform him of all particulars, and should find the best way to make the Earl of

Antrim to communicate the Affair to him, and to wish his Assistance; which was easily brought to pass; nor was there any thing relating to it that the Lord *Digby* had not before imparted to him; though the King suspected it not.

THE Lord *Digby* had now brought the business to the state he wish'd; and, within two or three days, told the King how glad the Earl of *Antrim* was, that he had leave to communicate the matter with *O Neile*; and desired nothing more than that his Majesty would command him to go over with him; which was an excellent point gained, wherein he had himself chosen the Person, who was only fit to be with him, whereas he might have been jealous, if he had been first recommended to him. The Earl had, upon the first mention of him, taken Notice of the difficulty he might find to draw his Men out of the *Irish* Quarters, by the opposition of those who Commanded there in chief; but, he said, if the King would make *O Neile* go with him, all that difficulty would be remov'd; for *Owen O Neile* who was Uncle to *Daniel*, was the General of all the *Irish* in *Ulster*, and incomparably the best Soldier, and the Wisest Man that was among the *Irish* Rebels, having long serv'd the King of *Spain* in *Flanders* in very eminent Command; and the Earl said, that he was sure *Daniel* had that credit with his Uncle, that he would not refuse at his request, to connive at what was necessary for the Earl to do, which was all he desired.

THE Lord *Digby* left not this circumstance, which he pretended never to have thought of before, unobserv'd, to advance the Counsel he had given for employing *O Neile*; whom he took occasion then to Magnify again; and told the King, that he had already convinced the Earl of *Antrim*, of the folly of desiring any other Commission, than what the Marquis of *Ormond* should find necessary to give him; and how impossible it was for him to have any success in that design, without the cheerful concurrence, and friendship of the Marquis: which the Earl was now brought to confess, and solemnly promised to do all he should be advised, to compass it. But after all this, he lamented *O Neile's* obstinate aversion to undertake the Journey, for many reasons; who, he said, had engaged him, under all the obligations of the Friendship that was between them, to prevail with his Majesty, that he might not be absent from his charge in the Army, in a Season when there must be so much Action, and when his Majesty's Person, whom he so dearly lov'd, must be in so great danger; and that he had told him freely, that he could not honestly move his Majesty to that purpose, whom he knew to be so possessed of the necessity

“of

“of his going into *Ireland* with the Earl, that he should
 “despair of the whole Enterprize, which was the most hope-
 “ful he had in his view, if he did not chearfully submit to
 “act his part towards it : but that notwithstanding all he had
 “said, by which he had shut out all farther importunity to-
 “wards himself, his Majesty must expect to be very much
 “struggled with ; and that *O Neile* would lay himself at his
 “feet, and get all his Friends to joyn with him in a supplica-
 “tion for his Majesty’s excuse ; and that there was no more
 “to be done, but that his Majesty, with some warmth, should
 “command him to desist from farther importunity, and to
 “comply with what he should expect from him ; which, he
 “said, he knew would silence all farther opposition : for that
 “*O Neile* had that entire resignation to his Majesty’s pleasure,
 “that he would rather dye than offend him. Upon which,
 and to cut off all farther Mediation, and Interposition, the
 King presently sent for him, and graciously conjur’d him, with
 as much passion as he could shew, “to give over all thoughts
 “of excuse, and to provide for his Journey within three or
 “four days.

ALL things being thus disposed, and the King expecting
 every day that the Earl and *O Neile* would take their leaves,
 the Lord *Digby* came to him, and said, “*Mr O Neile*, had an
 “humble Suite to his Majesty at parting ; which to him did
 “not seem unreasonable, and therefore he hoped his Majesty
 “would raise the Spirits of the poor Man, since he did be-
 “lieve in his Conscience, that he desired it more for the ad-
 “vancement of his Majesty’s Service, than to satisfy his own
 “Ambition. He put him in mind of the “long pretence he
 “had to be Groom of his Bed-Chamber, for the which he
 “could not choose but say, that he had the Queen’s promise,
 “at the same time when *Piercy*, and *Wilmot* had the like for
 “Their Honours, which they had since receiv’d the accom-
 “plishment of : That his Majesty had not yet rejected the
 “Suite, but only deferr’d the granting it ; not without giving
 “him leave in due time to hope it : That there could not be
 “so proper a Season as this, for his Majesty to confer this
 “Grace : That *Mr O Neile* was without a Rival, and, in the
 “Eyes of all Men, equal to his pretence ; and so no Man
 “could be offended at the Success : That he was now upon
 “an employment of great trust, chosen by his Majesty as the
 “only Person who could bring an Enterprize of that vast ex-
 “pectation to a good end, by his Conduct and Dexterity :
 “That it must be a Journey of great expence, besides the ha-
 “zard of it ; yet he asked no Money, because he knew there
 “was none to be had ; he begged only, that he might de-
 “part with such a Character, and Testimony of his Ma-
 “jesty’s

"jesty's favour and good opinion, that he might be thereby
 "the better qualified to perform the trust that was reposed
 "in him: That the conferring this honour upon him, at this
 "time, would encrease the credit he had with the Earl of
 "*Antrim*, at least confirm his unconstant Nature, in an ab-
 "solute confidence in him: It would make him more confi-
 "derable to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Council there,
 "with whom he might have occasion often to confer about
 "his Majesty's Service; but above all, it would give him that
 "Authority over his Country-men, and would be such an
 "obligation upon the whole *Irish* Nation (there having ne-
 "ver yet been any *Irish*-man admitted to a place so near the
 "Person of the King) that it might produce unexpected
 "effects, and could not fail of disposing *Owen O Neile*, the
 "General, to hearken to any thing his Nephew should ask
 "of him.

How much reason soever this discourse carried with it,
 with all the insinuations a very powerful Speaker could add
 to it in the delivery, the Lord *Digby* found an aversion, and
 weariness in the King all the time he was speaking; and
 therefore, as his last effort, and with a Countenance as if he
 thought his Majesty much in the wrong, he concluded, "that
 "he doubted his Majesty would too late repent his aversion
 "in this particular; and that Men ought not to be sent upon
 "such errands, with the sharp sense of any disobligation:
 "That if his Majesty pleased, he might settle this Affair in
 "such a manner as *O Neile* might go away very well pleased,
 "and his Majesty enjoy the greatest part of his resolution:
 "That *O Neile* should not be yet in so near an attendance
 "about his Person: That the Employment was full of hazard,
 "and would require a great expence of time: That he was a
 "Man of that Nature, as would not leave a business half
 "done, and would be ashamed to see his Majesty's face, be-
 "fore there were some very considerable effect of his Acti-
 "vity and Industry; and considering what was to be done in
 "*Ireland*, and the posture of Affairs in *England*, it might be
 "a very long time before *O Neile* might find himself again in
 "the King's presence, to enter upon his Office in the Bed-
 "Chamber; and therefore proposed, "that the hour he was
 "to leave *Oxford*, he might be sworn Groom of the Bed-
 "Chamber; by which he should depart only with a Title,
 "the Effect whereof he should not be possessed of, before he
 "had very well deserv'd it, and return'd again to his Ma-
 "jesty's presence; which, possibly, might require more time
 "than the other had to live. This last prevail'd more than
 all the rest, and the imagination that the other might be well
 satisfied with a place he should never enjoy, made his Majesty
 consent,

consent, that, in the last Article of time, he should be sworn before his departure; with which the other was well satisfied, making little doubt but that he should be able to dispatch that part of the business which was incumbent on him, in so short a time, as he might return to his attendance in the Bed-Chamber (where he longed to be) sooner than the King expected; which fell out accordingly, for he was again with his Majesty in the Summer following, which was that of forty four.

WHILST this Intrigue was carrying on for Mr O Neile, there was another, as unacceptable, set on foot on the behalf of the Earl of *Antrim*; for whose Person the King had as little regard or kindness, as for any Man of his rank. The Dutcheis of *Buckingham*, his Wife, was now in *Oxford*, whom the King always heard with favour; his Majesty retaining a most gracious memory of her former Husband, whom, He thought, she had forgotten too soon. This Lady, being of a great Wit and Spirit, when she found that the King now thought her Husband good for somewhat, which he had never before done, was resolv'd he should carry with him some testimony of the King's esteem; which, she thought, would be at least some justification of the affection she had manifested for him. She told the King, "that her Husband was "so eclipsed in *Ireland*, by the no-countenance his Majesty "had ever shew'd towards him, and by his preferring some "who were his equals, to degrees and trusts above him, and "by raising others, who were in all respects much inferior to "him, to the same Title with him, and to Authority above "him, that she believ'd he had not credit and interest enough "to do the Service he desired to do: That, in that Country, "the Lords and Greatest Men had reputation over their Tenants and Vassals, as they were known to have Grace from "the King; and when they were known to be without That, "they had no more power than to exact their own just Services. She lamented "the misfortune of her Husband, "which she had the more reason to do, because it proceeded "from Her; and that, whereas he had reason to have expected, that, by his Marriage with her, he might have "been advanced in the Court, and in his Majesty's favour, "he had found so little benefit from thence, that he might "well believe, as She did, that he suffer'd for it: Otherwise, "it would not have been possible for a Person of the Earl of "Antrim's Estate, and Interest, and so well qualified, as she "had reason to believe him to be in all respects, after the "expence of so much Money in attendance upon the Court, "to be without any mark or evidence of his Majesty's favour; "and to return now again in the same forlorn condition into

"*Ireland*, would but give his Enemies more encouragement
 "to insult over him, and to cross any designs he had to ad-
 "vance his Majesty's Service. In Conclusion she desired,
 "that the King would make her Husband a Marquis; with-
 out which, she did as good as declare, that he should not un-
 dertake that Employment. Though his Majesty was neither
 pleased with the matter, nor the manner, he did not discern
 so great an inconvenience in the gratifying him, as might
 weigh down the benefit he expected with reference to *Scot-*
land; which the Earl of *Mountrose*, every day, with great
 earnestness, put him in mind of. Thereupon, he gave Order
 for a Warrant to make the Earl of *Antrim* a Marquis.

The Earl of
 Mountrose
 goes private-
 ly into Scot-
 land, and
 raises an Ar-
 my; and has
 great success.

So He and O Neile, being well pleased, begun their Jour-
 ney for *Ireland*; and at the same time the Earl of *Mountrose*
 took his leave of the King with several Gentlemen, as if they
 meant to make their way together into *Scotland*. But the
 Earl of *Mountrose*, after he had continued his Journey two or
 three days in that Equipage, which he knew could be no se-
 cret, and that it would draw the Enemies Troops together for
 the Guard of all Passes to meet with him, was found missing
 one Morning by his Company; who, after some stay and en-
 quiry, return'd back to *Oxford*, whilst that Noble Person,
 with incredible Address and Fatigue, had not only quitted
 his Company, and his Servants, but his Horse also, and found
 a safe passage, for the most part, on foot, through all the
 Enemies Quarters, till he came to the very Borders; from
 whence, by the Assistance of Friends whom he trusted, he
 found himself secure in the Highlands, where he lay quiet,
 without undertaking any Action, until the Marquis of *Antrim*,
 by the Countenance and Assistance of the Marquis of *Ormond*,
 did make good so much of his undertaking, that he sent over
Alexander Macdonnel, a stout and an active Officer (whom
 they call'd by an *Irish* appellation *Calkito*) with a Regiment
 of fifteen hundred Soldiers; who landed in the Highlands in
Scotland, at, or near the place that had been agreed on, and
 where the Earl of *Mountrose* was ready to receive them;
 which he did with great joy; and quickly publish'd his Com-
 mission of being General for the King over all that King-
 dom. With this handful of Men brought together with those
 circumstances remember'd, he brought in so many of his own
 Country-men to joyn with him, as were strong enough to
 Arme themselves at the Charge of their Enemies; whom they
 first Defeated; and every day encreased in power, till he
 fought, and prevailed in so many several Battles, that he made
 himself, upon the matter, master of the Kingdom; and did
 all those stupendous Acts, which deservedly are the Subject
 of a History by it self, excellently written in Latin by a
 Learned

Learned Prelate of that Nation. And this preamble to that History was not improper for this relation, being made up of many secret passages known to few; in which the Artifices of Court were very notable, and as mysterious as the Motions in that Sphere use to be. There will be hereafter occasion, before the conclusion of our History, to mention that Noble Lord again, and his Zeal for the Crown, before he came to his sad Catastrophe.

THE King now found, that, notwithstanding all the divisions in the Parliament, and the factions in the City, there would be an Army ready to march against him before he could put himself into a Posture ready to receive it; and was therefore the more impatient that the Prince should leave *Oxford*, and begin his Journey to *Bristol*; which he did within a fortnight after the expiration of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. And since the King did at that time, within himself (for publicly he was contented that it should be otherwise believ'd) resolve that the Prince should only keep his Court in the West, that they might be separated from each other, without engaging himself in any Martial Action, or being so much as present in any Army, it had been very happy, and, to discerning Men, seem'd then a thing desirable, if his Majesty had removed His Court into the West too, either to *Bristol*, or, which it may be had been better, to *Exeter*. For, since *Reading* and *Abingdon* were both possessed by the Parliament, and thereby *Oxford* become the head Quarter, it was not so fit that the Court should remain there; which, by the multitude of Ladies, and Persons of Quality, who resided there, would not probably endure such an Attack of the Enemy, as the Situation of the place, and the good Fortifications which inclosed it, might very well bear. Nor would the Enemy have sat down before it, till they had done their business in all other places, if they had not presum'd, that the Inhabitants within, would not be willing to submit to any notable distress. If, at this time, a good Garrison had only been left there, and all the Court, and Persons of Quality, remov'd into the West with the Prince, it would probably have been a means speedily to have reduced to the King's obedience those small Garrisons, which stood out; and the King himself might, by the Spring, have been able to have carried a good recruit of Men to his Army, and might likewise have made *Oxford* the place of Rendezvous, at the time when it should be fit for him to take the Field. But the truth is, not only the Ladies, who were very powerful in such consultations of State, but very few of the rest, of what Degree, or Quality soever, who had excellent accommodations in the Colleges, which they could not have found any where else, would, without extreme murmuring, have been content

content to have chang'd their Quarters. Besides, the King had that Royal Affection for the University, that he thought it well deserv'd the honour of his own Presence; and always resolv'd, that it should be never so expos'd to the extremity of War, as to fall into those barbarous hands, without making all necessary conditions for the preservation of so Venerable a place from rapine, sacrilege, and destruction.

THUS that consideration of removing the Court from thence, was only secretly entred upon, and laid aside, without making it the subject of any Publick Debate: and since the other could not have been effected, it had been well if the whole Council which was assign'd to attend the Prince, had been obliged to have perform'd that Service. But both the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, Men of great reputation and authority, excused themselves to the King, for not submitting to that his Command, and for desiring to continue still about his Person; the one thinking it some diminution to his greatness to be at any distance from his Majesty, to whom he had adher'd with that signal Fidelity and Affection, when so many had deserted him; the other, being newly married, and engaged in a Family, which he could not, without great inconveniences, have left behind him; nor without more have carried with him. Nor was the King difficult in admitting their excuses, having named them rather to obviate some jealousies, which were like to be entertain'd upon the first discourse of sending the Prince into the West, than that he believed they would be willing to be engaged in the Service. However, it was easy to be foreseen, that, upon any ill accidents, which were like enough to fall out, they who were still oblig'd to that duty, would not have reputation enough to exact that general submission, and obedience, which ought to be paid to the Commands of the Prince; of which there was shortly after too manifest evidence.

St John Hotham and his Son tryed at a Court of War: Both are condemn'd, and beheaded.

THERE was an Act of Divine Justice about this time executed by those at *Westminster*, which ought not to be forgotten in the relation of the Affairs of this year; and which ought to have caused very useful reflections to be made by many who were equally engag'd; some of whom afterwards did undergoe the same fate. There hath been often mention before of *St John Hotham*, who shut the Gates of *Hull* against the King, and refused to give him entrance into that Town, when he came thither attended only by his own Servants, before the beginning of the War; and was, in truth, the immediate cause of the War. It was the more wonderful, that a Person of a full and ample fortune, who was not disturbed by any Fancies in Religion, had unquestion'd duty to the Crown, and reverence for the Government both of Church and State, should

should so foolishly expose Himself, and his Family, of great Antiquity, to comply with the humours of those Men whose Persons he did not much esteem, and whose Designs he perfectly detested. But, as his particular Animosity against the Earl of *Strafford*, first engaged him in that Company, so his vanity and ambition, and the Concessions the King had made to their unreasonable demands, made him concur farther with them, than his own judgement disposed him to. He had taken upon him the Government of *Hull*, without any apprehension, or imagination, that it would ever make him accessory to Rebellion; but believ'd, that, when the King and Parliament should be reconciled, the eminence of that Charge would promote him to some of those rewards and honours, which that Party resolv'd to divide among themselves. When he found himself more dangerously and desperately embarked than he ever intended to be, he bethought himself of all possible ways to disentangle himself, and to wind himself out of the Labyrinth he was in. His comportment towards the Lord *Digby*, and *Alburnham*, and his Inclinations at that time, have been mentioned before at large; and from that time, the entire confidence the Parliament had in his Son, and the vigilance and jealousy that he was known to have towards his Father, was that alone that preserv'd him longer in the Government. Besides that they had so constituted the Garrison, that they knew it could never be in the Father's power to do them hurt. But, after this, when they discover'd some alteration in the Son's behaviour, and that the pride and stubbornness of his Nature would not suffer him to submit to the Command of the Lord *Fairfax*, and that superiority over both his Father and Him, with which the Parliament had invested that Lord, and had some inkling of secret Messages between the Marquis of *New-Castle*, and young *Hotham*, they caus'd both Father and Son to be suddainly seised upon, and sent up Prisoners to the Parliament; which immediately committed them to the Tower, upon a charge of High Treason.

THOUGH there was Evidence enough against them, yet they had so many Friends in both Houses of Parliament, and some of that Interest in the Army, that they were preserv'd from farther prosecution, and remain'd long Prisoners in the Tower without being brought to any Trial; so that they believed their punishment to be at the highest. But when that Party prevail'd that resolv'd to new Model the Army, and to make as many examples of their rigour and severity, as might terrify all Men from falling from them, they call'd importunately, that the two *Hotham's* might be try'd at a Court of War, for their Treachery and Treason; and they who had hitherto preserv'd them, had now lost their Interest; so that they

they were both brought to their Trial, some little time before the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, and both condemn'd to lose their heads. The principal Charge against the Father was, his suffering the Lord *Digby* to escape; and a Letter was produced, by the Treachery of a Servant, against the Son, which he had sent to the Marquis of *New-Castle*. The vile artifices that were used both before and after their Trial, were so barbarous, and inhuman, as have been rarely practiced among Christians.

THE Father was first condemn'd to suffer upon a day appointed, and the Son afterwards to be executed in like manner the day following: the Night before, or the very Morning, that *Sr John Hotham* was to dye, a Reprieve was sent from the House of Peers to suspend his execution for three days. The Commons were highly incensed at this presumption in the Lords; and to prevent the like mischief for the future, they made an Order "to all Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, and "other Ministers of Justice, that no Reprieve should be granted, or allow'd for any Person against whom the sentence of "Death was pronounced, except the same had passed, and "had the consent of both Houses of Parliament; and that if "it passed only by the House of Peers, it should be looked "upon as invalid and void, and execution should not be there- "upon forborne, or suspended. By this accident the Son was brought to his Execution before his Father, upon the day on which he was sentenced to suffer; who dyed with Courage, and reproaching "the ingratitude of the Parliament, and "their continuance of the War; concluded, "that, as to Them, "he was very innocent, and had never been guilty of Treason. The Father was brought to the Scaffold the next day: For the House of Commons, to shew their Prerogative over the Lords, sent an Order to the Lieutenant of the Tower, that he should cause him to be Executed that very day, which was two days before the Reprieve granted by the House of Peers was expired. Whether he had yet some promise from *Peters*, that he should only be shew'd to the People, and so return'd safe again to the Tower, which was then generally reported, and believ'd, or whether he was broken with despair (which is more probable) when he saw that his Enemies prevail'd so far, that he could not be permitted to live those two days which the Peers had granted him, certain it is that the poor Man appear'd so dispirited, that he spoke but few words after he came upon the Scaffold, and suffer'd his ungodly Confessor *Peters*, to tell the People "that he had reveal'd himself to "him, and confess'd his Offences against the Parliament; and so he committed his head to the block. This was the woeful Tragedy of these two unhappy Gentlemen; in which there were so many circumstances of an unusual Nature, that the immediate

immediate hand of Almighty God could not but appear in it to all Men who knew their Natures, Humours, and Transactions.

SINCE the last Office of a General, with reference to the King's Quarters, which the Earl of *Essex* perform'd before he found it necessary to surrender his Commission to the Parliament, was done before the end of this year, it will be proper in this place to mention it, both in respect of the Nature of the thing it self, and the Circumstances with which it was conducted, it being a Letter sign'd by the Earl of *Essex*, and sent by a Trumpet to Prince *Rupert*, but penn'd by a Committee of Parliament, and perused by both Houses before it was sign'd by their General; who used, in all dispatches made by Himself, to observe all decency in the forms. It was a very insolent Letter, and upon a very insolent occasion. The Parliament had, some Months before, made an Ordinance against giving Quarter to any of the *Irish* Nation which should be taken Prisoners, either at Sea or Land; which was not taken notice of, or indeed known to the King, till long after; though the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Officers under him at Sea, had as often as he met with any *Irish* Frigats, or such Freebooters as sailed under their Commission, taken all the Sea Men who became Prisoners to them of that Nation, and bound them back to back, and thrown them over board into the Sea, without distinction of their condition, if they were *Irish*. In this cruel manner very many poor Men perished daily; of which, when it was generally known, the King said nothing, because none of those Persons were in his Majesty's Service; and how barbarous soever the proceedings were, his Majesty could not complain of it, without undergoing the reproach of being concern'd on the behalf, and in favour of the Rebels of *Ireland*.

BUT there had been lately, in some Service ~~at~~ Land, some Prisoners taken of the King's Troops, and upon pretence that they were *Irish*-men, as many as they thought to be of that Nation, were all hanged, to the Number of ten or twelve. Whereupon, Prince *Rupert*, having about the time when he heard of that barbarity, taken an equal Number of the Parliament Soldiers, caused Them likewise to be hanged upon the next Tree; which the Parliament declared to be an Act of great injustice, and cruelty; and appointed the Earl of *Essex* to expostulate it with Prince *Rupert* very rudely, in the Letter they had caused to be penn'd for him, and to send a Copy of their Ordinance, enclosed in the said Letter, with expressions full of reproach, for his "presumption in making an Ordinance of Theirs, the Argument to justify an Action of "so much inhumanity; which was the first knowledge the
King

King had of any such Declaration, with reference to the War in *England*; nor had there been, from the beginning of it, any such example made. Prince *Rupert* return'd such an Answer as was reasonable, and with a sharpness equal to the provocation, and sent it to the Earl of *Essex*; who, the day before he receiv'd it, had given up his Commission; but sent it immediately to the two Houses, who were exceedingly enraged at it; some of them saying, "that they wonder'd it was so long on the way, for that certainly it had been prepared" at *Uxbridge*.

The Prince of Wales sent by the King to reside at Bristol.

IT was upon the fourth of *March*, that the Prince parted from the King his Father; and, about a Week after, came to *Bristol*; where he was now to act a part by Himself, as the Affairs should require, or rather where he was to sit still without acting any thing; the end being, as was said before, only that the King and the Prince might not be exposed at the same time to the same danger; without any purpose that he should raise any more strength, than was necessary to the security of his own Person; or that indeed he should move farther Westward than that City. His Highness had not been there above two or three days, when Letters were intercepted, that discover'd a design of *Waller*, who had pass'd by the Lord *Goring*, and put relief into *Taunton*, and hoped to have surpris'd *Bristol* in his return; whereupon two or three of his Correspondents fled out of the City, and the rest were so dispirited with the discovery, that they readily consented to any thing that was propos'd. So the Lord *Hopton* put all things into so good a Posture, that there was no farther cause to apprehend *Waller*; and he himself was required to return to *London*, to deliver up his Commission upon the *Self-denying Ordinance*.

THUS ended the year 1644, which shall conclude this Book.

THE END OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.

T H E

History of the Rebellion, &c.

B O O K IX.

II. I. 15.

And when you spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you: Yea when you make many Prayers, I will not hear. Your hands are full of blood.

II. XXVIII. 15.

For we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid our selves.

WE are now entering upon a time, the representation and description whereof, must needs be the most unpleasant, and ungrateful to the Reader, in respect of the Subject matter of it; which will consist of no less weakness and folly, on the one side, than of malice and wickedness, on the other; and the most unagreeable and difficult to the Writer, in regard, that he shall, probably, please very few who acted then upon the Stage of business, but must give very severe Characters of the Persons, and severely censure the Actions of many, who wish'd very well, and had not the least thought of disloyalty or infidelity, as well as of those, who, with the most deliberate impiety, prosecuted their design to ruin and destroy the Crown: A time, in which the whole stock of Affection, Loyalty, and Courage, which at first alone engaged Men in the Quarrel, seem'd to be quite spent, and to be succeeded by negligence, laziness, inadvertency, and dejection of Spirit, contrary to the Natural temper, vivacity, and constancy of the Nation: A time, in which they who pretended most publick-heartedness, and did really wish

*Introduction
to the Ninth
Book and the
year 1645.*

with the King all the greatness he desired to preserve for himself, did sacrifice the publick Peace, and the security of their Master to their own passions and appetites, to their ambition, and animosities against each other, without the least design of Treachery, or damage towards his Majesty: A time, in which want of discretion, and meer folly, produced as much mischief, as the most barefaced Villany could have done; in which the King suffer'd as much, by the irresolution, and unsteadiness of his own Counsels, and by the ill humour, and faction of his Counsellors; by their not foreseeing what was evident to most other Men, and by their jealousies of what was not like to fall out; sometimes by deliberating too long without resolving, and as often resolving without any deliberation, and most of all, not executing Vigorously what was deliberated and resolv'd, as by the indefatigable industry, and the irresistible power and strength of his Enemies.

ALL these things must be very particularly enlarged upon, and exposed to the naked View, in the Relation of what fell out in this year, 1645, in which we are engaged, except we will swerve from that precise Rule of ingenuity, and integrity, we profess to observe; and thereby leave the Reader more perplexed, to see the most prodigious accidents fall out, without discerning the no less prodigious causes which produced them; which would lead him into as wrong an estimate of things, and persuade him to believe, that a universal corruption of the hearts of the whole Nation had brought forth those lamentable effects; whereas they proceeded only from the folly and the forwardness, from the weakness and the wilfulness, the pride and the passion of particular Persons, whose Memories ought to be charged with their own evil Actions, rather than that the Infamy of them should be laid on the Age wherein they liv'd; which did produce as many Men eminent for their loyalty and incorrupted fidelity to the Crown, as any that had preceded it. Nor is it possible to discourse of all these particulars, with the clearness that is necessary to Subject them to Common understandings, without opening a door for such reflections upon the King himself, as shall seem to call both his Wisdom, and his Steadiness into question, as if he had wanted the one to apprehend and discover, and the other to prevent the Mischiefs which threaten'd him. All which considerations might very well discourage, and even terrify me from prosecuting this part of the Work, with such a freedom and openness, as must call many things to memory which are forgotten, or were never sufficiently understood; and rather persuade me to satisfy my self, with a bare relation of what was done, and with the known event of that miserable year (which, in truth, produced all that follow'd

in the succeeding years) without prying too strictly into the causes of those effects, and so let them seem rather to be the production of Providence, and the instances of Divine displeasure, than shew how they proceed from the weakness and inadvertency of Men, not totally abandon'd by God Almighty to the most unruly lusts of their own appetite, and inventions.

BUT I am too far embarked in this Sea already, and have proceeded with too much simplicity and sincerity with reference to Things, and Persons, and in the examinations of the grounds, and oversights of Counsels, to be now frighted with the prospect of those Materials, which must be comprehended within the relation of this year's transactions. I know my self to be very free from any of those Passions which naturally transport Men with prejudice towards the Persons whom they are obliged to mention, and whose Actions they are at liberty to censure. There is not a Man who acted the worst part, in this ensuing year, with whom I had ever the least difference, or Personal unkindness, or towards whom I had not much inclination of kindness, or from whom I did not receive all invitations of farther endearments. There were many who were not free from very great faults, and oversights in the Counsels of this year, with whom I had great Friendship, and which I did not discontinue upon those unhappy oversights; nor did flatter them when they were past, by excusing what they had done. I knew most of the things my self which I mention, and therefore can Answer for the Truth of them; and other most important particulars, which were transacted in places very distant from me, were transmitted to me, by the King's immediate direction and order, even after he was in the hands and power of the Enemy, out of his own Memorials, and Journals. And as he was always severe to himself, in censuring his own oversights, so he could not but well foresee, that many of the misfortunes of this ensuing year, would reflect upon some want of resolution in Himself, as well as upon the gross errors, and oversights, to call them no worse, of those who were trusted by him. Wherefore as I first undertook this difficult work with His approbation, and by His encouragement, and for His vindication, so I enter upon this part of it, principally, that the world may see (at least if there be ever a fit season for such a Communication; which is not like to be in this present Age) how difficult it was for a Prince, so unworthily reduced to those streights his Majesty was in, to find Ministers, and Instruments, equal to the great Work that was to be done; and how unlikely it was for him to have better success under their conduct whom it was then very proper for

him to trust with it; and then, without my being over solicitous to absolve him from those mistakes, and weaknesses, to which he was in truth sometimes liable, he will be found not only a Prince of admirable Virtue, and Piety, but of great parts of Knowledge and Judgement; and that the most signal of his Misfortunes proceeded chiefly from the modesty of his Nature, which kept him from trusting himself enough, and made him believe, that others discern'd better, who were much inferior to him in those faculties; and so to depart often from his own reason, to follow the opinions of more unskilful Men, whose affections he believ'd to be unquestionable to his Service. And so we proceed in our relation of matter of Fact.

WHAT expectation soever there was, that the *Self-denying Ordinance*, after it had, upon so long deliberation, passed the House of Commons, would have been rejected and cast out by the Peers; whereby the Earl of *Essex* would still have remain'd General; it did not take up so long Debate there. The Marquis of *Argyle* was now come from *Scotland*, and fate with the Commissioners of that Kingdom, over whom he had a great ascendent. He was, in matters of Religion, and in relation to the Church, purely Presbyterian; but in matter of State, and with reference to the War, perfectly Independent. He abhor'd all thoughts of Peace, and that the King should ever more have the Government, towards whose Person, notwithstanding the infinite obligations he had to him, he had always an inveterate malice. He had made a fast Friendship with *Sr Harry Vane*, during his late being in *Scotland*; and they both liked each others Principles in Government. From the time of His coming to the Town, the *Scotish* Commissioners were less vehement in obstructing the Ordinance, or the new modelling the Army: so that after it came to the House of Peers, though thereby the Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Manchester*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earl of *Denbigh* (whose power and authority, that is, the power, credit, and authority, of the three first named, had absolutely govern'd and sway'd that House from the beginning) were to be dispossest of their Commands, and no Peer of *England* capable of any employment either Martial, or Civil; yet the Ordinance found little Opposition, and the old Argument, "that the House of Commons thought it necessary, and that it would be of mischievous Consequence to dissent from the House of Commons, so far prevailed, that it passed the House of Peers likewise; and there remain'd nothing to be done, but the Earl of *Essex's* Surrender of his Commission into the hands of the Parliament, from whom he had receiv'd it; which was thought necessary to be done with the same formality

The *Self-denying Ordinance* passes in the House of Lords.

formality in which he had been invested with it. *Fairfax* was now named, and declared General, though the Earl of *Essex* made not hast to surrender his Commission; so that some Men imagin'd, that he would yet have contested it: but he was not for such enterprises, and did really believe that the Parliament would again have need of him, and his delay was only to be well advis'd, in all the circumstances of the formality. In the end it was agreed, that, at a conference of both Houses in the Painted-Chamber, he should deliver his Commission; which he did. And because he had no very plausible faculty in expressing himself, he chose to do it in Writing; which he deliver'd to them; wherein he declared, "with what Affection and Fidelity he had serv'd them, and as he had often ventur'd his Life for them, so he would willingly have lost it in their Service; and since they believ'd, that what they had more to do would be better perform'd by another Man, he submitted to their judgement, and restored their Commission to them; hoping they would find an abler Servant: concluding with some expressions which made it manifest that he did not think he had been well used, or that they would be the better for the change: and so left them, and return'd to his own House; whither both Houses, the next day, went to attend him, and to return their thanks for the great Service he had done the Kingdom; which they acknowledged with all the Encomiums, and flattering Attributes they could devise.

The Earl of Essex resigns his Commission:

By this *Self-denying Ordinance*, together with the Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Manchester*, *St William Waller*, the Earl of *Denbigh*, Major General *Massy*, lost their Commands; as *Cromwell* should likewise have done. But as soon as the Ordinance was pass'd, and before the Resignation of the Earl of *Essex*, the Party that steer'd, had caused him to be sent with a Body of Horse into the West, to relieve *Taunton*, that he might be absent at the time when the other Officers deliver'd their Commissions; which was quickly observ'd; and thereupon Orders were given, to require his present Attendance in Parliament, and that their new General should send some other Officer to attend that Service; which was pretended to be done; and the very day named, by which, it was averr'd that he would be in the House. A Rendezvous was then appointed, for their new General to take a View of their Troops, that he might appoint Officers to succeed those who had left their Commands by Virtue of the Ordinance; and likewise in Their places who gave up their Commands, and refused to serve in the new Model, who were a great number of their best Commanders. From this Rendezvous, the General sent to desire the Parliament, "that they would give

And Divers other Officers.

Cromwell
only finds
means to
keep his Com-
mission, and
new Models
the Army
under Fair-
fax.

"Lieutenant General *Cromwell* leave to stay with him for some few days, for his better information, without which, he should not be able to perform what they expected from him. The request seeming so reasonable, and being for so short a time, little opposition was made to it: and shortly after, by another Letter, he desir'd with very much earnestness, "that they would allow *Cromwell* to serve for that Campaign. Thus they compassed their whole design, in being rid of all those whose affections they knew were not agreeable to Theirs, and keeping *Cromwell* in Command; who, in the Name of *Fairfax*, Modell'd the Army, and placed such Officers as were well known to Him, and to no body else; and absolutely govern'd the Whole Martial Affairs; as was quickly known to all Men; many particulars whereof will be mention'd at large hereafter.

THOUGH the time spent in passing the *Self-denying Ordinance*, and afterwards in new modelling their Army, had exceedingly retarded the preparations the Enemy was to make, before they could take the Field, whereby the King had more breathing time than he had reason to expect; yet all the hopes he had of Recruits against that Season, depended upon the Activity of those to whose Care the providing those Recruits was committed: so that there will be little Occasion to mention any thing that was done at *Oxford*, till the Season of the year oblig'd his Majesty to leave that place, and to march with his Army into the Field. Of all the Action that was till that time, the West was the Scene; where the Prince, as soon as he came to *Bristol*, found much more to do (and in which he could not avoid to meddle) than had been foreseen. One very great end of the Prince's Journey into the West, besides the other of more importance, which has been named before, was, that by His presence, direction, and authority, the many Factions and Animosities between particular Persons of Quality, and Interest in those Parts, equal in their affections to the King's Service (yet they miserably infested and distracted it) might be compos'd, and reconcil'd; and that the endeavours of all Men who wish'd well, might be united in the advancing and carrying on that publick Service, in which all their joynt happiness and security was concern'd. This Province, besides the Prince's immediate countenance, and interposition, requir'd great diligence and dexterity in those about him, who were trusted in those Affairs. But his Highness found quickly another task incumbent on him than had been expected, and a Mischief much more difficult to be master'd, and which, if unmaster'd, must inevitably produce much worse effects, than the other could, which was, the ambition, emulation, and contest, between several Officers of the Army and

Parties.

Parties, which were then in those Countries, whereby their Troops were without any Discipline, and the Country as much exposed to rapine and violence, as it could be under an Enemy, and in an Article of time when a Body of the Enemy was every day expected. That this may be the better understood, it will be necessary here, in the entrance upon this discourse, to set down truly the Estate of the Western Counties, at the time when the Prince first came to *Bristol*.

The State of the western Counties, when the Prince of Wales came to Bristol.

THE Lord *Goring* had been sent by his Majesty, before the time of the Prince's coming into the West, with such a Party of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, and a Train of Artillery, as he desired, into *Hampshire*, upon a design of his own, of making an Incurſion into *Suffex*; where he pretended "he had cor-
"respondence; and that very many well affected persons pro-
"mised to rise, and declare for the King, and that *Kent* would
"do the same. And so a Commission was granted to him, of Lieutenant General of *Hampshire, Suffex, Surrey, and Kent*, without the least purpose or imagination that he should ever be near the Prince. Some attempts he made, in the beginning, upon *Christ-Church*, in *Hampshire*, a little unfortified Fisher-Town; yet was beaten off with loss: so that he was forced to retire to *Salisbury*; where his Horse committed the same horrid outrages, and barbarities, as they had done in *Hampshire*, without distinction of Friends or Foes; so that those Parts, which before were well devoted to the King, worried by oppression, wished for the access of any Forces to redeem them. Whilst the Lord *Goring* lay fruitlessly in those Parts, a Party of Horse and Dragoons, under the command of *Vandruske* a German, passed by him without interruption, to the relief of *Taunton*, then blocked up by Colonel *Windham*, and reduced to some streights; and accordingly effected it. About the same time, *Sr Walter Hastings*, Governour of *Portland*, seconded by *Sr Lewis Dives* (who had the Command of *Dorset-shire* as Colonel General) had surprised *Weymouth*, and possessed the Forts, and the upper Town, the Rebels having withdrawn themselves into the lower Town, divided from the other by an Arme of the Sea, and of no considerable strength: so that the speedy reducing that small place was not looked upon as a matter of difficulty. However, lest those Forces which had relieved *Taunton*, and were conceived to be much greater than in truth they were, should be able to disturb the work of *Weymouth*, and for the sooner expediting the business there, the Lord *Goring*, now pretending that his Friends in *Suffex* and *Kent* were not ready for him, was by Order from *Oxford*, upon his own desire, sent thither; whereby it was thought, both the work of *Weymouth*, and *Taunton*, would be speedily effected. Thereupon the Lord *Hopton*,

whose right it was to Command in those Counties as Field-Marshal of the West, being sent down by the King to compose the disorders there, upon the relief of *Taunton*, was, by special Order, recall'd to *Bristol*, lest there might be dispute of Command between Him and the Lord *Goring*; the one being General of the Ordnance, the other General of the Horse; but the Lord *Hopton* was likewise Field-Marshal of the West, in which the Lord *Goring* had no Commission to command.

SHORTLY after the Lord *Goring's* arrival about *Weymouth*, with his full strength of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, and Artillery, consisting of above three thousand Horse, and fifteen hundred Foot, besides what he found in those parts, that place of so vast importance, was, by most supine negligence at best, retaken by that contemptible number of the Enemy, who had been beaten into the lower Town, and who were looked upon as Prisoners at Mercy. The mysteries of which fatal loss were never enquir'd into; but with great plainness, by the Vote of the Country, imputed to General *Goring's* natural want of vigilance; who thereupon retir'd with his whole strength into *Somerset-shire*. His Highness, upon his arrival at *Bristol*, found the West in this condition; All *Dorset-shire* entirely possessed by the Rebels, save only what *Sr Lewis Dives* could protect by his small Garrison at *Sherborne*, and the Island of *Portland*, which could not provide for its own Subsistence: the Garrison of *Taunton*, with that Party of Horse and Dragoons which reliev'd it, commanding a very large circuit, and disturbing other parts in *Somerset-shire*: *Devon-shire* intent upon the blocking up of *Plymouth*, at one end, and open to incursions from *Lyme*, and prejudiced by *Taunton*, at the other end: the King's Garrisons, in all three Counties, being stronger in Fortifications (which yet were not finished in any place, and but begun in some) than in Men, or any Provisions to endure an Enemy: whilst the Lord *Goring's* Forces equally infested the borders of *Dorset*, *Somerset*, and *Devon*, by unheard of rapine, without applying themselves to any enterprize upon the Rebels. *Cornwal* indeed was entire; but being wholly assign'd to the blocking up of *Plymouth*, yielded no supply to any other Service, or to the providing its own Garrisons against the time that they might be visited by an Enemy.

Sr William Waller, and *Cromwell*, marched together about this time towards the West, and passing through *Wilt-shire*, had routed, and taken the whole Regiment of Horse of *Colonel Long*, the High Sheriff of that County, by his great defect of courage, and conduct; and seem'd to intend an attempt upon General *Goring*; who was so much startled with the noise, at a great distance, that he drew his Forces so far West of *Taunton*, that *Vandruske* had an opportunity to retire with

with that Body of Horse and Dragoons with which he had relieved *Taunton*, to his fellows; whilst the King's Forces reposed themselves upon the Borders of *Devon-shire*, the Lord *Goring* himself, and most of his principal Officers, taking that opportunity to refresh at *Exeter*, where they stay'd three or four days in most scandalous disorder, a great part of his Horse lying upon free Quarter, and plundering to the Gates of the City; which, in the beginning of the year, was an ill presage to that people, what they were to expect. But finding that *St William Waller* made not that haste he apprehended, having borrow'd such Horse and Foot as he could procure from *Exeter*, he return'd again towards *Taunton*, and gave his Highness an account of his condition.

THE Prince, being attended at *Bristol* by the Commissioners of *Somerset*, found no one thing provided, or one promise complied with, which had been made by them at *Oxford*: Of his Guards of Horse and Foot, which they assur'd him, for the proportion of that County, should be ready against his coming, not one Man or Horse provided: Of the hundred pound a Week, to be allow'd by them towards his Highness's support, not one penny ready, nor like to be. So that he was forc'd to borrow from the Lord *Hopton's* own private store, to buy bread. And, which was worse than all this, we found plainly, that, what had been so particularly, and positively undertaken at *Oxford*, was upon the confidence only of three or four Men, who were govern'd by *St John Stawel*, and *Mr Fountain*, without any concurrence from the rest of the Commissioners of that, or the other three associated Counties; and that they who had been so confident, instead of forming and pursuing any design for raising of Men or Money, were only busy in making Objections, and preparing Complaints, and pursuing their private Quarrels, and Animosities against others. So they brought, every day, complaints against this and that Governour of Garrisons, for the Riots and Insolences of the Lord *Goring's* Soldiers, and, "that those parts of the Country which were adjacent to *Sherborne*, and *Bridgewater*, were compell'd to work at those Fortifications; with other particulars, most of which, they well knew, in that conjuncture of time, could not be prevented; and some of which were in themselves very necessary. Yet the Prince endeavoured to give them all encouragement; told them, "that he was very sensible of all those disorders, of which they complain'd; and would redress them, as soon as they should discern it to be in his power: that the Forces under the Lord *Goring* were an Army by themselves, come down into those Parts, before his Highness; and stayed then there for their Protection against the power of *Waller* (which

“was ready to invade them) and the Garrison of *Taunton*,
 “which they confessed infested their whole County; that he
 “was very desirous that Army might move Eastward, as soon
 “as they should put themselves in such a posture, as might
 “render them secure against their Enemies; wished them to
 “propose any Expedients, how the Fortifications of the Gar-
 “risons might be finished, without some extraordinary help;
 “or to propose the most convenient one; and he would joyn
 “with them; and desired them to proceed in their Levies of
 “Men, and Money, in the ways agreed on by Themselves;
 “and they should find all concurrence and assistance from him.
 But notwithstanding all he could say or do, nothing was rea-
 sonably proposed, or admitted by them, for the advancement
 of the publick Service.

By this time, towards the end of March, *Sr William Waller*,
 having advanced with his Horse and Dragoons, by *Bath* to-
 wards *Brissol*, in hope, as hath been said before, to have sur-
 prised that City by some treachery within, and being disap-
 pointed there, retired towards *Dorset-shire*, and the edge of
Somerset, adjoining to that County; where *Cromwell* expect-
 ed him; the Lord *Goring* having, in the mean while, fallen
 into some of *Cromwell's* Quarters about *Dorchester*, and taken
 some Prisoners, and Horses, and disordered the rest. Upon a dis-
 pute between themselves, or some other Orders, *Cromwell* retir'd
 to joyn with *Sr Thomas Fairfax* towards *Reading*; *Sr William*
Waller stay'd in those Parts, to intend the business of the West,
 but made no hast to advance, expecting some Supplies of Foot
 by Sea at *Weymouth*. So that the Lord *Goring* drew back to
Bruton, and sent to the Prince to desire, “that two of his
 “Council might meet him at *Wells* the next day, to consider,
 “what course was best to be taken: accordingly the Lords
Capel and *Colepepper*, the next day, met his Lordship at *Wells*.
 Where, after long consideration of the whole State of the
 West, and of the great importance of reducing *Taunton*, with-
 out which no great matter could be expected from *Somerset-*
shire, the Lord *Goring* propos'd, and put the design in Writing
 under his own hand, for the whole method and manner of
 his proceeding, “that he would leave the gros of his Horse,
 “and two hundred Foot mounted, in such convenient place,
 “upon the skirts of *Dorset-shire*, and *Wilt-shire*, as they might
 “be able to retire to their Body, if the Enemy advanced power-
 “fully; and that he would himself, with all his Foot, and
 “Cannon, and such Horse as were necessary, attempt the tak-
 “ing, or burning of *Taunton*: and to that purpose, desired his
 Highness, “to send positive Orders to *Sr Richard Greenvil* (who,
 notwithstanding his Highness's commands formerly sent to him,
 and some Orders from the King himself, made not that hast as
 might

might reasonably be expected) "to advance, and to direct the Commissioners of *Somerset* to give their Personal attendance upon that Service; and in the meantime to take care that sufficient Magazines of Victual, and Provisions, were made for the Soldiers: all which was exactly perform'd by his Highness, the next day after he receiv'd the desires of General *Goring*.

BUT, within three or four days, and before the design upon *Taunton* was ready for Execution, it appear'd by constant Intelligence, that *Waller* was advancing with a great Body of Horse, and Dragoons, and some Foot; and therefore the attempt upon *Taunton* was for the present to be laid aside; and the Lord *Goring* very earnestly desired the Prince to command *Sr Richard Greenvil*, who was now drawn near to *Taunton*, with eight hundred Horse, and above two thousand Foot, besides Pioneers, with all possible speed to march to him, that so he might be able to abide the Enemy, if they came upon him; or, otherwise, to compel them to Fight, if they stayed in those fast Quarters, where they then were; which was about *Shaftsbury*, *Gillingham*, and those places. The Prince accordingly sent his commands positively to *Sr Richard Greenvil*, "to advance towards the Lord *Goring*, and to obey all such Orders, as he should receive from his Lordship. But he as positively sent his Highness word, "that his Men would not stir a foot; and that he had promised the Commissioners of *Devon*, and *Cornwal*, that he would not advance beyond *Taunton*, till *Taunton* were reduced; but that he made no question, if he were not disturbed, speedily to give a good account of that place. In the mean time, the Lord *Goring*, very gallantly and successfully, by night, fell upon *Sr William Waller's* Quarters twice, in less than a Week; and kill'd and took so good a Number, that it was generally believ'd, *Sr William Waller* was lessen'd near a thousand Men by those Rencontres; the Lord *Goring* still declaring, "that he could neither pursue his advantages upon a Party, nor engage the main of the Rebels, without the addition of *Greenvil's* Foot; and he, notwithstanding all Orders, as peremptorily refusing to stir, but professing, "that, if he had an Addition of six hundred Men, he would be in the Town within six days.

WHILST things stood thus, *Sr William Waller*, much weaken'd with these disasters, and the time of his Command being near expired, drew back Eastward; and was, by night marches, retired as far as *Salisbury*, before the Lord *Goring* had notice of his Motion. Whereupon his Highness, upon consideration how impossible it was to overtake him, which General *Goring* himself confessed by his Letters, or to engage the Forces under the Command of *Greenvil*, and the other Forces

Forces of those parts, in any Action, before the business of *Taunton* should be over (which indeed disappointed all our hopes both of Men, and Money, in that great County) and on the other side, considering, if that place were reduced (as *Sr Richard Greenvil* undertook it should be in six days, and others, who had view'd it, thought it not a work of time) besides the terror it would strike into their Neighbours, there would be an Army of four thousand Horse, and five thousand Foot, ready to be applied to any service they should be directed to, and that then the Lord *Goring* might prosecute his Commission in *Suffex*, and *Kent*, with such a reasonable Recruit of Foot as should be necessary, and yet his Highness enabled, in a short time, to be in the head of a very good Army, raised out of the four Associated Counties, either for the reducing the few other places which were Garrison'd by the Rebels, or to march toward his Majesty: I say, upon these considerations, the Prince (with the privacy and advice of Prince *Rupert*, who was then at *Bristol*, and present at the whole consultation, and the principal adviser in it) writ, upon the eleventh of *April*, to the Lord *Goring*, being then about *Wells*, "that his opinion was, that the Horse and Dragoons "under his Lordship's Command, should advance from the "Quarters where they then were, much to the prejudice of "that County, into *Dorset-shire*, or *Wilt-shire*, or into both "of them; and that the Foot and Cannon should march directly towards *Taunton*, according to the design formerly "proposed by his Lordship; and referr'd it to himself, whether his Lordship in Person would stay with the Horse, or go with the Foot; and desired to receive his opinion, and resolution upon the whole; there being nothing proposed "to be acted in two days. This Letter was sent by Colonel *Windham*, the Governour of *Bridgewater*, who came that day, from before *Taunton*, from *Sr Richard Greenvil*; and could best inform him of the strength of the Town, and the condition of *Sr Richard Greenvil*'s Forces.

THE next day Colonel *Windham* return'd, with a short sullen Letter from the Lord *Goring* to the Prince, "that he "had, according to his Command, sent the Foot and Cannon "to *Taunton*; and the Horse, to the other places; and that, "since there was now nothing for him to do, he was gone to "*Bath* to intend his Health: where he complain'd privately, "that his Forces were taken from him at a time when he "meant to pursue *Waller*, and could utterly Defeat him; and much inveighed against the Prince's Council, for sending Orders to him so prejudicial to the King's Service: whereas it was only an Opinion, and not Orders, grounded upon what himself had formerly proposed, and to which he was desired

to return his present judgement, being within half a days Journey of the Prince, upon whom he ought to have attended in Person, or have sent his advice to him, if what was then offer'd seem'd not convenient. But, after some days frolickly spent at *Bath*, he return'd to his former temper, and waiting on the Prince at *Bristol*, was contented to be told, "that he "had been more apprehensive of Discourtesies than he had "cause; and so all misunderstandings seem'd to be fairly made up.

THE Lord *Goring's* Foot and Cannon being thus suddainly sent to *Taunton*, under the Command of *Sr Joseph Wagstaffe*; for the better preventing any Mistakes, and Contests about Command, the Prince sent the Lords *Capel* and *Calepepper* to *Taunton*, to settle all disputes that might arise, and to dispose the Country to assist that work in the best manner; which prov'd very fortunate; for the same day they came thither, *Sr Richard Greenvil*, having brought his Forces within Musquet-shot, on one side of *Taunton*, went himself to view *Wellington-House*, five miles distant, in which the Rebels had a Garrison, and was, out of a Window, shot in the thigh; with which he fell, the wound being then conceiv'd to be Mortal: so that there was no Person who would pretend to Command; those under *Greenvil*, having no experienced Officer of reputation equal to that charge, yet being Superior in number to the other, would not be Commanded by *Sr Joseph Wagstaffe*; so that if the Lords had not very happily been present, it is probable, both those Bodies of Foot, each being too weak for the attempt by it self, would, if not disbanded, at best have retired to their former Posts, and left those of *Taunton* at liberty to have done what they thought best. But they being there, and *Sr John Berkley* being in that instant come thither to meet them, with an Account of the State of *Devon-shire*, they perswaded him to undertake the present charge of the Whole (all the Officers of both Bodies having formerly receiv'd Orders from him) and to prosecute the former design upon the Town; all Persons submitting till the Prince's Pleasure should be farther known; those Officers under *Sr Richard Greenvil*, presently sending away an express to *Bristol*, to desire the Lord *Hopton* to take the Command of them. But his Lordship had no mind to enter upon any particular Action with disjoynted Forces, till, upon the withdrawing of the Lord *Goring*, the whole Command might be Executed according to former establishment. And so a special direction was sent to all the Officers, and Soldiers, to obey *Sr John Berkley*, according to what had been formerly settled by the Lords. He, in few days, put the business in very good Order, and by Storm took *Wellington-House*, where
Greenvil

Greenvil had been hurt. I cannot omit here, that the Lords, coming to visit *Greenvil*, in the instant that he was put into his Litter, and carrying to *Exeter*, told him, what they had thought necessary to be done in the point of Command; the which he seeming very well to approve, they desired him to call his Officers (most of the principal being there present) and to command them to proceed in the work in hand cheerfully, under the Command of *Sr John Berkley*; the which he promised to do, and immediately said somewhat to his Officers, at the side of his Litter, which the Lords conceiv'd to be what he had promised: but it appear'd after, that it was Not so; and, very probably, was the contrary; for neither Officer, nor Soldier, did his duty after he was gone, during the time *Sr John Berkley* Commanded in that Action.

THE Prince, finding the publick Service in no degree advanced by the Commissioners of *Somerset*, and that though there was no progress made in the Association affected, and undertaken by them, yet it serv'd to cross, and oppose all other attempts whatsoever; those who had no mind to do any thing, satisfying themselves with the visible impossibility of that design, and yet the other, who had first propos'd it, thinking themselves engaged to consent to no alteration; and his Highness being inform'd by a Gentleman (sent by him, at his first coming to *Bristol*, to the two farthest Western Counties, to press the execution of whatsoever was promised in order to the Association) "that those two Counties of *Devon*, and *Cornwal*, were entirely devoted to serve the Prince, in what manner soever he should propose, he thought fit, to summon the Commissioners of all the Associated Counties, to attend upon him in some convenient place, where, upon full consideration, such conclusions might be made, as might best advance the work in hand, both for the reduction of *Taunton*, and raising a marching Army; which Counsel had been sooner given, and had in truth been fit to be put in practice upon his first coming to *Bristol*, when he discern'd the flatness, peremptoriness, and unactivity of the Gentlemen of *Somerset*, from whom it was evident nothing was to be expected, till, by the unanimity and strength of the two Western Counties, that County could be driven and compelled to do what was necessary, and to recede from their own fullen and positive determinations; which had been easy to do, but that shortly after his Highness came to *Bristol*, upon what apprehensions no Man knew, there was great jealousy at *Oxford* of his going farther West; and thereupon direction given, "that he should not remove from *Bristol*, but upon weighty reasons, and "with which his Majesty was to be first acquainted. Whereas, by his instructions, "he was to make his residence in such a place,

"place, as by the Council should be thought most conducing
 "to his Affairs. However, such a Meeting with all the Com-
 missioners being demonstrably necessary, and *Bristol* thought
 at too great a distance from the West, besides that the Plague *The Prince*
 begun to break out there very much, for the time of the year, *summons the*
 his Highness resolv'd to go to *Bridgewater* for a few days, and *Commissioners of the*
 to summon thither the Commissioners, the rather to give some *four Assoc-*
 countenance to the business of *Taunton*, then closely Besieged *iated west-*
 by *Sr John Berkley*; and to that purpose, directed his Letters *ern Counties*
 to the several Commissioners to attend him there, on *Wednes-*
day the three and twentieth of *April*; the King being then at
Oxford, preparing for the Field, Prince *Rupert* at *Worcester*,
 levying Men, and the Rebels at *London* in some disorder and
 confusion about their new Model, having newly removed the
 Earl of *Essex*, and Earl of *Manchester*, Earl of *Denbigh*, and
Sr William Waller from any Command, and Substituted *Sr Tho-*
mas Fairfax General; who was, out of the other broken and
 almost dissolv'd Forces, to mould a new Army, which was
 then in no very hopeful forwardness.

UPON the day, the Prince came to *Bridgewater*; and was
 attended by a great body of the Commissioners of *Somerset*,
 that place being near the center of that great County; there
 appear'd for *Dorset-shire*, as sent from the rest, *Sr John Strang-*
eways, *Mr Anchetil Grey*, and *Mr Ryves*; for *Devon-shire*, *Sr*
Peter Ball, *Sr George Parry*, *Mr Saint Hill*, and *Mr Muddy-*
ford; and for *Cornwall*, *Sr Henry Killegrew*, *Mr Coriton*, *Mr*
Scawen, and *Mr Roscorroth*. The whole Body waited on the
 Prince the next morning; and were then told, "that his com-
 "ing thither was to receive Their Advice, and to give His
 "Assistance, in what might concern the peace and welfare of
 "each particular County; and might best advance the Gene-
 "ral service of the King; that if the Association which had
 "been proposed, seem'd to them, by the accidents and mutari-
 "ons which had happen'd since the time of that first proposal
 "(as in truth very notable ones had happen'd) "not fit now
 "to be further prosecuted, he was ready to consent to any alte-
 "ration they should propose, and to joyn with them in any
 "other expedient; and wished them therefore to confer toge-
 "ther, what was best to be done; and when they were ready
 "to propose any thing to him, he would be ready to receive
 "it. After two or three days consultation amongst them-
 selves, they were unanimously of opinion (except *Sr John*
Stawel, who, against, all the rest, and against all that could
 be said to him, continued positive for the general rising of
 One and All, and for that alone) "that That design was for
 "the present to be laid aside; and that, instead thereof, those
 "Counties, according to their several known proportions,
 "would

"would in a very short time (as I remember a Month was the utmost) "raise, and Arme, six thousand Foot, besides "the Prince's Guards, which would be full two thousand "more; not reckoning those of the Lord *Goring's* which were "fifteen hundred, but including the Foot of *Sr John Berkley*, "and *Sr Richard Greenvil* then before *Taunton*; which all Men concluded, would be reduced in less than a Month. This Proposition being approv'd by the Prince, all particulars were agreed upon: the several days for the Rendezvous of the new levies, and the Officers to whom the Men were to be deliver'd, named; and Warrants issued out accordingly: all things requisite for the speedy reduction of *Taunton* order'd, and directed; so that, towards the taking that place, and the raising an Army speedily, all things stood so fair, that more could not be wished.

As this Journey to *Bridgewater* wrought this good effect, so it produced one notable inconvenience, and discover'd another. The Prince, having before his coming from *Oxford* been very little conversant with business, had been persuaded, from his coming out, to sit frequently, if not constantly, in Council, to mark, and consider the state of Affairs, and to accustom himself to a habit of speaking, and judging upon what was said; to the which he had with great ingenuity apply'd himself; but coming to *Bridgewater*, and having an extraordinary kindness for *Mrs Windham*, who had been his Nurse, he was not only diverted by her folly, and petulancy, from applying himself to the serious consideration of his business, but accustom'd to hear her speak negligently and scornfully of the Council; which though at first it made no impression in Him of disrespect towards them, encouraged other People who heard it, to the like liberty; and from thence grew an irreverence towards them; which reflected upon himself, and serv'd to bring prejudice to their Counsels throughout the whole course. She had many private designs of benefit and advantage to her self, and her Children, and the qualifying her Husband to do all Acts of power without controul upon his Neighbours, and labour'd to procure Grants, or Promises of Reversions of Lands from the Prince; and finding that the Prince was not to transact any such thing, without the Advice of the Council, and that They were not like to comply in those enterprizes, she contrived to raise jealousies and dislikes between them, and kindled such a faction in the Prince's Family, as produced many inconveniences. For from hence *Sr Charles Berkley*, who had a promise to be made Controller of the Prince's Household, and *Mr Long*, who had the like promise to be his Secretary, when he should be created Prince of *Wales* (till which time those Officers were never made) began

gan to think they had injury done them, that they were not presently of the Prince's Council, to which the places they were to have, gave them Title; though they knew well, that the Lords who then attended upon the Prince, were of the King's Privy Council, and in that capacity only, waited upon his Highness; and that the other were only of the Prince's own Council for his Revenue, and for the administration of the Dutchy of *Cornwall*, for which his Highness had now his livery.

HOWEVER, these Fancies, thus weakly grounded, and entertain'd, made such an impression upon those Persons, that they united themselves into a Faction, and prevail'd over the weakness of the Earl of *Berkshire* to joyn with them; and, by degrees, all of them joyn'd with all other discontented Persons, to render the Council to be much neglected and undervalued. Lastly, she being a Woman of no good breeding, and of a Country pride, *Nil muliebre præter corpus gerens*, valued her self much upon the Power, and Familiarity, which her Neighbours might see she had with the Prince of *Wales*; and therefore, upon all occasions, in company, and when the Concourse of the People was greatest, would use great boldness towards him; and, which was worse than all this, she affected in all Companies, where she let her self out to any freedom, a very negligent and disdainful mention of the Person of the King; the knowledge of which humour of hers, was one reason that made his Majesty unwilling his Son should go farther West than *Bristol*; since he knew *Bridgewater* must be a Stage in that motion. This her ill disposition was no sooner known to the Lords, who were all absolute strangers to her before, than they took care that his Highness should make no long residence in that Garrison.

THE other inconvenience, that it discover'd, was the design of the Lord *Goring* to have the Command of the West. For then it grew very apparent, that, whatever had been pretended for *Kent*, or *Sussex*, he had, from the beginning, affected that Charge; and, I fear, had some other encouragement for it, than was then avowed. And therefore, from his first coming into those Parts, he had with great industry carried the Commissioners of *Somerset*, and *Devon*, and especially those, whom he thought not well inclin'd to the Lord *Hopton*; whom, by all ill Arts, he endeavour'd to undervalue; inveighing against "the too great Contribution, assign'd to the Garrison of *Bristol*; and that any should be allowed to the unnecessary Garrison (as he call'd it) at *Lampport*;" "which had been lately settled by the Lord *Hopton*; and, as appear'd afterwards, was of vast importance: those discourses being most Popular to the Country; though most pernicious

to the King; and promised "great strictness and severity of Discipline, if that Power under the Prince might be devolv'd to him. To *Bridgewater* he came at the same time from *Bath*, upon pretence of "visiting *Taunton*, and seeing "whether the work were like to be soon done, that it might "be worth the intending it. But, in truth, to drive on his Project for Command with the Commissioners; who were invited by *St Peter Ball* to make it one of the Propositions to the Prince, "that the Lord *Goring* might be constituted his "Lieutenant-General; which he himself had so absolutely digested, that, as if the matter it self had been out of question, he propos'd privately to most of the Prince's Council, the Rules that should be observ'd between them in the Government of the Army, and the Administration of the Civil part. Some, of no extraordinary kindness to *Goring*, wished the agreement made, and Him settled in the Command, as the best, if not the only Expedient, for advancement of the King's Service, and for the speedy forming an Army worthy of the Prince's own Person in the Head of it; apprehending, that the dividing his Forces from the New Levies, would leave a good body of Foot without an equal Power of Horse, and without a Train, except a longer time were given for the making it, than the state of Affairs promised to permit. But when *Goring* discover'd by his discourse with several of the Council (with whom he communicated upon the Argument very freely, and express'd in plain English, "that except he might be "satisfied in the particulars he propos'd, he should have no "heart to proceed in the publick Service,) that they would not consent to any Act that might reflect upon the Lord *Hopton*; and that some of them had such a prejudice to his Person, that they would make no conjunction with him, he resolv'd to compass his ends some other way; and so press'd it no farther in any publick address to the Prince at that time. It is not to be omitted, that he was then offer'd, and assur'd, "that, as soon as the business of *Taunton* should be over, he "should have such a Recruit out of the New Levies, as would "make up his own Foot three thousand Men, besides Officers; with which he might well prosecute his former design; and, in the mean time, he had the absolute Command; the Lord *Hopton* not at all interposing, or meddling with the Army.

It was now concluded by all Men who had well consider'd his carriage and behaviour from his first coming into the West, that, as he had form'd that design in his own thoughts from the first, of being about the Prince, and resolv'd never to march with the Army under Prince *Rupert* (whose nature was not agreeable to him) so that he had purposely

and willingly suffered *Vandruske* to Relieve *Taunton*, and even *Weymouth* to be again recover'd by that handful of Men who had been beaten out of it, lest the business of the West might be done without him, by other Men; and that his presence there might not be thought necessary. For if *Taunton* had been reduced, as it must have been if that small Party had not Reliev'd it even in the last Article, he could have had no pretence to have stay'd in those Parts, but must immediately have pursued his former design upon *Suffex*, and those other Counties, for which he had never any reasonable foundation; or have continued his march to the King; which he had less mind to do. When he first left *Oxford*, and went into *Hampshire*, which was before the end of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, he had, in his jovial Fits, where he was always very unrelerv'd, declared, with great resentment, "that his Father was ill treated by the Queen in *France*, and that he hoped shortly to be in such a posture, that the King should find it reasonable to use both his Father and Himself better. And yet the King had even then, upon his Suit, made his Father Captain of his Guard of Halberteers, and Created him Earl of *Norwich*, whereby himself had the Appellation of Lord, which he enough affected: and in his first debauches at *Exeter*, his brother *Porter*, who was Lieutenant General of his Horse, inform'd some Persons of Honour in confidence, "that *Goring* resolv'd to make himself Lieutenant General to the Prince, or else to be very discontented. This Advertisement was sent to some of the Council, upon his Highness's first coming to *Bristol*; and was the first hint that ever they receiv'd, that he had affected that Charge; and was not, with the rest of his behaviour, like to dispose them to wish that he might obtain his desire; but to do all that was in their power to prevent it.

THE general business concerning the four Counties being The Commissioners of Devon complain of Richard Greenvil: agreed and settled at *Bridgewater*, the Commissioners for *Devon*, desired to be heard in what concern'd that particular County; and then inform'd his Highness, "that upon *Richard Greenvil's* first entring upon the work of *Plymouth*, "and his assurance under his hand, that he would take the Town before *Christmas* day, and that he would forthwith raise, Arme, and pay twelve hundred Horse, and six thousand Foot, they had assign'd him above one half of their whole Contribution, amounting to above eleven hundred pounds a Week; and, for the providing Armes and Ammunition, had assign'd him the Arrears of the Contribution due from those hundreds allotted to him; which amounted to near 6000*l*; he having likewise the whole Contribution of *Cornwall*, being above seven hundred pound weekly; and

" had receiv'd most part of the Letter and Subscription Money of that County, towards the same Service: that he had, from his first entring upon the charge, quietly enjoy'd those Contributions in *Devon*, which were duly paid; and had receiv'd the greatest part of the Arrears assign'd to him for the Provision of Armes and Ammunition: Notwithstanding all which, he had never bought above twenty Barrels of Powder, or any Armes, but had receiv'd both the one and the other from Them, out of their Magazines; and had never maintain'd, or rais'd, near half the Number of Men to which he was oblig'd, till the Week before he was requir'd to march to *Taunton*; when he had called the *Posse Comitatus*, and out of Them forced almost the whole Number of Foot, which march'd with him thither, bringing them with him, as far as *Exeter*, unarm'd; and there compell'd the Commissioners to supply him with Armes, and Ammunition; that having left scarce two thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse, before *Plymouth*, he continued still to receive the whole Contribution formerly assign'd when he was to have twelve hundred Horse, and six thousand Foot; and would not part with any of it: so that he receiv'd more out of *Devon-shire* for the blocking up of *Plymouth* (having all *Cornwall* to himself likewise) than was left for the Garrisons of *Exeter*, *Dartmouth*, *Barnstable*, and *Tiverton*, and for the finishing those Fortifications, Victualing the Garrisons, providing Armes and Ammunition; with which they had before not only supplied themselves, but had sent great quantities to the King's Army, to the Lord *Goring*, and to the Siege of *Taunton*: That he would not suffer them to send any Warrants to collect the Letter and Subscription Money, to settle the Excise, or meddle with Delinquents Estates in the hundreds assign'd to him for Contribution; and had those continual contests with *Sr John Berkley*, being Colonel General of the County, and the other Governours of Garrisons; pretending that He had power to Command them; that there was such an Animosity grown between them, that they very much apprehended the danger of those divisions; there having been some blood shed, and Men kill'd, upon their private Contests: and therefore besought his Highness, "by his Authority, to settle the limits of their several jurisdictions, in order to the Martial Affairs; and likewise to order *Sr Richard Greenville* to receive no more Contribution, than would suffice for the maintenance of those Men, who continued before *Plymouth*; whereby they could be only enabled to perform Their parts of the Association.

THIS was press'd with so much earnestness, and reason, that

that it was thought very advisable for his Highness himself to go to *Exeter*, where both the Commissioners and *St Richard Greenvil* were; and there, upon the hearing of all that could be said, to settle the whole dispute. But, at the same time, and whilst that matter was in consideration, Letters came from his Majesty to his Highness and the Lords, expressly inhibiting his going farther Westward; upon what reasons I cannot imagine; and thereupon the Prince himself return'd to *Bristol* on *Wednesday* the thirtieth of *April*, having staid at *Bridgewater* only seven days; and sent the Lords *Capel* and *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to *Exeter*, with instructions "to examine all the complaints, and allegations of the Commissioners, and to settle the business of the Contribution; and upon view of the several Commissions of *St John Berkley*, and *St Richard Greenvil*, so to agree the matter of jurisdiction, that the publick Service might not be obstructed.

Upon which the Prince sends three Commissioners of his own to Exeter, and so to return to Bristol.

As soon as the Lords appointed by his Highness to go to *Exeter*, came thither, they went the same hour to Visit *St Richard Greenvil*, who was still bedrid of his hurt. They intended it only as a Visit, and so would not reply, at that time, to many very sharp, and bitter complaints and invectives he made against *St John Berkley* (who was then at the Leaguer before *Taunton*) but told him, "that they would come to him again the next day, and consider of all businesses. Accordingly they came, when, with great bitterness, he again complain'd of the Governour, and some disrespects from his Lieutenant Governour: but when he was press'd to particulars, he mention'd principally some high and disdainful Speeches, the most of which were denied by the other, and the withholding some Prisoners from him, which he had sent his Marshal for near *Taunton*. The truth of which, was this; whilst *St Richard* was before *Taunton*, he had sent for one *Mr Syme*, a Justice of Peace of the County, a rich and decrepit Man, who liv'd within three miles of that Town. He charged him with some inclinations to the Rebels, and of favouring their proceedings. The Gentleman stood upon his justification, and innocency, and desired to be put upon any Trial. However, *St Richard* told him, "he was a Traytor, "and should redeem himself at a thousand pound, or else he "would proceed in another way; and gave him three days to provide the Money. Before the time expired, *St Richard* was hurt, and carried to *Exeter*; whither he no sooner came, but he dispatch'd his Marshal to fetch *Mr Syme* to him; who appeal'd to *St John Berkley* (who had then the Command) and desired to be put upon any Trial; and (besides that he was of a very infirm body, and unfit for Travel) many Gen-

tlemen of the best Quality gave him a very good Testimony, and undertook for his Appearance, when ever he should be called upon. Upon this, *Sr John Berkley* discharged the Marshal, and writ a very civil Letter to *Sr Richard Greenvil*, of the whole matter; "and that he would see the Gentleman forth coming upon the least warning; but that it would be an Act of great cruelty, to carry him a Prisoner, in that indisposition of health, from his House. *Sr Richard* look'd upon this as the robbing him of a thousand pounds, and writ such a Letter to *Sr John Berkley*, so full of ill Language, and reproach, as I have never seen the like From, and To a Gentleman; and complain'd to us of the Injury. We told him, that neither He, nor *Sr John Berkley*, had any Authority to meddle with *Mr Syms*, or any Persons of that Quality; who could not be look'd upon as Prisoners of War; but if in truth he should prove to be a Delinquent, and guilty of those crimes objected against him, his Fyne and Composition was due to the King, who had assign'd the same to the Prince for the publick Service; and that there were Commissioners, before whom he was regularly to be tried, and with whom he might only compound. He would not understand the reason of this, but insisted upon "*Sr John Berkley's* protecting *Syms*, as a great indignity to himself. On the other hand, *Sr John Berkley* complain'd by his Letters, that those Soldiers brought to *Taunton* by *Greenvil*, every day moulder'd away, and he had reason to believe it was by His direction; for that those that staid, and the Officers, were very backward in performing their duties; and that, after the taking of *Wellington-House*, he had commanded that nothing should be done towards the defacing it, because it might possibly be fit to put a Garrison into it, if the Siege should be rais'd from *Taunton*; but that the Officer, who was under *Greenvil*, had, notwithstanding such Command, burn'd it: That he proceeded in the levying Monies, and sending out extravagant Warrants throughout the County; and many other particulars.

Sr Richard Greenvil denied, "that the Soldiers left the Leaguer, or that *Wellington-House* was burn'd by any direction of His: though it appear'd, that all such Soldiers as left their Colours and came to him, were kindly used, and had Money given to them by him; and that Lieutenant Colonel *Robinson*, after he had receiv'd Orders from *Sr John Berkley* not to slight *Wellington-House*, rode to *Exeter* to *Sr Richard Greenvil*, and immediately, upon his return from him, caus'd it to be burnt. *Greenvil* said, "that he levied no Monies, nor issued out any Warrants, but what he had Authority to do by his Commission. In the end they shewed him their

Instructions

Instructions from the Prince, "throughly to examine all differences between them; and, upon view of both their Commissions, to agree what limits each of them should observe. Thereupon, he shewed them his Commission in Paper, under his Majesty's Sign Manual, attested by the Lord Digby, by which he was authorized "to Command the Forces before Plymouth; and in order thereunto, with such clauses of latitude and power, as he might both raise the *posse*, and Command the Train'd-bands, and indeed the whole Forces of both Counties; and was to receive Orders from his Majesty, and his Lieutenant General; and was likewise at that time High Sheriff of *Devon*. *Sr John Berkley's* Commission was precedent, and more formal, being under the Great Seal of *England*, "of Colonel General of the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, "and to Command the whole Forces of both Counties, as "well Train'd-bands, as others; so that, though their Commissions were not in intention all one, yet they included clauses, and powers, so much the same, that either of them had Authority enough to disturb the other; and he that only saw his own, might reasonably think he had power over the other: which, between persons so disinclined one to the other as They were grown to be, might have proved very fatal, if the remedy had not been so near by his Highness's Authority.

AFTER the perusal of their Commissions, they shew'd him their Instructions, concerning the regulating the Contributions, in proportionable assignments for the several Services; and desired his opinion, "what Forces were now necessary "for the blocking up of *Plymouth*, since any attempt for the "taking it was to be laid aside, at least for a time? and that "thereupon, such assignation might be made to that purpose, "as was sufficient, and the rest otherwise disposed of. He told them, "that the Forces then there (being about fifteen hundred Foot and four hundred Horse, of the *Devon-shire* side) "were sufficient; and proposed allowance little enough for the Service; and then said, "that it troubled him to be confined to such an employment, as the blocking up a place, "whilst there was like to be so much Action in the Field; and "therefore he hoped, his Highness would give him leave to "wait on him in the Army; where he thought he might do "him much better Service. They told him, "they had Authority from the Prince (for some of his Friends had mention'd the same, soon after he had receiv'd his Wound) "if "they found his health able to bear it, and his inclination led "him that way, to let him know, that his Highness would "be glad of his Service, in the moulding that Army which "was then raising; which, allowing two thousand Foot to "the recruiting the Lord *Goring*, would be in view six thousand

“land Foot, and above two thousand Horse with the Guards; “in which he had design’d Him the second place of Command. But then, they said, “they knew not where to place “the Command before *Plymouth*. *Sr Richard* very chearfully receiv’d the Proposition for Himself in the Army; and for *Plymouth*, he said, “no Man was fit to undertake the work “There, but *Sr John Berkley*, who had the Command of both “Counties: that it was visible by the differences and breaches “that had been between Them, how inconvenient it would “be to have that Charge independent; whereas, if it were “in one hand, the unanimous consent of both Counties, and “all the Forces in them, would more easily do the business.

ALL things being thus agreed upon, as far as they could be without *Sr John Berkley’s* consent, who was then before *Taunton*; the Lords resolv’d to return to the Prince, and in their way to dispose *Sr John Berkley* to what had been proposed; and left the Chancellor of the Exchequer at *Exeter*, to agree with the Commissioners, upon the settlement of the Contributions, and to settle some other particulars which they had resolv’d upon. The whole Contribution of the County of *Devon* amounted to two thousand pound Weekly; whereof so many hundreds were assign’d by the Commissioners, for the maintenance of the Forces before *Plymouth*, as amounted to the just proportion and establishment proposed by *Sr Richard Grenvil* himself; and then so many to the Garrisons of *Exeter*, *Dartmouth*, *Barnstable*, and *Truerton*, as amounted to the payment of such Forces, as, on all hands, were agreed to be absolutely necessary for their defence, at the lowest establishment. All which being done, upon supposition that the whole Contribution, being two thousand pound Weekly, would be, according to the Assignments, exactly paid, there remained not a penny overplus, for the buying Ammunition and Armes, for the finishing Fortifications, for victualling the Garrisons, or for blocking up of *Lyme*; which if it were not done, all that part of the Country would be liable to that pressure; and so, unable to pay Contribution where it was assign’d. But it was supposed, the last might be done by drawing out some Numbers from the several Garrisons, if there were no disturbance from abroad; and the rest must be supplied out of the Excise (the major part whereof was by the King assigned for the Support of the Princess *Henrietta* left at *Exeter*) and some other extraordinary ways to be thought of; the Letter Money and Subscription Money being almost exhausted.

HIS Highness was no sooner return’d to *Bristol* from *Bridge-water*, which was on the last day of *April*, than General *Goring* was sent for by the King, to draw his Horse and Dragoons towards *Oxford*; that thereby his Majesty might free

The Lord
Goring
joins the
King at
Oxford.

free himself from *Cromwell*; who, with a very strong Party of Horse and Dragoons, lay in wait, to interrupt his joyning with Prince *Rupert* about *Worcester*. How unwelcome soever these Orders were to the Lord *Goring*, yet there was no remedy but he must obey them: and it was now hoped, that the West should be hereafter freed from him, where he was at that time very ungracious. He marched with that expedition towards the King, who was then at *Woodstock*, that he fell upon a Horse Quarter of *Cromwell's*, and another Party of *Fairfax's* Horse, as they were attempting a passage over the River of *Isis*, so prosperously (the very Evening before he came to the King) that he broke and defeated them with a great slaughter, which gave him great Reputation, and made him exceedingly Welcome: and it was indeed a very seasonable Action, to discountenance, and break such a Party, in the Infancy of their new model; and did break their present Measures, and made *Fairfax* to appoint a new place of Rendezvous for his new Army, at a greater distance from the King's Forces.

PRINCE *Rupert*, who now met with very little opposition Resolutions taken at Oxford. in Council, had, throughout the Winter, disposed the King to resolve "to march Northwards, and to fall upon the *Scotish* Army in *Yorkshire*, before *Fairfax* should be able to perfect his new Model to that degree, as to take the field. This design was not unreasonable; nor the Prince to blame for desiring to take revenge on them for what passed the last year; which, now they were separated from the *English*, who had indeed defeated him, he believed was easy to be done. That purpose of marching Northward was now the more hastned, that in the way, *Chester* might be relieved; which was closely besieged; and then they might come soon enough to *Pontefract*-Castle, before which the *Scotish* Army then was; and if they could defeat That, the King would be again, upon the matter, Master of the North: which, by the insolence of the *Scots*, and the dislike they had of the new Model, was conceived to be better affected than ever. The next day after *Goring* came to the King, the Army was drawn to a Rendezvous, and consisted then of five thousand Foot, and above six thousand Horse; an Army not to be reasonably lessened in the beginning of a Campaign, when the King was to expect he should have so much to do; and if it had been kept together, it is very probable, that the Summer might have been crown'd with better success.

FAIRFAX was then about *Newbury*, not in readiness to march; yet reported to be much more unready than he was. It was said, that his design was to carry his whole Army to the relief of *Taunton*, brought almost to extremity; which

if he could bring to pass, would give him great reputation, and would make the Parliament near Sharers with the King in the interest of the West. Upon this prospect, it was thought reasonable, and accordingly proposed, "that the King himself would march with his Army into the West; and thereby, not only prevent the relief of *Taunton*, but compel *Fairfax* to fight, before he should be able to joyn with *Cromwell*; who had not gathered his Troops together. This was the concurrent advice of the whole Council with which the King used to consult, Prince *Rupert* only excepted, and *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*, who commanded the Northern Horse; which were impatient to be in their own Country. Now the very contrary Affections towards each other, between Prince *Rupert* and the Lord *Goring*, began to cooperate to one and the same end. The Prince found that *Goring*, as a Man of a ready Wit, and an excellent Speaker, was like to have most credit with the King in all debates; and was jealous, that, by his Friendship with the Lord *Digby*, he would quickly get such an Interest with his Majesty, that his own credit would be much Eclipsed. Hereupon, he did no less desire that *Goring* should return again into the West, than *Goring* did, not to remain where Prince *Rupert* commanded. This produced a great Confidence and Friendship between them, and the Prince told him all that any of the Council had spoken freely to him, when his Highness abhorred nothing more than that *Goring* should be near the Prince of *Wales*; and *Goring* said all of the Council, which he believ'd would most irreconcile him to them. So they both agreed to do all they could, to lessen the Credit and Authority of the Council. The King was desir'd to receive the Information, and State of the West, from *Goring*; who, upon the late good Fortune he had, and by the Artifices of the Lord *Digby*, was too easily believ'd. He inform'd the King with all imaginable confidence, "that if, by the positive Command of the Prince, contrary to his opinion and advice, his Forces had not been taken from him, and applied to the Siege of *Taunton*, he had doubtless totally ruined all *Waller's* Forces, and prevented the coming of those Parties who had given his Majesty so much trouble at *Oxford*: that he had been always used, upon his resort to the Prince, with great disrespect, being not call'd into the Council, but put to an attendance without, amongst inferior Suiters; and then told many particular passages at *Bridgewater*, of which he rais'd advantage to himself, upon the prejudice he begot to others.

WHEREAS the truth of the design upon *Taunton* is before set down, with all the circumstances; and *Waller* was marched beyond *Salisbury*, before the Lord *Goring* knew where he was; and confessed, there was no overtaking him; and

and he had always receiv'd as much respect from the Prince, and Council, as could be given to a Subject; being constantly call'd, and admitted to Council when he was present; and when absent, opinions and advices sent to him from the Council, upon such particulars as himself propos'd, with a full reference to his discretion, to do, upon the place, as he judg'd most meet: yet, I say, he got so much credit, that the King, by his Letter of the tenth of *May* to the Prince, directed, "that General *Goring* should be admitted into all consultations and debates, and advis'd withal, as if he were one of the establish'd Council; that Prince *Rupert* having granted him Power, to give Commissions in that Army, all Commissions to be granted should pass by General *Goring*; and that none should be granted by the Prince, in his own Name, otherwise than in such Cases as were of relation meerly to the Association: that the Council should contribute their opinions and advices to General *Goring*, but that his Highness should carefully forbear to give unto the Lord *Goring* any positive or binding Orders; whereas, by his Instructions, when he came from *Oxford*, he was to put Both his Commissions, of Generalissimo, and of General of the Association in Execution, as he found most convenient; his Majesty himself then entertaining very little hope of the Association, as it was propos'd; and therefore, by his Letters to the Prince of the twentieth of *April*, which came to him at *Bridgewater*, all the assignations formerly made towards the Association, were directed to be dispos'd, and converted to such uses, as by the advice of his Council should be found most advantageous to the Service of those Parts; and thereupon the levies were consented to, and directed as is before mention'd. With these triumphant Orders, the Lord *Goring* return'd into the West; where we shall now leave him, and wait upon his Majesty, in his unfortunate march, until we find cause enough to lament that Counsel, which so fatally dismissed *Goring*, and his Forces, at a time, in which, if he had been born to Serve his Country, his presence might have been of great use and benefit to the King; which it was never after in any occasion.

The Lord
Goring
sent back into
the West.

WHEN *Goring* was thus separated from the King's Army, his Majesty march'd to *Evesham*; and in his way, drew out his Garrison from *Cambden-House*; which had brought no other benefit to the Publick, than the enriching the licentious Governour thereof; who exercis'd an illimited Tyranny over the whole Country, and took his leave of it, in wantonly burning the Noble Structure, where he had too long inhabited, and which, not many years before, had cost above thirty thousand pounds the building. Within few days after the King left *Evesham*, it was surpris'd by the Enemy,

or

*Marches of
the King's
Army to-
wards the
North, whilst
St Thomas
Fairfax
with his, fate
down before
Oxford.*

*The King
Storms, and
takes Lei-
cester.*

or rather storm'd and taken for want of Men to defend the Works; and the Governour, and all the little Garrison made Prisoners. The loss of this place was an ill Omen to the succeeding Summer; and, upon the matter, cut off all the intercourse between *Worcester*, and *Oxford*; nor was it at all repair'd by the taking of *Hawkesly-House* in *Worcester-shire*; which the Rebels had fortified, and made strong, and which the King's Army took in two days, and therein the Governour, and one hundred and twenty Prisoners; who served to redeem those who were lost in *Ewelham*. And so, by easy and slow marches the Army prosecuted their way towards *Chester*. But, in *Stafford-shire*, the Lord *Byron*, who was Governour of *Chester*, met the King; and inform'd him, "that the Rebels, upon the noise of his Majesty's advance, were drawn off; and so there was no more to be done, but to prosecute the Northern design; which was now intended, and the Army upon it's march accordingly, when Intelligence was brought, "that *Fairfax* had sent a strong Party to relieve *Taunton*, and "was Himself, with his Army, fate down before *Oxford*. This could not but make some alteration, at least a pause in the Execution of the former Counsels: and yet *Oxford* was known to be in so good a condition, that the loss of it could not in any degree be apprehended, and nothing could more reasonably have been wished, than that *Fairfax* should be thoroughly engaged before it: And it was concluded, "that the best way to "draw him from thence, would be to fall upon some place possessed by the Parliament.

THEY had no Town so considerable near the place where the King then was, as *Leicester*; in which there was a good Garrison, under the Command of *St Robert Pye*; and Prince *Rupert*, who was always pleas'd with any brisk attempt, cheerfully entertain'd the first motion, and sent *St Marmaduke Langdale* forthwith to surround it (which was of great extent) with his Horse; and the next day, being the last of *May*, the whole Army was drawn about the Town, and the Prince, having taken a view of it, commanded a Battery to be forthwith rais'd against an old high stone Wall, on the South side of the Town; which, by his own continued presence, was finish'd with admirable diligence: which done, he sent a Summons to the Governour; who return'd not such an Answer as was required. Thereupon, the Battery began to play; and, in the space of four hours, made such a Breach, that it was thought Counselable, the same Night to make a general Assault with the whole Army, in several places; but principally at the Breach; which was defended with great courage, and resolution; insomuch, that the King's Forces were twice repuls'd with great loss, and slaughter; and were even ready to

draw

draw off in despair : when another Party, on the other side of the Town, under the Command of Colonel *Page*, seconded by a Body of Horse that came but that day from *Newarke*, and, putting themselves on Foot, advanced, with their Swords and Pistols, with the other, enter'd the Town ; and made way for their Fellows to follow them : so that, by the break of day, the Assault having continued all the Night, all the King's Army enter'd the Line. Then the Governour, and all the Officers and Soldiers, to the Number of twelve hundred, threw down their Armes, and became Prisoners of War : whilst the Conquerors pursued their advantage, with the usual Licence of rapine, and plunder, and miserably sacked the whole Town, without any distinction of Persons, or Places ; Churches, and Hospitals, as well as other Houses, were made a Prey to the enraged, and greedy Soldier, to the exceeding regret of the King ; who well knew, that, how disaffected soever that Town was generally, there were yet many who had faithful hearts to him, and who he heartily wished might be distinguished from the rest : but those Seasons admit no difference of Persons. Though the place was well gorten, because so little time had been spent in the getting it, yet it was not without very considerable loss on the King's side ; there being near two hundred Soldiers dead upon the places of Assault, with many Officers ; Colonel *Saint George*, and others of Name ; besides many more wounded, and maimed. The King presently made the Lord *Loughborough*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Huntington*, and one who had serv'd him eminently from the beginning of the War, Governour of *Leicester* ; and *Sr Mathew Appleyard*, a Soldier of known courage and experience, his Lieutenant Governour.

THE taking of *Leicester*, the chief Town of that Province, even as soon as he came before it, and in that manner, purely by an Act of great courage, gave the King's Army great reputation, and made a wonderful impression of terror upon the hearts of those at *Westminster* ; who now revolv'd the conditions, which were offer'd at *Uxbridge* ; which they had refused. They began to curse their new model ; and to reproach those who had perswaded them "so ingratelully to throw off their old General, who was ready to foment all their discontents. It was not above twenty days, that the King's Army had been in the Field, and in that short time, it had reduced two strong Garrisons of Theirs, without giving the Soldiers any conditions, *Hawkesly-House* in *Worcestershire*, and the Town of *Leicester* : whilst their new General *Fairfax* had only faced *Oxford* at a distance, to try whether the Ladies would prevail for the giving up of the Town, to pacify their fears ; and had attempted to take a
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"poor House that lay near, *Borstaff*-House, and had been "beaten from thence with considerable loss, and had drawn "off from both, very little to his Honour. These discourses were so publick in the City, and had so much credit in both Houses of Parliament, that they exceedingly desir'd Peace, and exercised their thoughts only how they might revive the old Treaty, or set a new one on foot; when the evil Genius of the Kingdom in a moment shifted the whole Scene.

LEICESTER was a Post, where the King might, with all possible Convenience and Honour, have sat still, till his Army might have been recruited, as well as thoroughly refresh'd. Colonel *Gerrard* was upon his march towards him from *Wales*, with a body of three thousand Horse and Foot: and he had reason to expect, that the Lord *Goring* would be very shortly with him with His Horse; for he was not departed from the King above four or five days, with those Orders which are mention'd before (and with which he was so well pleased) but that the King saw cause to repent his separation, and sent other Orders to recal him as soon as was possible. But the King's fate, and the natural unsteadiness, and irresolution of those about him, hurried him into Counsels very disagreeable to the posture he was in. He knew not that *Fairfax* was gone from *Oxford*; and the Intelligence which some Men pretended to have receiv'd from thence, was, "that it was in distress. The Duke of *York* remain'd there; the Council, many Lords and Ladies, who sent Intelligence to their Friends, and all the Magazines were there; and if all these should fall into the Enemies hands, *Leicester* would appear a very poor recompence. These particulars being unskilfully, yet warmly pressed by those who could not be understood to mean amiss, the King resolv'd to march directly for *Oxford*; and in order thereunto, within five days after the taking of *Leicester*, he appointed the Rendezvous for his Army; where he might yet very reasonably have been discouraged from prosecuting that intention; for it then appear'd evidently, how very much it was weaken'd by, and since that Action, by the loss of those who were killed and wounded in the Storm; by the absence of those who were left behind in the Garrison; and by the running away of very many with their Plunder, who would in few days have returned.

The King
marches
back towards
Oxford.

THE number of the King's Foot which remain'd, did not amount to above three thousand five hundred; which was not a Body sufficient to Fight a Battle for a Crown. Then, all the Northern Horse, who had promised themselves, and were promised by the King, that they should go into their own Country, were so displeased with this new Resolution, that they

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they were with great difficulty restrain'd from Disbanding ; and, though they were at last prevail'd with to march, were not enough recover'd to be depended upon in any suddain Action. Notwithstanding all this, the march was continu'd ; the next day, at *Harborough*, the Intelligence came "that *Fairfax* was drawn off from *Oxford*, without having ever approached so near it, as to discharge one Piece of Cannon upon it ; that he had been beaten off from *Borsil-House* with the loss of Officers, as well as Soldiers ; and that he "was marched with his whole Army to *Buckingham*. But this kindled a greater appetite to find him out, than there was before. Indeed there was less reason to march Northward, since they might well apprehend the *Scotish* Army in their Face, and *Fairfax* in their Rear. But there was the same reason still for their retiring back to *Leicester*, or to *Worcester*, where they might expect, and could not fail of an Addition of Forces to the Army ; and where the Enemy, who must now be oblig'd to find them out, must come with many disadvantages. These Considerations were all laid aside, and every body believ'd, that *Fairfax* his Army was much dispirited, by having fail'd in their two first Enterprizes ; and that it was now led out of the way, that it might recover Courage, before it should be brought to Fight with so Victorious Troops, as the King's were : and therefore, that it was best to find them out, whilst their fear was yet upon them : all Men concluding that to be true, which their own wishes suggested to them. So the Army marched to *Daintry* in *Northampton-shire* : where, for want of knowing where the Enemy was, or what he intended to do, the King remain'd in a quiet posture the space of five days.

Dr Thomas
Fairfax
draws off
from Ox-
ford.

UPON the thirteenth of *June*, the King receiv'd Intelligence, that *Fairfax* was advanced to *Northampton*, with a strong Army ; much superior to the Numbers he had formerly been advertised of. Whereupon, his Majesty retir'd the next day to *Harborough* ; and meant to have gone back to *Leicester*, that he might draw more Foot out of *Newark*, and stand upon his defence, till the other Forces which he expected, could come up to him. But, that very Night, an Alarm was brought to *Harborough*, that *Fairfax* himself was Quarter'd within six Miles. A Council was presently call'd, the former Resolution of retiring presently laid aside, and a new one as quickly taken, "to Fight ; to which there was always an immoderate appetite, when the Enemy was within any distance. They would not stay to expect his coming, but would go back to meet him." And so, in the Morning early, being *Saturday* the fourteenth of *June*, all the Army was drawn up, upon a rising ground of very great advantage,

about a Mile South from *Harborough* (which was left at their back) and there put in order to give or receive the Charge. The main Body of the Foot was led by the Lord *Astley* (whom the King had lately made a Baron) consisting of about two thousand and five hundred Foot; the right Wing of Horse, being about two thousand, was led by Prince *Rupert*; the left Wing, consisting of all the Northern Horse, with those from *Newark*, which did not amount to above sixteen hundred, was Commanded by *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*; in the Reserve, were the King's Life-Guard, Commanded by the Earl of *Lindsey*, and Prince *Rupert's* Regiment of Foot (both which did make very little above eight hundred) with the King's Horse-Guards, Commanded by the Lord *Bernard Stuart* (newly made Earl of *Lichfield*) which made that day about five hundred Horse.

THE Army, thus disposed in good order, made a stand on that ground to expect the Enemy. About eight of the Clock in the Morning, it began to be doubted, whether the Intelligence they had receiv'd of the Enemy was true. Upon which the Scoutmaster was sent to make farther discovery; who, it seems, went not far enough; but return'd and averr'd, "that he had been three or four Miles forward, and could neither discover, nor hear any thing of them: presently, a report was raised in the Army, "that the Enemy was retired. Prince *Rupert* thereupon drew out a Party of Horse and Musqueteers, both to discover, and engage them, the Army remaining still in the same place, and posture they had been in. His Highness had not march'd above a mile, when he receiv'd certain Intelligence of Their advance, and in a short time after, he saw the Van of their Army, but it seems not so distinctly, but that he conceiv'd they were retiring. Whereupon, he advanced nearer with his Horse, and sent back; "that the Army should march up to him; and the Messenger who brought the Order, said, "that the Prince desired they "should make hast. Hereupon the advantage ground was quitted, and the excellent order they were in, and an advance made towards the Enemy, as well as might be. By that time they had march'd about a mile and an half, the Horse of the Enemy was discern'd to stand upon a high ground about *Naseby*; whence, seeing the manner of the King's march, in a full Campagne, they had leisure and opportunity to place themselves, with all the advantages they could desire. The Prince's natural heat, and impatience, could never endure an Enemy long in his view; nor let him believe that they had the courage to endure his Charge. Thus the Army was engaged before the Cannon was turn'd, or the ground made choice of upon which they were to Fight: so that Courage

was only to be relied upon, where all Conduct failed so much.

It was about ten of the Clock, when the Battle began: *The Battle of Naseby.* The first Charge was given by Prince *Rupert*; who, with his own, and his Brother Prince *Maurice's* Troop, perform'd it with his usual vigour; and was so well seconded, that he bore down all before him, and was Master of six pieces of the Rebels best Cannon. The Lord *Astley*, with His Foot, though against the Hill, advanced upon Their Foot; who discharged their Cannon at them, but over-shot them, and so did their Musqueteers too. For the Foot on either side hardly saw each other till they were within Carabine-shot, and so only gave one Volley; the King's Foot, according to their usual custom, falling in with their Swords, and the But-ends of their Muskets; with which they did very notable execution, and put the Enemy into great disorder and confusion. The right Wing of Horse and Foot being thus fortunately engaged and advanced, the left Wing, under *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*, in five Bodies, advanced with equal resolution; and was encounter'd by *Cromwell*, who Commanded the right Wing of the Enemies Horse, with seven Bodies greater, and more numerous than either of the other; and had, besides the Odds in number, the advantage of the ground; for the King's Horse were obliged to march up the Hill, before they could Charge them: yet they did their duty, as well as the place, and great inequality of Numbers would enable them to do. But being flanked on both sides by the Enemies Horse, and pressed hard, before they could get to the top of the Hill, they gave back, and fled farther and faster than became them. Four of the Enemies Bodies, close, and in good order, follow'd them, that they might not rally again; which they never thought of doing; and the rest Charged the King's Foot, who had till then so much the advantage over Theirs; whilst Prince *Rupert*, with the right Wing, pursued those Horse which he had broken and defeated.

THE King's Reserve of Horse, which was his own Guards, with Himself in the head of them, were even ready to Charge those Horse who pursued his left Wing, when, on a suddain, such a Pannick fear seized upon them, that they all run near a quarter of a mile without stopping; which happen'd upon an extraordinary accident, that hath seldom fallen out, and might well disturb and disorder very resolute Troops, as those were, and the best Horse in the Army. The King, as was said before, was even upon the point of Charging the Enemy, in the head of his Guards, when the Earl of *Carnearth*, who rode next to him (a Man never suspected for infidelity, nor yet one from whom the King would have receiv'd Counsel in such a case) on a suddain, laid his hand on the bridle of the King's Horse,

Horse, and swearing two or three full Mouthed *Scotish* Oaths (for of that Nation he was) said, “ will you go upon your “ death in an instant? and before his Majesty understood what he would have, turn’d his Horse round; upon which a word run through the Troops, “ that they should *marsh* to the right “ hand; which led them both from Charging the Enemy, and assisting their own Men: Upon this they all turn’d their Horses, and rode upon the Spur, as if they were every Man to shift for himself.

IT is very true, that, upon the more Souldierly word, *stand*, which was sent after them, many of them return’d to the King; though the former unlucky word carried more from him. By this time, Prince *Rupert* was return’d with a good Body of those Horse, which had attended him in his prosperous Charge on the right Wing; but they having, as they thought, acted their parts, could never be brought to rally themselves again in order, or to Charge the Enemy. That difference was observ’d all along, in the discipline of the King’s Troops, and of those which marched under the Command of *Fairfax*, and *Cromwell* (for it was only under Them, and had never been remarkable under *Essex*, or *Waller*) that, though the King’s Troops prevail’d in the Charge, and routed those they Charged, they seldom rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second Charge again the same day: which was the reason, that they had not an entire Victory at *Edge-hill*: Whereas the others Troops, if they prevail’d, or though they were beaten, and routed, presently rallied again, and stood in good order, till they receiv’d new Orders. All that the King and Prince could do, could not rally their broken Troops, which stood in sufficient Numbers upon the Field, though they often endeavour’d it, with the manifest hazard of their own Persons. So that, in the end, the King was compell’d to quit the Field; and to leave *Fairfax* Master of all his Foot, Cannon, and Baggage; amongst which was his own Cabinet, where his most secret Papers were, and Letters between the Queen and Him; of which they shortly after made that barbarous use as was agreeable to their Natures, and publish’d them in Print; that is, so much of them, as they thought would asperse either of their Majesties, and improve the prejudice they had raised against them; and conceal’d other parts, which would have vindicated them from many particulars with which they had aspersed them.

I SHALL not stay, in this place, to mention the Names of those Noble Persons who were lost in this Battle; when the King, and the Kingdom were lost in it; though there were above one hundred and fifty Officers, and Gentlemen of

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prime Quality, dead upon the spot; whose Memories ought to be preserv'd. The Enemy left no manner of cruelty unexercis'd that day; and in the pursuit kill'd above one hundred Women, whereof some were the Wives of Officers of Quality. The King and Prince *Rupert*, with the broken Troops, march'd by *Leicester* that Night to *Ashby de la Zouch*; and the next day to *Lichfield*; and continued two days march more, till they came to *Bewdley* in *Worcester-shire*; where they rested one day; and then went to *Hereford*, with some disjoynted imagination, that they might, with those Forces under *Gerrard*, who was General of *South Wales*, and was indeed upon his march, with a Body of two thousand Horse and Foot, be able to have rais'd a new Army. At *Hereford*, Prince *Rupert*, before any form'd Counsel was agreed upon, what the King should do next, left the King, and made hast to *Bristol*, that he might put that place into a condition to resist a Powerful and Victorious Enemy; which, he had reason to believe, would in a short time appear before it. Nothing can be here more wonder'd at, than that the King should amule himself about forming a new Army in Counties which had been vexed, and worn out with the oppressions of his own Troops, and the Licence of those Governours, whom he had put over them; and not have immediately repaired into the West, where he had an Army already form'd, and a People, generally, well devoted to his Service, whither all his broken Troops, and General *Gerrard*, might have transported themselves, before *Fairfax* could have given them any interruption; who had somewhat to do, before he could bend his course that way: of which unhappy omission we shall have too much occasion to take more notice, after we have again visited the West.

THE Sickness which infested *Bristol*, and which was thought to be the Plague, had made it necessary for the Prince of *Wales* to remove from thence: and no place was thought so convenient for his residence as *Barnstable*, a pleasant Town in the North part of *Devon-shire*, well Fortified, with a good Garrison in it, under the Command of *St Allen Apsley*. And as his Highness was upon his way thither, he receiv'd the Orders which the Lord *Goring*, who was now return'd, had procured from the King; which he carefully transmitted to his Highness, as soon as he arrived. At the same time, the Lord *Colepepper* receiv'd another Letter from the Lord *Digby*, dated four days after the former Orders, by which he signified "the King's express pleasure, that the Lord *Goring* should Command those Forces in Chief; that *St Richard Greenvil* should be Major General of the whole Army; that *St John Berkley*, as Colonel General of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, should in-

The King
retires by
Lichfield to
Bewdley;
thence to
Hereford.

Thence
Prince Ru-
pert retires
to Bristol.

The Affairs
of the West
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"tend the work before *Plymouth*; and that Prince *Rupert* would send his Ratification of all these; that the Lord *Hopton* should attend his charge at the Army, as General of the Artillery. To which purpose, his Majesty with his own hand writ to the Lord *Hopton*; and that the Prince should not be in the Army, but keep his residence in a safe Garrison; and There, by the advice of his Council, manage and improve the business of the West, and provide reserves, and reinforcements for the Army: with an Intimation, "that Mr *Smith's House*, near *Bristol*, would be a convenient place for his residence.

THE Prince and Council were much amazed at these Orders and Resolutions, so different from those which had been made; and therefore they thought it fit to conceal them, till they might represent faithfully to his Majesty the state and condition of those parts, and their advice thereupon: well knowing, that if it were believ'd in the County, that the Prince's Authority was in the least manner superseded, or diminished, besides other inconveniences, the hopeful Levies, upon the agreement at *Bridgewater*, would be in a moment determin'd; the Gentlemen who were to raise Regiments, professing, "that they would receive no Commissions but from his Highness. But whatever care They used to conceal the matters of those Letters, and to hasten away a dispatch to the King concerning them, the Lord *Goring* took as much care to publish them; and from that time expressed all possible contempt at least of the Council attending the Prince. However, within three days, there was another change; for the Lord *Digby* (sending at the same time express Orders from the King to the Lord *Goring* to that purpose) by his Letters to the Lords of the Council, of the nineteenth of *May*, within five days after the former, signified "his Majesty's pleasure, that the Lord *Goring* should march forthwith towards *Northampton-shire* with all the Forces could be spared; and that the Prince himself should stay at *Dunstar-Castle*, and encourage the new Levies: it being (I presume) not known at Court, that the Plague, which had driven him from *Bristol*, was as hot in *Dunstar Town*, just under the Walls of the Castle. At the same time, a Letter to the Lord *Hopton* from the King, order'd him "to Command the Forces under the Prince. The Prince was then, as was said before, in his way to *Barnstable*; having left five hundred of his Guards to keep the Fort in *Bristol*, the Garrison being then very thin there, by reason of so many drawn from thence for the Service before *Taunton*.

GENERAL *Goring*, upon his return from the King, found *Taunton* reliev'd by a strong Party of two thousand Horse, and three

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three thousand Foot, which unhappily arriv'd in the very Article of reducing the Town, and after their Line was enter'd, and a third part of the Town was burned. But this Supply rais'd the Siege, the Besiegers drawing off without any loss; and the Party that reliev'd them, having done their work, and left some of their Foot in the Town, made what hast they could, to make their Retreat Eastward; when *Goring* fell so opportunely upon their Quarters, that he did them great mischief; and believ'd that, in that disorder, he had so shut them up between narrow passes, that they could neither retire to *Taunton*, nor march Eastward: and doubtless he had them then at a great advantage, by the opinion of all Men that knew the Country. But, by the extreme ill disposing his Parties, and for want of particular Orders (of which many Men spoke with great licence) his two Parties sent out, several ways, to fall upon the Enemy at *Petherton-Bridge*, the one Commanded by Colonel *Thornhill*, the other by *Sr William Courtney* (both diligent, and sober Officers) they fell foul on each other, to the loss of many of their Men; both the chief Officers being dangerously hurt, and one of them taken, before they knew their Error; through which the Enemy with no more loss got into, and about *Taunton*; notwithstanding which untoward accident, General *Goring* was, or seem'd, very confident that he should speedily so distress them, that the place would be the sooner reduced, by the relief that had been put into it, and that in few days they would be at his Mercy.

THIS was before the latter end of *May*; when, upon the confidence of speedily dispatching that work, all possible and effectual care was taken to supply him with Provisions, and to send all the new Levied Men, and his Highness's own Guards thither. Infomuch, as he had within few days a Body of full five thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; which he Quarter'd at the most convenient places; rather for ease, than duty; having published Orders, under pretence of preserving the Country from plunder, and with a promise of most exemplary Discipline, "that six pence a day should be collected for the payment of each Trooper; to which he got the Commissioners consent; by virtue whereof, he raised great Sums of Money, without the least abatement of the former disorders: yet he proceeded with such Popular circumstances, sending most specious Warrants out, and Declarations for Reformation; sometimes desiring, "that solemn Prayers might be said in all Churches for him; and to desire God to bless "some attempt he had then in hand; always using extreme Courtship to the Commissioners (whom he barefaced inform'd, "that he was to have, or rather, that he had the ab-

"solufe Command of the West under the Prince, without reference to his Council) that with his Promises, Proclamations, and Courtship, together with laughing at those Persons they were angry at, he had wrought himself into very Popular consideration; till they found, that he promised and published Orders, to no other purpose than to deceive them; and that, whilst he seem'd with them to laugh at other Men, he made them Properties only to his own ends.

IN this conjuncture, the King's Letter came to the Lord *Goring*, to march towards *Northampton-shire*; to which he return'd an Answer by an Express, before he desired the Prince's directions; though he was diligent enough to procure his Highness's opinion for the respite of his march. The truth is, the assurance that he gave of his reducing those Forces within very few days; the leaving all the West to the Mercy of the Rebels, if he went before they were reduced; the danger of their marching in his Rear, and carrying as great an addition of strength to the Enemy, as General *Goring* could carry to the King, except he carried with him the Forces of the several Garrisons, which were then joyn'd to him, made it very Counselable to suspend a present Obedience to those Orders, till his Majesty might receive the full and true State of his Affairs in those parts; to which purpose, an express was sent likewise by his Highness to the King. In the mean time, General *Goring* was so far from making any advance upon *Taunton*, that he grew much more negligent in it, than he had been; suffer'd Provisions, in great quantities, to be carried into the Town, through the midst of his Men; neglected, and discouraged his own Foot so much, that they ran away faster than they could be sent up to him; and gave himself wholly to Licence: insomuch that some times he was not seen abroad, in three or four days together. At this time came the news of the fatal blow at *Naseby*, which freed him from any fear of being drawn out of the West; yet he used no expedition to attempt any thing upon the Enemy, who were exceedingly dishearten'd; but suffer'd the Guards to be more negligently kept; insomuch that his Quarters were often beaten up, even in the day time; whilst some principal Officers of his Army, as Lieutenant General *Porter*, and others, with His leave, had several Parleys with the Officers of the Rebels, to the very great scandal of the rest; who knew not what interpretation to make of it, at a time that he used to mention the Person of the King with great contempt, and avow'd in all places a virulent dislike of the Prince's Council. Thus, after about six Weeks lying about *Taunton*, the Forces whereof he promised to confound (I mean those that marched to the relief of it) within few days, he was forced himself to retire,

ture, and suffer them to joyn with *Sr Thomas Fairfax*; who in the beginning of *July* marched towards those parts.

AFTER the Prince came to *Barnstable*, though he very seldom receiv'd any account from the Lord *Goring* of what happen'd, he was inform'd by several Persons of Credit, that he was much discontented; and expressed a great sense "of disrespect, and unkindnesses that he had receiv'd. Therefore it was wish'd by them, "that some means might be "found out, to settle a good understanding with him, where- "by he might be encouraged to an Alacrity in so important "a Season: and he having appointed to be at *Triverton* on such a day, the Prince sent thither *Sr John Berkley*, *Sr Hugh Pollard*, and Colonel *Asburnham*, to confer with him, and to know what he desired; the Prince having never denied to assist him, in any one particular he had ever propos'd, or to grant him any thing he had expressed a desire of. Upon their meeting there, he carried himself very high; talked only of "general neglects put upon him by the Prince's Council; "that he had been promised by the King to have the Com- "mand of the West, but that They had hinder'd it; which "affront he requir'd to have repair'd, before he would do any "Service upon the Enemy; with many bitter invectives against particular Persons; "whereof, he said, Prince *Rupert* "had told him that some thought him not a Man fit to be "trusted. They had indeed spoken freely to his Highness to that purpose, upon His very frankly discouraging of him. In the end, these three Persons pressing him as Friends to deal particularly with them, what would satisfy him; he told them, "if he might be presently made Lieutenant General to the Prince, and admitted of his Council, and be promised "to be Sworn of the Privy Council, as soon as might be, and "to be Gentleman of the Prince's Bed-Chamber, he would "then proceed roundly and chearfully in the business; other- "wise, the Prince's Council should do the work Themselves "for Him. All this being so extravagant, it cannot be thought any Answer could be given to it, especially it being said to them as Friends, and not expressly sent to the Prince.

WHEN the Prince first apprehended the advance of *Sr Thomas Fairfax* to the West, he very earnestly recommended to the Lord *Goring* the state of the Garrisons about *Bridgewater*, especially the Garrison of *Lamport*, which was of so great importance, that, being well supplied it had secured *Bridgewater*, and all that part of the Country. This Garrison had been settled by the Lord *Hopton*, upon his first coming down to *Taunton*, after *Vandruske* had raised the Blockade that Colonel *Windham* had laid to it; and *Sr Francis Mackworth* (who, having been formerly Major-General to the Marquis of New-

Castle, was now, that Army being dissolv'd, returning to his Command in the Low Countries by his Majesty's leave) was engaged by him, to take the Command of it till, upon the Prince's coming into those Parts, a worthier command could be provided for him; and before the Lord *Goring's* coming to *Taunton*, he had Fortify'd it to a good degree. This Garrison, from the first Establishment, had been much maligned by Colonel *Windham*, who desired not to have another Governour so near him, who was to receive some of the fruit that he had before look'd on as his own, though never assign'd to him: and then, upon some differences between *St John Stawel*, and *St Francis Mackworth*, it was more inveighed against: insomuch as at the first coming down of the Prince to *Bristol*, most of the time was spent in complaints from *St John Stawel* of this Garrison, and of the forcing the Country to work, and contribute to those Fortifications. After the Lord *Goring's* coming to *Taunton*, he had, as a compliment to *Bridgewater*, and to all the Gentlemen, who were grown angry with my Lord *Hopton*, upon their own fancies, besides the former unkindnesses he had to *St Francis Mackworth* upon some disputes they had Had in the North (where they were both General Officers) very much neglected, and oppress'd that Garrison; not only by countenancing all complaints against it, but by taking away all the Contribution assign'd for the support of it, for the supplying his own Army; and expressly inhibiting him by force to Levy those Rates, which the Prince himself had assign'd to him. Insomuch as when the Club-men of the County assembled together in great Numbers, and, having taken some Officers and Soldiers of that Garrison Prisoners, for requiring their just Contributions in Money, or Provisions, came up to the Walls of *Lampport*, and discharged their Musquets upon the Works, and *St Francis Mackworth* thereupon with his Horse Charged them, and killing one or two of them, forced the rest to run away, the Lord *Goring* sent him a very strict reprehension for so doing, and positively commanded him "to do so no more; nor in any case to disturb or injure those People. This brought that Garrison so low, that when it might have preserv'd that Army, it had not two days Provisions in it; *St Francis Mackworth*, having been called to wait on the Prince's Person, as well by his own choice (when he saw the carriage towards him, believing that some prejudice to his Person brought a disadvantage to the place) as by Prince *Rupert's* advice; who promised, when he left the Prince at *Barnstable*, and visited *Goring*, and *Bridgewater*, "to settle that Garrison of *Lampport*, and make Colonel *Windham* Governour of it.

HERE

HERE I cannot but say somewhat of the Club-men; who began then to rise, in great Numbers, in several parts of the Country, about the time that the Prince went from *Bath* to *Bridgewater*, in his Journey to *Barnstable*; and that night his Highness lay at *Wells*, which was the second of *June*, a Petition was deliver'd to him, which had been agreed upon that day at *Marshals Elme*, where there had then assembled five or six thousand Men, most in Armes; and the Petitioners were appointed to attend the next day at *Bridgewater* for an Answer. It was evident, though the avow'd ground for the rising was the intolerable oppression, Rapine, and Violence, exercised by the Lord *Goring's* Horse, that, in truth, they receiv'd encouragement from many Gentlemen of the Country; some of them thinking, it would be a good Expedient to necessitate a Reformation of the Army; others believing it would be a profitable Rising for the King, and would grow into the matter of the first Association, One and All. Therefore some principal Agents of *St John Starwel's* were very active in those Meetings; and he himself was very solicitous, that a very gracious Answer might be return'd to their Petition; which was follow'd by some Farmerly Men, and others of the Clergy, both which had good reputations of affection, and integrity to the King's Service. The Prince expressed a great sense of the Oppressions they suffer'd, by the disorder of the Army, which he promised to do his best to reform; to which end, he writ many earnest Letters to the Lord *Goring*. But his Highness told them, "that this unwarrantable course of assembling together, and being their own Judges, would prove very pernicious: for though many of them might mean well, yet some active Ministers would mingle with them, on the behalf of the Rebels, and having once brought them to a kind of neutrality, and unconcernedness for the King, would, in a moment, be able, against all their good wishes, to apply them against him; and therefore strictly inhibited them to meet any more in that manner, except they first listed themselves in Regiments, and chose Gentlemen of the Country to Command them; to whom his Highness offer'd to grant Commissions to that purpose.

THIS Answer seem'd to satisfy those who attended on the behalf of the Petitioners, until they were perswaded by some Gentlemen not to submit to it; and so they continued their meetings; many inferior Officers of the Army quitting their Charges, and living amongst them, and improving their discontents. When the Prince went to *Barnstable*, he gave General *Goring* Advertisements "of the great danger that might arise out of the licence that People took to themselves; and therefore advised him, "as on the one hand,

Of the Club-men in Somerset and Dorsetshire

“to suppress and reform the crying Disorders of the Army by
 “good Discipline, and severity upon enormous transgressors;
 “so on the other, seasonably to discountenance, and punish
 “those Assemblies of Club-men; which would otherwise, in
 “time, prove as dangerous to him, as any other strength of
 “the Rebels. But, whether it were to shew his greatness,
 and so, Popularly to comply with what the Prince had dis-
 countenanced, or whether in truth he believ’d he should be
 able to make use of them, and perswade them to become a
 part of his Army, he did use all possible compliance with
 them, and would not suffer any force to be used against them.
 So that they grew to be so powerful, that they kept Provi-
 sions from the Army, and the Garrisons; and when he mov’d
 from *Taunton*, upon the coming down of *St Thomas Fairfax*,
 they kill’d many of his Soldiers; and did him more mischief,
 than all the power of the Rebels.

WHEN the Prince came to *Barnstable*, he receiv’d the fa-
 tal news of the Battle of *Naseby*, by the noise and triumphs
 which the Rebels made in those parts for their Victory,
 without any particular information, or account from *Oxford*,
 or any credible Persons; which left some hope that it might
 not be true, at least not to that degree that disaffected People
 reported it to be. However, at the worst, it concern’d him
 the more to be solicitous to put the West into such a Posture,
 that it might be able to repair any loss the King had receiv’d;
 which he might have done, if the Jealousies and Animosities
 between particular Persons could have been reconciled, and
 a Union been made amongst all Men, who pretended to wish,
 and really did wish, prosperity to the King’s Affairs; which
 were disturbed, and even render’d desperate, by the intoler-
 able pride of incorrigible Faction. Notwithstanding the Or-
 ders, which had been made by the Commissioners of *Devon-*
shire, for distributing the Contributions of that County, which
 have been mention’d before, and in which such a proportion
 was assign’d for the maintenance of the Forces before *Plymouth*,
 as in *St Richard Greenvil*’s own judgement was sufficient for
 them; he had still continued to Levy the whole Contribu-
 tion, which he had done formerly, for six thousand Foot, and
 twelve hundred Horse; and said, “he could not submit to
 “the other division and retrenchment; for that there was
 “nothing assign’d, or left for the payment of his Men before
 “*Taunton*. He was told by the Commissioners, “that they
 “were now a part of the Army, and liv’d as their fellows did;
 “that they had receiv’d no Money from him since their go-
 “ing thither, but had Had free Quarter as the rest of the Ar-
 “my; and that it would prove of ill consequence, and beget
 “a mutiny, if They should receive a Weekly pay, when none
 “of

"of the rest did, nor any Army the King had in *England*:
 "that he could not but confess, by the State of the Whole,
 "that the dispensation was very reasonable; and that it could
 "not be expected that the County would be contented to pay
 "their Contribution for the payment of other Forces, not of
 "their own County, when their own Garrisons, that were
 "kept for their Defence, should be compell'd for want of pay,
 "to disorders, or to disband. But that, if he thought any
 "thing in those Establishments unnecessary, or that he thought
 "provision could be otherwise made for them, they would
 "be contented that the overplus should be disposed as he de-
 "sired. He Answer'd none of their reasons; but positively
 "said, "he would spare none of the Contributions formerly
 "assign'd to him; though the Commissioners had the same
 "Authority now to take it away, as they had then to dispose it
 "to him; and though it appear'd to be assign'd for the main-
 "tenance of so great a Force, as was before spoken of, and
 "upon his undertaking, under his hand, "to take the Town
 "before *Christmas* day.

WHEN this Account was presented to the Prince, he found it necessary and resolv'd to confirm what was proposed by the Commissioners, without which those Garrisons could not be supported; yet deferr'd the settling thereof, till he came to *Barnstable*, being resolv'd speedily to go thither; and, before his coming thither, had sent to the Commissioners both of *Devon* and *Cornwall* to attend him; which they did within a day or two after he came thither, together with *Sr John Berkley*, and *Sr Richard Greenvil*. The Commissioners for *Devon* very earnestly pressed the settling the Contributions in the manner before proposed, and the regulating the exorbitant power of *Sr Richard Greenvil*, who rais'd what Money he pleas'd, and committed what Persons he pleas'd; and the Commissioners from *Cornwall* presented a very sharp complaint against him, in the Name of the whole County, for several exorbitances, and strange Acts of Tyranny exercis'd upon them: "That he had committed very many honest substantial Men, and all the Constables of the East part of the County, to *Lydford* Prison in *Devon-shire*, for no offence, "but to compel them to ransom themselves for Money; and "that his Troops had committed such outrages in the County, that they had been compell'd, in open Sessions, to declare against him; and to authorise the Country, in case "that he should send his Troops in such manner, to rise, and "beat them out; which Declaration was produced, sign'd by all the Commissioners, who were most eminently and zealously affected to his Majesty; and was indeed no other than a denouncing War against *Greenvil*; and was excus'd by them,

Transactions
at Barnsta-
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gainst Sr R.
Greenvil.

"as an act of necessity to compose the People, who would otherwise in the instant have risen, and cut the throats of all his Men. So that, whoever would have made a judgement, upon what he heard from the Commissioners of *Devon* and *Cornwal* at that time, must have concluded, that *St Richard Greenvil* was the most justly odious to both Counties, that can be imagined. And no doubt he had behaved himself with great pride, and tyranny over them; though the discipline he exercised over his Men at *Plymouth*, in keeping them from committing any disorder, or offering the least prejudice to any Man (which, considering the great assignment of Money he had, and the small Numbers of Men, was no hard matter to do) had raised him much credit among the Country People, who had liv'd long under the Licence of Prince *Maurice's* Army; and the fame of it had extended his reputation to a greater distance.

THERE hath been too much said already, to discover the nature and the temper of this Gentleman, if the current of this discourse did not make it absolutely necessary to mention many particulars, with which the Prince was troubled almost in all places, and which exceedingly disorder'd the whole business of *Devon* and *Cornwal*; and, indeed, thereby the whole West. There was one particular that made a great noise in the Country: shortly after he was deputed to that Charge before *Plymouth*, upon the hurt of *Mr Digby*, one *Brabant*, an Attorney at Law (who had heretofore solicited the great Suit against *St Richard* in the Star-Chamber, on the behalf of his Wife and the Earl of *Suffolk*, living in those parts, and having always very honestly behaved himself towards the King's Service) knowing, it seems, the Nature of the Gentleman, resolv'd not to venture himself within the Precincts where he commanded; and therefore intended to go to some more secure Quarter; but was taken in his Journey, having a Mountero on his head. *St Richard Greenvil* had laid wait to apprehend him; and he likewise had conceal'd his Name; but, being now brought before *St Richard*, was immediately, by his own direction, without any Council of War, because he said he was disguised, hanged as a Spie: Which seem'd so strange and incredible, that one of the Council asked him, "whether it was true? and he Answer'd very unconcernedly, "yes, he had hanged him, for he was a Traytor, and against the King; and that he had taken a Brother of his, whom he might have hanged too, but he had suffer'd him to be exchanged. He said, "he knew the Country talked, that he hanged him for revenge, because he had solicited a cause against him; but that was not the cause; though having, "play'd the Knave with him, he said smiling, "he was well content to find a just occasion to punish him.

THE

THE Prince was very unwilling to enter so far, and so particularly upon the passionate complaint of either County, as thereby to be compell'd to censure, or to discountenance *Sr Richard Greenvil*; who, he thought, might be applied very usefully to the Publick Service. Therefore his Highness resolv'd, according to the former design, to commit the business of *Plymouth* to *Sr John Berkley*; who might, without any reproach to the other, discharge such from Imprisonment as had lain long enough there, and who made no other pretence to the Contribution, than according to the Assignments made by the Commissioners; and to dispose *Sr Richard Greenvil* to the Field, according to his own Proposition; for which there was now the more seasonable opportunity, the Lord *Goring* having then written to the Prince, "to desire him, that, in regard very many of *Sr Richard Greenvil's* Soldiers before *Taunton* were run away, inasmuch that of the two thousand two hundred brought thither by him, there were not six hundred left, and that there could be no such expedient to bring them back, or to encourage the new Levies, as by his presence in that Army, that he would send *Sr Richard Greenvil* thither; where he should Command as Field-Marshal: to which purpose he had likewise written to *Sr Richard Greenvil*, perswading him, "that he should fix a Quarter towards *Lyme*, and have the whole managing of that Province: and so a very good correspondence was begun between them. Thereupon, his Commission of Field-Marshal of the Associated Army was deliver'd to him, with direction, "in the mean time to abide with the Lord *Goring*; who deputed him to Command in the same place. It is true that he then desired, "to continue the Command before *Plymouth* in Command, and to execute the same by his Major General; but, he was told, that it was otherwise settled by his own Proposition, and Advice, and therefore that it could not be alter'd: and indeed would have prevented the satisfaction, which was to be given to the two Counties. Then he insisted very much upon some Assignment of Contribution for the Army; for, he said, "he neither would, nor could Command Men who were not paid. But after some sharp invectives against the excess, and laziness of Governours, and the needless Contribution assign'd to Garrisons, finding that the subsistence for the Army must be provided out of *Somerset*, and *Dorset*, he took his leave of the Prince; and with his Commission of Field-Marshal, went to the Lord *Goring* before *Taunton*; *Sr John Berkley* being at the same time dispatched to *Plymouth*.

ABOUT the beginning of July *Sr Thomas Fairfax* enter'd into *Somerset-shire*; so that General *Goring* found it convenient

Sr T. Fairfax with his Army enters Somerset-shire.

nient to draw off from *Taunton*, and seem'd to advance towards him, as if he intended to Fight; fixing his Quarters between the Rivers about *Lampport*, very advantageously for defence, having a Body of Horse and Foot very little inferior to the Enemy, although by great negligence he had suffered his Foot to moulder away before *Taunton*, for want of Provisions, and Countenance; when the Horse enjoy'd Plenty, even to Excess and Ryt. He had been there very few days, when the Enemy, at Noon day, fell into his Quarters, upon a Party of Horse of above a thousand, Commanded by Lieutenant General *Porter*; who were so surpris'd, that though they were in a bottom, and could not but discern the Enemy coming down the Hill, half a mile at the least, yet the Enemy was upon them, before the Men could get upon their Horses; they being then feeding in a Meadow; so that this Body was entirely routed, and very many taken; and, the next day, notwithstanding all the Advantages of Passes, and Places of Advantage, another Party of the Enemies Horse and Dragoons fell upon the whole Army; routed it; took two peices of Cannon; and pursued *Goring's* Men through *Lampport* (a place, which if it had not been with great industry discountenanced, and oppressed, as is said before, might well have secur'd His, and resist Their Army) and drove them to the Walls of *Bridge-water*; whither the Lord *Goring* in great disorder retir'd; and spending that Night there, and leaving with them the Cannon, Ammunition, and Carriages, and such Soldiers as were desired, in equal disorder, the next day, he retir'd into *Devon-shire*; the Club-men and Country People infesting his march, and knocking all Straglers, or wearied Soldiers, on the head. Upon that rout, which was no less than a defeat of the whole Army, the Lord *Goring* retir'd to *Barnstable*: from whence (the Prince being gone some days before to *Launceston* in *Cornwall*) he writ to the Lord *Digby*, "that there was so great a terror, and distraction among his Men, that he was confident, at that present, they could not be brought to fight against half their number. In the Letter he writ, "that he had then (being within three days after their rout, when very many Straglers were not come up) "between three and "four thousand Foot (Prince *Rupert's* Regiment being left in *Bridgewater*, consisting of above five hundred Men, and two hundred in *Burrow*, and five and twenty hundred Horse, besides *Sr Lewis Dives's* Regiment, and all the Western Horse) so that, by his Account, considering that there were not less than one thousand Men kill'd, and taken Prisoners, in those two unlucky days, and that very many were run to *Bristol*, and others not come to him, it appears, that, when he rose from *Taunton*, he had a strength little inferior to the Enemy.

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Lampport.

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Sr Thomas Fairfax then no more pursued them, after this running away, but left them time enough to refresh, and recover themselves; whilst he himself intended the recovery of *Bridgewater*; which was exceedingly wonder'd at; though it was quickly discern'd, he had good reason to stop there. In the mean time *General Goring* spent his time at *Barnstable*, and those parts adjacent; his Army Quartering at *Torrington*, and over the whole North of *Devon*, and his Horse committing such intolerable insolences and disorders, as alienated the hearts of those who were best affected to the King's Service. Instead of endeavouring to recruit his Army, or to put himself in a readiness and posture to receive the Enemy, he suffer'd all, who had a mind, to depart; insomuch, as he writ to the Lord *Colepepper*, on the 27th of *July*, "that he had not above thirteen hundred Foot left. When he was at *Barnstable*, he gave himself his usual Licence of drinking; and then, inveighing against the Prince's Council, said, "he would justify that "They had been the cause of the loss of the West; inveighing likewise in an unpardonable dialect against the Person of the King, and discoursing much of the revenge he would take upon those who had affronted him: and in this manner he entertain'd himself to the end of *July*, writing Letters of discontent to the Prince, and the Lords; one day complaining for want of Money, and desiring the Prince to supply that want, when he well knew he wanted Supply for his own Table; and never receiv'd penny of the publick Collections, or Contributions: Another day, desiring, "that all Stragling Soldiers might be sent out of *Cornwall*, and drawn from the Garrisons, that he might advance upon the Enemy; and the next day proposing, "that all the Foot might be put into Garrisons, for that they could not be fit for the Field; so that before an Answer could be sent to his last Letter, another commonly arriv'd of a different temper.

Sr Richard Greenvil grew again no less troublesome and inconvenient, than the Lord *Goring*. He had left the Prince at *Barnstable*, well pleased with his Commission of Field-Marshal, and more that he should Command alone the blocking up of *Lyme*; which, he resolv'd, should bring him in plenty of Money; and in order to that, it was agreed, that, on such a day appointed, "so many Men from the Garrisons of *Dartmouth*, *Exeter*, and *Barnstable*, should be drawn to *Tiverton*; "where they should receive Orders from *Sr Richard Greenvil*, "and joyn with such as he should bring from the Lord *Goring*, for making a Quarter towards *Lyme*; and Orders issued from his Highness accordingly. Those from *Exeter*, according to order, appear'd at the time; and those from *Barnstable* and *Dartmouth*, marched a day's Journey and more, towards

towards *Tiverton*; but then, hearing that the Lord *Goring* was risen from *Taunton*, made a halt; and sent back to the Prince for Orders; who conceiv'd that, upon the rising of the Lord *Goring*, the design of fixing a Quarter upon *Lyme*, would be disappointed, and that it would be necessary to strengthen *Barnstable*, where his own Person was; and recall'd those Men back thither; having dispatched Letters to *Sr Richard Greenvil*, to acquaint him with the accidents that had diverted those from *Dartmouth* and *Barnstable*; but letting him know, "that, if the design held, those of *Barnstable* should meet, where and when he would appoint."

Sr Richard Greenvil took an occasion, from the Soldiers failing to meet, at the day appointed, at *Tiverton* (though if they had met, there could have been no progress in the former design) to exclaim against the Prince's Council; and, the next day, in a Cover directed to *Mr Fanshaw*, who was Secretary of the Council, without any Letter, return'd the Commission of Field-Marshal, formerly given him by the Prince; and within two or three days after, on the fifth of July, he sent a very insolent Letter to the Lords of the Council, complaining of "many undeserv'd abuses offer'd to him; implying, "that the same were fasten'd on him by Them, on "the behalf of *Sr John Berkley*; told them, that when they "moved him to give over the Command of the Forces before *Plymouth* to *Sr John Berkley*, they had promised him the "Principal Command of the Army under the Prince: whereas the truth is before set down, that the Proposition was made by Himself, both of quitting that Charge, and of *Sr John Berkley's* taking it, as the only fit Person. He said, "he had hitherto serv'd the King upon his own Charge, and upon his "own Estate, without any allowance; and that, when he "went from *Barnstable*, he was promised a Protection for his "House and Estate; but when, after he was gone, his Servant brought a Protection ready drawn, all the Clauses that "comprehended any thing of favour, were left out; and such "a Protection sent to him as he cared not for. He concluded, "that he would serve as a Voluntier, till he might "have opportunity to acquaint his Majesty with his Sufferings. Here it will be necessary, upon the mention of this Protection (which he took so ill to be denied) and the mention of Serving the King, without allowance, upon his own Estate, which he very often, and very insolently objected both in his Letters, and in his discourse to the Prince himself, to say somewhat of his Estate, and what small allowance, as he pretended, he had from the King for his Service.

WHEN he came first into that Country, he had no Command at all; arm'd only with a Commission to raise a Regiment

ment of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot; of which, he never raised Horse or Man, till long after, that he came to the Command about *Plymouth*. Estate he had none, either there, or, that I have heard, any where else. It is true, his Wife had an Estate, of about five hundred Pounds a year, about *Tavistock* and other parts of *Devon*; but it is as true, that it was Convey'd before Marriage, as hath been said, in such a manner, to Friends in trust, that upon long Suits in Chancery, and in other Courts, in the time of Peace, there were several Judgements and Decrees in Chancery against him. So that he had never, since the difference with his Wife, which was many years before, receiv'd the least benefit, or advantage from it. The first thing the King granted to him, was the Sequestration of all his Wife's Estate to his own use (the living then in the Rebels Quarters) upon which Title he settled himself in her House near *Tavistock*; and, by virtue of that Grant, took all the Stock upon the Ground; and compell'd the Tenants to pay to him all the Arrears of Rent, or as much as he said was in Arrear; which amounted to a very considerable value. When Colonel *Digby* receiv'd his unfortunate hurt, which render'd him for that time incapable to exercise his Command, Sr *John Berkley* very earnestly, and He only, moved Prince *Maurice*, to confer that Charge upon Sr *Richard Greenvil*; and, though it was within a County of which he himself had the principal Charge as Colonel General, procur'd a full Commission for the other to Command those Forces in Chief; and deliver'd, or sent the same to him; having, from the time of his first coming down, us'd him with much kindness. He had not then Commanded long, when the Earl of *Essex* came into those Parts; whereupon he was compell'd to rise; and after joyn'd with the King.

WHEN the Earl of *Essex*'s Forces were dissolv'd, he was again design'd for that Service; and before the King left the Country, he granted him the Sequestration of all the Estate of the Earl of *Bedford* in *Devon-shire*, all the Estate of Sr *Francis Drake* (by which he had *Buckland Monachorum*, which was his Quarter whilst he block'd up *Plymouth*; and *Worrington* by *Launceston*) in *Devon*, and the Lord *Roberts* his Estate in *Cornwal*; all which, and his Wife's Estate, he enjoy'd by the Sequestration granted from his Majesty, and of which he made a greater Revenue than ever the owners did in time of Peace. For, besides that he suffer'd no part of these Estates to pay Contribution (whereby the Tenants very willingly paid their full Rents) he kept very much ground, about all the Houses, in his own hands; which he stocked with such Cattle as he took from Delinquents; for though he suffer'd not his Soldiers to plunder, yet he was, in truth, himself the greatest plunderer

derer of this War; for whenever any Person had disobey'd, or neglected any of his Warrants, or when any Man fail'd to appear at the *Posse* (which he summon'd very frequently after he was Sherfff of *Devon*, and for no other end but the penalty of Defaulters) he sent presently a Party of Horse to apprehend their Persons, and to drive their Grounds. If the Persons were taken, they were very well content to remit their Stock to redeem their Persons. For the better disposing them thereto, he would now and then hang a Constable, or some other poor fellow, for those faults of which a hundred were as guilty: and if, out of the terror of this kind of Justice, Men hid themselves from being apprehended, they durst not send to require their Stock; which was from thence quietly enjoy'd: so that he had a greater Stock of Cattle, of all sorts, upon his Grounds, than any person whatsoever in the West of *England*. Besides this, the ordering of Delinquents Estates in those Parts being before that time not well look'd to, by virtue of these Sequestrations, he seised upon all the Stock upon the Grounds, upon all the Furniture in the several Houses, and compell'd the Tenants to pay to him all the Rents due from the beginning of the Rebellion. By these, and such like means, he had not only a vast Stock, but received great Sums of Money, and had as great store of good Household-Stuff, as would Furnish well those Houses he looked upon as his own. This was his own Estate, upon which, he said, he had maintain'd himself, without any allowance from the King; which, I am confident, besides what he got by his Contributions, which would always pay double the Men he had, and were strictly levied, and by his other Arts, and Extortions of several kinds, was more, and more worth in Money to him, than his Majesty bestow'd upon all his General Commanders of Armies, and upon all his Officers of State, since the beginning of the Rebellion to that time. This computation would seem too enviously made, if I should proceed here to take any view of the Services he ever did; and therefore (though they that are very good Witnesses, say, that notwithstanding all the bold promises of taking *Plymouth* within few days, "his farthest Guards were never nearer the Town, than the Lord *Hopton's* head Quarter "was the first day that he came thither) I shall leave that to other Men to make the particular Estimate.

Now when *Sr Richard Greenvil* desir'd at *Barnstable* a Protection for his Houses and Estates, it was conceived, that he apprehended there might, under pretence of Claim, some attempt be made upon his Stock by the Owners; or that he feared, that there might be too strict an enquiry, by him that succeeded, for such things as being design'd for the Publick Service, had been applied to his particular private Use; as

having, with great importunity (as a thing upon which the Service depended) gotten from the Commissioners of *Devon* above a thousand Deal-boards, to make huts for the Soldiers, he employed them all in the building a great riding House at *Buckland*, for his own Pleasure. However, so severe and terrible a Person might easily be thought lyable to many trespasses, when he should be remov'd from the place where he Govern'd so absolutely. The Protection was no sooner asked by him, than promised by the Prince; but, after his departure, his Servant bringing such a Protection drawn, as exempted all those Estates which the King had Granted to him in Sequestration, from the payment of any Contributions (the which had been already so scandalous, that most of the principal Persons of *Cornwall* had by that example, and with indignation at it, forborn to pay their Rates; and he was told the ill consequence of it; and, "that no Person there in Council, where-
"of some had Had very much greater Commands in Armies
"than He, and though others thought their Services deserved
"any reasonable Privilege, had been ever freed from Contri-
"bution) thereupon those clauses were struck out, and the Protection in a fuller manner still than ordinary, sign'd by the Prince; and *Sr John Berkley*, then present, declared (of which his Servant was advertised, though it was not fit, for the Example, to put it in writing) "that he would not require any
"Contribution for that Estate which was his Wive's, and
"enjoy'd by him only by virtue of the Sequestration; and the denying of this Protection was his great grievance. And yet he did not only never pay a penny Contribution before, or after, for all these Estates, but refus'd to pay the Fee-farm Rent, due to the King out of the Earl of *Bedford's* Estate, being two hundred Marks *per annum*, though the Auditor was sent to him to demand it; but this was merely an Act of his own Sovereignty.

AFTER this Angry Letter to the Lords, and the throwing up his Commission without a Letter, and so having no Commission at all to meddle in Martial Affairs, he fixed a Quarter, with his own Horse and Foot, at *St Mary Ottree*, within nine or ten Miles of *Exeter*; where he govern'd as imperiously as ever; raised what Money he would, and imprison'd what Persons he pleased. In the end, *Sr John Berkley*, having appointed the Constables of those Hundreds which were assign'd for *Plymouth*, to bring in their Accounts of what Money they had paid to *Sr Richard Greenville* (which, he protested, he did only that thereby he might state the Arrears, without the least thought of reproach to the other) he caused a Warrant to be read in all Churches in the County (that is, order'd it to be read in all, and in some it was read)

"that all Persons should bring him an Account of what Monies, or Goods had been plunder'd from them by *Sr John Berkley*, or any under him; with several Clauses very derogatory to his Reputation. This, as it could not otherwise, begot great resentments; insomuch as the Commissioners of *Devon* sent an Express to the Prince, who was then in *Cornwal*, beseeching him "to call *Sr Richard Greenvil* from thence, and to take some Order for the suppressing the Furious inclinations of both sides, or else they apprehended, the Enemy would quickly take an advantage of those Dissensions, and Invade the Country before they otherwise intended; and, in their Letter, sent one of the Warrants that *Sr Richard* had caused to be read in the Churches; which indeed was the strangest I ever saw.

HEREUPON, the Prince sent for *Sr Richard Greenvil* to attend him; who accordingly came to him at *Liskard*; where his Highness told him "the sense he had of his disrespect towards him, in the sending back his Commission in that manner; and of his carriage after; and asked him, "what Authority he now had either to Command Men, or to publish such Warrants? He answer'd, "that he was High Sheriff of *Devon*, and by virtue of that Office he might suppress any Force, or enquire into any grievance his County suffer'd; and, as far as in Him lay, give them remedy. He was told, "as Sheriff he had no power to raise or head Men, "otherwise than by the *Posse Comitatus*; which he could not neither upon his own head raise, without Warrant from the Justices of Peace: that, in times of War, he was to receive Orders, upon occasions, from the Commander in Chief of the King's Forces; who had Authority to Command him by his Commission. He was asked, "what he himself would have done, if when he Commanded before *Plymouth*, the High Sheriff of *Cornwal* should have caused such a Warrant concerning Him, to be read in Churches? He answered little to the Questions, but sullenly extolled his Services, and enlarged his Sufferings. Afterwards, being reprehended with more Sharpness than ever before, and being told, "that, whatever discourses he made of spending his Estate, it was well understood, that he had no Estate by any other Title than the meer bounty of the King; that he had been courted by the Prince more than he had reason to expect; and that he had not made those returns on His part which became him; "In short, if he had inclination to serve his Highness, he should do it in that manner he should be directed; if Not, he should not, under the Title of being Sheriff, satisfy his own Pride, and Passion (Upon which reprehension being become much gentler, than upon all the gracious Addresses which

had

had been made to him) he Answered, " he would serve the Prince in such manner, as he should Command; and thereupon he was discharged, and return'd to his House to *Worington*, one of those places he had by Sequestration (It belonged to *St Francis Drake*) where he liv'd privately, for the space of a Fortnight, or thereabouts, without interposing in the Publick business. Let us now see how this Tragedy was acted in other places.

WE left the King at *Hereford*, not resolv'd what course to steer; Prince *Rupert* gone to *Bristol*, from whence he had made a short visit to the Prince at *Barnstable*, to give him an account of the ill posture he had left the King in, and from thence went to *Goring* to consult with Him: and it was exceedingly wondered at, that when he saw in what condition he was (for he was then before *Taunton*) and the Number of his Horse and Foot (which every body then thought had been his business to be inform'd of) he did not then hasten advice to the King, for his speedy repair thither; but his chief care was to secure *Bristol*; which, sure, at that time he made not the least question of doing; and believ'd the Winter would come seasonably for future Counsels.

THE King quickly left *Hereford*, and went to meet the Commissioners for South Wales at *Abergavenny*, the Chief Town in *Monmouth-shire*. As they were for the most part Persons of the best Quality, and the largest Fortunes of those Counties, so they had manifested great Loyalty and Affection, from the beginning of the War, by sending many good Regiments to the Army, and with their Sons, and Brothers, and nearest Kindred; many of whom had lost their lives bravely in the Field: They now made as large and ample Professions as ever, and seem'd to believe, that they should be able, in a very short time, to raise a good Army of Foot, with which the King might again look upon the Enemy; and accordingly agreed what Numbers should be levied upon each of the Counties. From thence his Majesty went to *Ragland-Castle*, the Noble House of the Marquis of *Worcester*; which was well Fortify'd, and Garrison'd by him; who remain'd then in it. There he resolv'd to stay, till he should see the effect of the Commissioners mighty promises. But he found in a short time, that, either by the continued successes of the Parliament Armies in all places, the particular information whereof was every day brought to them, by Intelligence from their Friends, or the Triumphs of their Enemies in *Monmouth* and *Glocester*, or by the renewed troubles, which the presence of their Governour, General *Gerrard*, gave them (who had been, and continued to be, a passionate and unskil manager of the Affections of the People; as having govern'd them with extraordinary rigour,

The King goes to Abergavenny to meet the Commissioners of South Wales.

Thence to Ragland-Castle:

and with as little courtesie and civility towards the Gentry, as towards the Common People) there was little probability of raising an Army in those parts: where all Men grew less affected, or more frightened, which produced one and the same effect. The King stay'd at *Ragland*, till the News came "that *Fairfax*, after he had taken *Leicester* (which could not hold out longer than to make honourable conditions) "was "marched into the West, and had defeated *Goring's* Troops at *Lamport*; and at the same time, that the *Scotish* Army was "upon its march towards *Worcester*, having taken a little Garrison that lay between *Hereford* and *Worcester* by Storm; and "put all within it to the Sword. And Prince *Rupert* sent for all those Foot which were levied towards a new Army, and part of those which belonged to General *Gerrard*, to supply the Garrison of *Bristol*: so that his Majesty seemed now to have nothing in his Choice, but to transport himself over the *Severn* to *Bristol*, and thence to have repair'd to his Army in the West; which would have been much better done Before, yet had been well done Then; and the King resolv'd to do so; and that the Horse under *Gerrard*, and *Langdale*, should find a Transportation over *Severn* (which might have been done) and then find the way to him, wherever he should be.

Thence to
Chepstow

THIS was so fully resolv'd, that his Majesty went to the Water side neat *Chepstow*; where Vessels were ready to Transport him, and where Prince *Rupert* from *Bristol* met him, very well pleased with the Resolution he had taken, though he had not been Privy to the Counsel. Here again the unhappy discord in the Court, raised new obstructions; they who did not love Prince *Rupert*, nor were lov'd by him, could not endure to think that the King should be so wholly within his power; and he himself was far from being importunate that his Majesty should prosecute his purpose, which he had not advised, though he liked it well enough; and so would not be answerable for any success. His Majesty himself being too irresolute, the Counsel was again changed, and the King marched to *Cardiff*; where he had been very little time, when he was inform'd, that *Bridgewater* was lost: and then they, who had dissuaded the King's Embarkation for *Bristol*, were much exalted, and thought themselves good Counsellors; though, in truth, the former resolution had been even Then much better pursued; for nothing could have hinder'd his Majesty from going to *Exeter*, and joyning all his Forces; which would have put him in a posture much better than he was ever afterwards. Indeed the taking *Bridgewater*, which the King had been perswaded to believe a place impregnable, could not but make great impressions upon him, to think that he was betrayed, and consequently not to know whom to

St. T. Fairfax takes
Bridgewater.

trust.

trust. It was in truth matter of amazement to all Men, nor was it any excuse, that it was not of strength enough against so strong an Army; for it was so strongly Situated, and it might well have had all those Additions which were necessary, by Fortifications, that it was inexcusable in a Governour (who had enjoy'd that Charge above three years, with all allowances he had himself desired, and had often assured the King, "that it was not to be Taken) that it did not resist any the greatest strength that could come before it for one Week; and within less than that time, it was Surrender'd, and put into *Fairfax's* hands.

THAT this prodigious success on the Enemies side, should break the Spirits of most Men, and even cast them into despair, is not at all to be wonder'd at; but that it should raise the hopes of any that it would produce a Peace, is very strange; yet this imagination did so much harm, that Men generally neglected to make that preparation against a powerful and insulting Enemy, that was in their power to have made, out of confidence that the offer of a Treaty would now prevail, and produce a Peace; and every Man abounded so much in his own sense on this point, that they were not capable of any reason that contradicted it. The Commissioners of all Counties, which were the best Gentlemen, and of best Affections, upon whom the King depended to apply the Common People to his Service, were so fully of this opinion, that they made Cabals with the principal Officers of the Army, to concur with them in this judgement, and to contrive some way how it might be brought to pass; and too many of them were weary of doing their duty, or so much allam'd of not having done it, that they profess'd themselves to desire it, at least as much as the rest. This temper spread it self so universally, that it reach'd to Prince *Rupert* Himself; who writ his Advice to that purpose to the Duke of *Richmond*, to be presented to the King; who took that occasion, to write the ensuing Letter to the Prince, with his own hand; which was so lively an expression of his own Soul, that no Pen else could have written it, and deserves to be transmitted to Posterity, as a part of the Portraiture of that excellent Person, which hath been disguised by false, or erroneous Copies from the true Original; and follows in these words.

From Cardiff in the beginning of the Month of Aug. 1645.

*The King's
Letter to
Prince Ru-*

Nephew,

"THIS is occasion'd by a Letter of yours, that the Duke
of *Richmond* shew'd me yesternight. And first, I assure you,
"I have been, and ever will be, very careful to advertise you
that time;

X x 3

"of

*Treating of
Peace as*

"of my resolutions, as soon as they are taken; and if I en-
 "joy'd Silence to that which was no secret, it was not my
 "fault; for I thought it one, and I am sure it ought to have
 "been so now. As for the opinion of my business, and your
 "Counsel thereupon, if I had any other quarrel but the de-
 "fence of my Religion, Crown, and Friends, you had full
 "reason for your advice. For I confess, that speaking either
 "as to meer Soldier, or States-man, I must say, there is no
 "probability but of my ruin; but as to Christian, I must tell
 "you, that God will not suffer Rebels to prosper, or His
 "Cause to be overthrown: and whatsoever Personal punish-
 "ment it shall please him to inflict upon me, must not make
 "me repine, much less to give over this Quarrel; which, by
 "the Grace of God, I am resolv'd against, whatsoever it cost
 "me; for I know my obligations to be both in Conscience,
 "and Honour, neither to abandon God's Cause, injure my
 "Successors, nor forsake my Friends. Indeed I cannot flatter
 "my self with expectation of good success, more than this,
 "to end my days with Honour, and a good Conscience; which
 "obliges me to continue my endeavour, as not despairing that
 "God may in due time avenge his own Cause. Though I
 "must avow to all my Friends, that he that will stay with me
 "at this time, must expect, and resolve, either to dye for a
 "good Cause, or, which is worse, to live as miserable in the
 "maintaining it, as the violence of insulting Rebels can make
 "him. Having thus truly and impartially stated my Case
 "unto you, and plainly told you my positive resolutions,
 "which, by the grace of God, I will not alter, they being
 "neither lightly nor suddenly grounded, I earnestly desire
 "you not in any ways to hearken after Treaties; assuring
 "You, as low as I am, I will not go less than what was offer'd
 "in my Name at *Uxbridge*; confessing that it were as great a
 "Miracle that they should agree to so much reason, as that I
 "should be, within a Month, in the same Condition that I
 "was immediately before the Battle of *Naseby*. Therefore,
 "for God's sake, let us not flatter our selves with these Con-
 "ceits; and, believe me, the very imagination that you are
 "desirous of a Treaty, will lose me so much the sooner.
 "Wherefore, as you love me, whatsoever you have already
 "done, apply your discourse according to my Resolutions,
 "and Judgement. As for the *Irish*, I assure you they shall not
 "cheat Me; but it is possible they may couzen Themselves:
 "for be assured, what I have refused to the *English*, I will not
 "grant to the *Irish* Rebels, never trusting to that kind of Peo-
 "ple (of what Nature soever) more than I see by their
 "Actions; and I am sending to *Ormond* such a dispatch, as
 "I am sure will please You, and all honest Men; a Copy
 "whereof,

"whereof, by the next opportunity, you shall have. Lastly,
 "be confident I would not have put you, nor my self, to the
 "trouble of this Letter, had I not a great estimation of you,
 "and a full confidence of your Friendship to

Your &c.

WHEN the King came to *Cardiff*, he was entertain'd with the News, "that the *Scottish* Army was set down before *Hersford*, and that, if it were not reliev'd within a Month, it "must fall into their hands. To provide for this, there could be no better way found out, than to direct the Sheriffs of these *Welsh* Counties to Summon their *posse Comitatus*, whereby the King was perswaded to hope, that there would be Men enough to wait upon him in that expedition; who with the Horse he had, would have been equal to any attempt they could make upon the *Scots*. But it was quickly discover'd, that this Expedient had rais'd an unruly Spirit, that could not easily be suppress'd again; for the discontented Gentlemen of those Counties, now they had gotten the People legally together, put them in mind of "the Injuries they had receiv'd "from General *Gerrard*, and the intolerable exactions they "lay under, which would undoubtedly be increased, if he "continued in that Government. So that, instead of providing Men to march with the King, they provided a long list of Grievances; from all which they desired to be reliev'd before they would apply themselves towards the relief of *Hersford*. All this was so sturdily urged, that a Body of no less than four thousand Men, of those who were thus called together, continued together many days, and would not be separated, till the King was even compell'd to give them satisfaction in the particular they most insisted upon; which was the removal of General *Gerrard* from having any Command over them; and that Charge was presently conferr'd upon the Lord *Astley*, the Major General of the Army; who was most acceptable to them; and they afterwards conform'd themselves as much to his directions, as from the distraction of the time, and the continual ill successes, could be expected by him.

BUT it was the hard fate of the King, that he could not provide what was fit for his own Service, except he provided likewise for the satisfaction of other Men's Humours and Appetites. *Gerrard* had now, upon the matter, the Command of all the Forces the King had to trust to in those Parts; and he was of too impetuous a Nature, to submit to any thing for Conscience, or Discretion, or Duty; so that the King was compell'd to satisfy his Ambition for this present degradation, by making him a Baron; and, which was an odd and a very fantastical circumstance that attended it, for

no other reason, than because there was once an Eminent Person, called *Charles Brandon*, who was afterwards made a Duke, he would be Created Baron of *Brandon*, that there might be an other *Charles Brandon*, who had no less aspiring thoughts than the former; when he had no pretence to the Lands of *Brandon*; which belonged to, and were, at that time, in the possession of a Gallant and Worthy Gentleman *St Thomas Glemham*; who at the same time (very unluckily upon that account) came to the King at *Cardiff*, with about two hundred Foot, which he had brought with him out of the Garrison of *Carlisle*; which place he had defended for the space of eleven Months against *David Lesley*, and till all the Horses of the Garrison were eaten, and then had render'd, upon as honourable Conditions, as had been given upon any Surrender; *David Lesley* himself convey'd him to *Hereford*; where he joyn'd with the other part of that Army, and from thence *St Thomas Glemham* (who was by his Conditions to march to the King wherever he was) came to his Majesty at *Cardiff*, at the time when the Title of his own Land, which came to him by Inheritance, was conferr'd upon a Gentleman of another Family: who, how well extracted foever, was of less Fortune, and, as many thought, of no greater Quality, or Merit. This unseasonable Preferment more irritated the Country, from which the King then expected Assistance, that when they believ'd they had accused him of Crimes which deserv'd the highest censure, they saw him pretend to, and rewarded in, an higher degree than he could ever probably have arrived to, but for that Accusation. Here the King, after all his endeavours were render'd fruitless, entertain'd a new imagination, that he might get into *Scotland* to the Marquis of *Mountrose*, who had done wonders there; and thereupon left *Cardiff*; and, over the Mountains of *Brecknock*, and *Radnor*, passed the *Scotish* Quarters, and came to *Ludlow*, before that Army had any Notice of his march.

WHEN the King came first to *Ragland*, he had sent an Express to the Prince, by which he wish'd "that the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, might, as soon as was possible, attend his Majesty. The danger of the way was such, and the passage so difficult, that the Messenger came not quickly to his Highness. The Chancellor being then unfit to Travel by reason of the Gout, the Lord *Colepepper* made all possible hast out of *Cornwal*, where the Prince then was, and found his Majesty at *Cardiff*, when he was departing from thence; and waited on him to *Brecknock*; from whence he was again dispatched with this Letter to the Prince; which, being the first direction the King gave of that Nature, is necessary to be here inserted in so many words.

Brecknock

Brecknock 5th August 1645.

Charles,

"It is very fit for me now to prepare for the worst, in order to which I spoke with *Colepepper* this Morning concerning You; judging it fit to give it you under my hand, that you may give the readier Obedience to it. Wherefore I know that my Pleasure is, whensoever you find your self in apparent danger of falling into the Rebels hands, that you convey your self into *France*, and there to be under your Mothers care; who is to have the absolute full Power of your Education in all things, except Religion; and in That, not to meddle at all, but leave it entirely to the care of your Tutor, the Bishop of *Salisbury*, or to whom he shall appoint to supply his place, in time of his necessitated absence. And for the performance of this, I Command you to require the Assistance and Obedience of all your Council; and, by their Advice, the service of every one whom You and They shall think fit to be employed in this business; which I expect should be perform'd, if need require, with all Obedience, and without grumbling: This being all at this time, from

*The King's
Letter to the
Prince of
Wales from
Brecknock.*

Your loving Father, *Charles R.*

AFTER the Lord *Goring* had lain some time in the ill humour we left him at *Barnstable*, he enter'd into correspondence with *Sr Richard Greenvil*; who, he knew well, was as uninclined to the Council about the Prince as Himself; and finding that the Enemy troubled him not, but had given him rest, whilst the Army was employed upon other important Service, They two met privately; and, upon the encouragement and Money he receiv'd from *Greenvil*, he writ to the Chancellor a very chearful, and a very long Letter, bearing date the first of *August*, in which he inserted several Propositions; which, he said, had been framed "upon conference with *Sr Richard Greenvil*; which he desired might be presented to the Prince; and if they should be consented to, and confirm'd by his Highness, he said, he would engage his life, that he would in a very short time have an Army of ten or twelve thousand Men, that should march wheresoever they should be commanded; and should be in as good order, as any Army in the World: and concluded his Letter with these Words; "I see some light now of having a brave Army very speedily on Foot, and I am sending a Copy of this inclosed Letter to the King, with this proposition, that I will be content to lose my Life, and my Honour,

*The Lord
Goring
makes Propo-
sitions to the
Prince:*

"nour, if we do not perform our parts, if these demands be granted.

which the
Prince
granted.

THIS Letter being presented to his Highness, then at *Launceston*, found so gracious a reception, that the next day, being the second of *August*, the Prince return'd him an Answer of full consent; and the same day Sign'd all the particulars propos'd by him; expressing a further resolution "to add whatever else should be propos'd to him, and within "his Power to grant; so that there was once more a hope of looking the Enemy in the face, and having a fair day for the West. The next day, or thereabouts, *Sr Richard Greenvil* himself attended the Prince, in a seeming good humour; all the Propositions were immediately confirm'd; some of which were, "that *Sr Richard Greenvil* should receive such a proportion of the Contributions of *Cornwal*, and five thousand pounds of the Arrears, for the payment of the Officers of "the Army; and thereupon *Sr Richard* would gather up all "the Straglers, who were return'd into *Cornwal* from their "Colours; who, he said, would amount to three thousand "Foot; and he would raise three thousand Foot more in *Devon-shire*. So he betook himself again to Action, sending out his Warrants, and levying Men and Money; having lent two hundred pounds to the Lord *Goring* at their first meeting, and calling the *Posse* of *Devon* to meet at several places, where himself was still present; by which, he pretended, he should speedily recruit the Army. But before the end of *August*, that Friendship grew colder; *Sr Richard* observing a better correspondence between the Lord *Goring*, and *Sr John Berkley*, than he hoped would have been, and hearing that the Lord *Goring* us'd to mention him very slightly (which was true) he writ a very sharp Letter to him, in which he said, "he would have no more to do with him. However he continued as Active as before, being now in *Devon*, and then in *Cornwal*, where he Commanded absolutely without any Commission, and very seasonably Suppressed an Insurrection about *St Ives*, which might else have grown to a head; and hanged two or three fellows, who, I believe, were guilty enough, by his own order without any Council of War; and raised what Money he pleas'd upon others; then return'd to his House at *Worrington*. All the Vivacity that had so lately appear'd in the Lord *Goring*, upon the news of the loss of *Sherborne*, declin'd; and then there was nothing, but complaint of want of Money, and a Proposition to put the Army into Garrisons; although the Enemy gave them the same leisure, to pursue the former design, *Fairfax* being then engaged with his Army before *Bristol*.

As soon as the Prince, who was then at *Launceston*, had read

read the Letter, which the Lord *Colepepper* brought to him from the King, he return'd it to the Lord *Colepepper* to keep, and to Communicate it to the Lords *Capel*, *Hopton*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; for it was a misfortune, that there was not so good Correspondence with the Earl of *Berk-shire* (through some jealousies that were infused into him) as might have been wish'd; and from the Prince's first coming into *Cornwal*, some of his Servants of the best Quality, who had from the beginning been discontented, and upon strange pretences thought themselves undervalued that they were not of the Council, and, since the King's misfortune at *Naseby*, expressed their indispositions with more Licence, and whisper'd abroad "that there was a purpose of carrying the Prince into *France*, not that they believ'd it, but thereby thought to render the Council odious, and suspected, had wrought so far upon the Earl of *Berk-shire*, that He seem'd to believe it too, whereby they got so much interest in him, that he always communicated whatsoever passed in Council to them; so that a Letter of so great importance was not thought fit to be communicated to him, nor to the Earl of *Brentford*, who (though he was very kind, and just to the other four) was not without his jealousies, and was an ill treasurer of Secrets. They were very much troubled at the sight of the Letter, not at the command of leaving the Kingdom, for, though they had never communicated their thoughts to each other upon that Subject before, they found themselves unanimous in the Resolution, "that rather than he should be taken by the Rebels, they would carry him into any part of the Christian World. For the better doing whereof, from that Minute, they took care that there was always a Ship ready in the Harbour of *Falmouth*. But it troubled them, "that the King's Command was so positive for *France*, against which they "could make to themselves many Objections. Besides that, one of the Prince's Bed-Chamber, who was newly return'd from *Paris*, brought a Letter from the Earl of *Normich*, then the King's Embassador there, to one of the Council; in which taking notice of a report there of the Prince of *Wales*'s coming thither, he passionately declared against it, "as a certain Ruin "to the Prince; of which the Messenger, by His direction, gave many instances of moment. And they were the more troubled, because the Lord *Colepepper*, who brought that Letter from the King, averr'd, "that he had Had no conference "with the King upon the Argument, but had wholly declin'd it, as a matter too great for him: so that they had nothing before them but that Letter. After two or three sad Debates between themselves, they agreed upon "a Letter "to be prepared in Cipher, presenting their reasons, and
" what

"what they had been inform'd concerning *France*; and therefore offer'd it to his Majesty, whether he would not leave the choice of the place to Them, or nominate some other, against which so many exceptions might not be made; and proposed *Ireland* (if the Peace were made there) or *Scotland*, if the Marquis of *Mountrose* was as victorious as he was reported to be; withal assuring his Majesty, that, in case of danger, they would run any hazard, or into any Country, before the Prince should fall into the hands of the Rebels. This Letter after it was communicated with the Prince, as the Debates had been, was forthwith sent by an Express.

TOWARDS the end of *August*, the Lord *Goring*, after he had, in all his secret discourses, and in the hours of his jollity, spoken very bitterly of the Council about the Prince, as the Authors of all the Miscarriages, sent the Lord *Wentworth* to *Launceston* to his Highness, with certain demands, as he call'd them, on his behalf; but with direction, "that before he presented them to the Prince, he should communicate them to the Lord *Colepepper*, or to the Chancellor, and be advised by them, in what manner to present them.

HIS Demands were, and so he styled them (1) To have a Commission to be Lieutenant-General of all the West, and to Command immediately under the Prince, Garrisons as well as the Army, and to be sworn of the Council as soon as might be. (2) That all Commissions to Officers of the Army, when his Highness is present, be given by the Prince; but that his Highness should Sign none but such as he should prepare for him. (3) That in the Prince's absence he should Sign, and grant all Commissions; and that, if any Governments of Towns should fall vacant, he might have the absolute recommendation of those that are to succeed, or, at least, a Negative Voice. (4) That all designs of Consequence should be debated, in the Prince's presence, by the Prince's Council, and such Officers of the Army as he should choose to assist at it. (5) That the Number of the Prince's Guards should be limited; and many other particulars, which seem'd so unreasonable, and unfit to be publicly urged, that the Lord *Colepepper* perswaded the Lord *Wentworth*, to suspend the presenting them; "the rather (as he said) "because the Chancellor was then absent (being sent by his Highness to *Pendennis-Castle*, under pretence of giving some direction in the matter of the Customs, but, in truth, to take care that the Frigate provided for the Prince's Transportation might be in readiness, and Victuals be privately made ready, to be presently put on Board, when the occasion should require) "and likewise, because his Highness intended to be shortly at *Exeter*, where

"the

"the Lord *Goring*, being present, might better consider, and
 "debate his own business; to the which the Lord *Wentworth*
 consented :

FOR the Commissioners of *Devon* had besought his High-
 ness to interpose his Authority, in the regulating and disposing
 the Army to march towards the relief of *Bristol*; declaring,
 "as the posture of it then was, that both that County, and
 "Garrisons, must in a short time be as much undone, and lost
 "by Them, as by the Invasion of the Enemy; that all the
 "Foot subsisted by, and liv'd upon, the Magazines of the Gar-
 "risons; and the Horse possessed the other part of the Coun-
 "try to themselves; and would neither suffer provisions to be
 "brought to the Markets, for the replenishing their Stores,
 "nor Warrants to be executed for any payments; pretending
 "they were to defend their own Quarters; whilst themselves
 "levied what Moneys they pleased, and committed all sorts
 "of insolencies and outrages. By this means both before in
Somerset-shire, and afterwards in *Devon-shire*, when the King's
 Army was forced to retire, the Enemy found great plenty of
 Provisions in those Quarters, where His Forces had been in
 danger of starving: as, all about *Taunton*, there were very
 great quantities of Corn, when the King's Forces had caused
 all their Bread to be brought out of the Stores of *Bridgewater*,
 and *Exeter*; which proceeded partly from the negligence, and
 laziness of the Officers and Soldiers, who would not be at the
 trouble of threshing out the Mows, and Ricks, which were
 there; but principally by the Protection given by the Horse;
 who would not suffer any thing to be carried out of their Quar-
 ters; and such as sent their Provisions to Market, were sure
 to have their Money taken from them in their return. Inso-
 much as it was affirm'd by the Commissioners of *Exeter*, "that
 "before the Enemy had any Quarter within ten miles, there
 "was not so much provision brought into that City in a Fort-
 "night, as they spent in a day: which was only by reason of
 the disorder of our own Horse, General *Goring* being all this
 time in *Exeter*, breaking Jest, and Laughing at all People,
 who brought complaints to him; as, one day, when the Fisher-
 men complained to him, "that as they came to the Market,
 "they were robbed by his Troopers, who took all their Fish
 "from them, he said, "that they might by this see what great
 "Injury was done to his Men, by those who accused them
 "of great Swearing; for if they did Swear, you know (said
 "he) they could catch no Fish.

UPON these reasons, and the very earnest desire of the Lord
Goring, and the Commissioners, the Prince, on *Friday* the
 29th of *August*, went from *Launceston* to *Exeter* in one day;
 leaving *Sr Richard Greenvil* (who then seem'd to be in good
 humour)

humour) to bring up the Soldiers in *Cornwal*, and to hasten his Levies in the North and West parts of *Devon*. The Army having now lain still from the beginning of *July* to the end of *August*, without the least Action, or Alarm from the Enemy, and so being sufficiently refresh'd, and, as their Officers said, awaken'd to a sense and a shame of their former amazements, it was unanimously agreed at a Council of War, his Highness being present, "that the Foot should presently advance to *Triverton*; and the Horse to the East of *Exeter*; and that, as soon as *St Richard Greenvil* could come up with his Men, they should all advance to the relief of *Bristol*; which was understood to be in a very good condition; the last Messenger that came thence, assuring the Prince, as from Prince *Rupert*, that he was sufficiently provided with all Necessaries for six Months.

*A design to
Petition the
Prince to
send Condi-
tions of Peace,
prevented.*

THERE had been, from the time of the first going of the Prince into *Cornwal*, several rumours dispersed, as hath been said, by those who were discontented or angry with the Council, "that there was an intent to carry the Prince into *France*; which begot infinite prejudice to all that was advised. Of this discourse General *Goring* had made great use, to the disadvantage of all those whom he desired to discredit, which was indeed one of the Motives of his Highness's Journey to *Exeter*, that he might discountenance that Report; which had wrought so far amongst the Gentlemen of the several Western Counties, who were retir'd thither for Safety, that there was a Resolution among them "to Petition the Prince to interpose "between the King, and the Parliament; and to send a Messenger to the latter with Overtures of Peace: and to that purpose, meetings had been amongst those Gentlemen, to agree upon what Articles the Prince should propose a Peace; every Man declaring his opinion, what condescension should be in the matter of the Church, of the Militia, and of *Ireland*, upon consideration of what had passed at *Uxbridge*. When my Lords of the Council heard of these consultations, they apprehended great inconveniences might arise from thence to the King's Service, and to the Prince; who, by being pressed by their desires, and importunities, would lose the honour and thanks of the good Success that might attend it: Besides that, if he should send any Message upon their Motion, they would quickly make Themselves Judges of the matter of it, and Counsellors of what was to be done upon it: therefore they were of opinion, "that all endeavours were "to be used to divert, and prevent any Petition of such a nature from being presented to his Highness; which with great difficulty, was at last effected.

SHORTLY

SHORTLY after the Prince's coming to *Exeter*, the Lord *Goring* being not then well, but engaged in a course of Physick, desired that he might have a free Conference with one of the Council in private; in which, he professed he would discover his heart, and whatever had stuck with him. Whereupon, according to appointment, the Person he had desired, went to him one Morning to his Lodging; when he caused all Persons to withdraw; and bid his Servant not to suffer any Man to disturb them. When they were by themselves, he began with the discourse of "unkindnesses he had apprehended from the Council, and from that Person in particular; but confessed he had been deceiv'd, and abused by wrong information: that he was now very sensible of the damage that had befallen the Publick by those Private Jealousies and Mistakes; and desired, that if any thing had indiscreetly or passionately fallen from him, it might be forgotten; and that they might all proceed vigorously in what concern'd the King's Service; in which he could not receive a better encouragement, than by an assurance of that Person's Friendship. From this, he discoursed at large his apprehensions of his Brother *Porter*, of his Cowardice, and of his Treachery, with very great freedom in many particular instances; and concluded, "that he resolv'd to quit himself of him; and after two hours spent in those discourses, and in somewhat that concern'd his Father, in which he said, "he was to receive this Person's advice by his Father's direction (it being about the Government of *Pendennis*) as if he had said all he meant to say, he asked the other negligently, "what he thought of the Demands he had sent by the Lord *Wentworth*? Protesting, "he had no private thoughts, but only an Eye to the Publick Service; towards the doing whereof, as the exigents of Affairs then stood, he did not think himself sufficiently qualified. The other told him, "that whatever He thought of them would not signify much, being but a single voice in Council; by the concurrent Advice whereof, he presumed, the Prince would govern himself. However, if he would have him tell him his opinion as a Friend, he would shew himself so ill a Courtier, as to tell it him frankly; which, except he reform'd him in his judgement, he should declare where it should be propos'd, and, he believ'd, it would be the opinion of most of the Lords, if it were not His. Thereupon he told him very freely and plainly, "that he thought his Demands not fit for the Prince to grant, nor seasonable for Him to ask; his Authority being the same, as to the Publick, all his Orders being Obey'd, and the Prince giving Him the same Assistance, as if he were his Lieutenant General:

“neral: that the Prince had not hitherto interposed his Authority in the governing that Army; and therefore, that he conceiv’d it unseasonable, at that time, for his Highness to interest himself in the Command thereof; which he should do by making him Lieutenant General: that the King having directed the Prince to make the Lord *Hopton* his Lieutenant General, it would not become Them to advise the Prince to alter that designation, without receiving his Majesty’s Command: therefore he advised him, “since the alteration was no way necessary, and would inevitably beget much trouble, that he would defer the pressing it, till the King’s Affairs should be in a better Posture. Satisfied he was not, yet he forbore to importune the Prince to that purpose at this time.

Prince Rupert delivers up Bristol.

ABOUT the middle of *September*, the Prince being still at *Exeter*, the News came of the fatal loss of *Bristol*; which, as all ill accidents at that time did, cast all Men on their Faces, and damped all the former Vigour and Activity for a march. However, the former Resolution continued of drawing to *Tiverton*, and at least of defending those Passes, and keeping the Enemy from Invading *Devon*: for the better doing whereof, and enabling them to Fight, if *Fairfax* should advance, the Prince return’d to *Launceston*; whither he Summon’d all the Train’d-bands of *Cornwall*, and an appearance of the whole Country; which appear’d very chearfully, and seem’d well inclined to march to *Tiverton*. In the mean time the same negligence and disorder continued in the Army, and the Lord *Goring*, with the same Licence and Unconcernedness, remain’d at *Exeter*, to the great Scandal of the Country, and disheartning of the Army. About the latter end of *September*, his Lordship writ a Letter to the Lord *Colepepper*; in which he remember’d him of the Propositions formerly sent by the Lord *Wentworth* to *Launceston*; and recounted at large, but very unjustly, the discourse which had passed between the other Counsellor and Him, at *Exeter*, upon that Subject; in which he charged the other with Answers very far from those he had receiv’d from him; and desir’d his Lordship, “that, by His means, he might know positively what he was “to trust to; concluding, “that without such a Commission “as he desir’d, he could not be answerable for the Mutinies “and Disorders of the Army. Whereupon his Highness, upon full consideration of the mischiefs that would attend his Service, if he should consent to the Matter of those Demands, or comply with the Manner of the demanding, sent him word, “that he would not for the present, grant any such “Commission; and wished him “to pursue the former “Counsels and Resolutions, in advancing towards the Enemy; “all

"all things being in a good forwardness in *Cornwal* to second him. And so there was no further pressing that Overture; however, he presum'd to style himself, in all his Warrants, and Treaties with the Commissioners, and in some Orders which he Printed, "General of the West.

THE suddain and unexpected loss of *Bristol*, was a new Earthquake in all the little Quarters the King had left, and no less broke all the Measures which had been taken, and the designs which had been contrived, than the loss of the Battle of *Naseby* had done. The King had made hast from *Ludlow*, that the *Scotish* Army might no more be able to interrupt him; and with very little rest pass'd through *Shropshire*, and *Derbyshire*, till he came to *Wellbeck*, a House of the Marquis of *New-Castle* in *Nottinghamshire*, then a Garrison for his Majesty; where he refreshed Himself, and his Troops, two days; and, as far as any resolution was fixed in those days, the purpose was, "to march directly into *Scotland*, to joyn with the Marquis of *Mountrose*; who had, upon the matter, reduced that whole Kingdom. During his Majesty's short stay at *Wellbeck*, the Governour of *Newark*, with the Commissioners for *Nottingham* and *Lincoln*, repaired to him, as likewise all those Gentlemen of *Yorkshire* who had been in *Pontefract-Castle* (which, after a long and worthy defence, was lately, for meer want of all kind of Provisions, Surrender'd upon good conditions; whereby, "all the Soldiers had liberty to repair to their own Houses, and might live quietly there) whereupon the Gentlemen assured the King, "they were as ready as ever to serve him, when they should be required. Whether the wonted irresolution of those about the King, or the imagination, upon this report of the Gentlemen, that a body of Foot might be speedily gather'd together in those parts (which was enough encouraged by the chearfulness of all the Gentlemen of the severall Counties) prevailed, or not, so it was, that the King was perswaded, "that it was not best to continue his march, with that speed he intended, towards *Mountrose*; "but that it would be better to send an Express to him, to agree upon a fit place for their meeting; and in the mean time, his Majesty might be able to refresh his wearied Troops, and to raise a Body of Foot in those parts. To which purpose, *Doncaster* was propos'd as a fit place to begin in: and to *Doncaster*, thereupon, the King went; and the Gentlemen so well perform'd their undertaking, that, within three days, there was an appearance of full three thousand Foot; who undertook, within four and twenty hours, to appear well armed, and ready to march with his Majesty, what way soever he would go.

The King goes to Doncaster.

HERE again the King's froward Fortune, deprived him
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of this opportunity to put himself into a posture of War. That very Night, they receiv'd Intelligence, "that *David Lesley* "was come to *Rotheram* with all the *Scotish* Horse; which was within ten miles of *Doncaster*. The News whereof so confounded them (as beaten and baffled Troops do not naturally, in a short time, recover courage enough to endure the fight of an Enemy) that they concluded "he came in pursuit "of the King, and therefore that it was now too late to proceed upon their Northern Expedition, and that the King "must speedily remove to a greater distance for his own security. Whereupon, he made hast (without expecting that recruit of Foot) from *Doncaster*, back again to *Newark*; Resolving then to go directly to *Oxford*; whereas, in truth, *David Lesley* knew nothing of the King's being in those parts; but, upon suddain Orders from *Scotland*, was required to march, with all possible expedition, with the Horse, to relieve his own Country from being totally overrun and subdued by the Marquis of *Mountrose*; who had then actually taken *Edenborough*. The Orders had no sooner come to the *Scotish* Army before *Hereford*, but he begun his march, without the least apprehension of any Enemy in his way, till he should come into *Scotland*; and so, as he had made a very long march that day, he came tired and wearied with his Troops that Night into *Rotheram*. And he confessed afterwards, "if the King "had then fallen upon him, as he might easily have done, he "had found him in a very ill posture to have made resistance, "and had absolutely preserv'd *Mountrose*. But by his so suddain retreat, *David Lesley* was at liberty to pursue his march for *Scotland*, and came upon *Mountrose*, before he expected such an Enemy; and so prevented his future triumph, that he was compell'd with great loss to retire again into the Highlands; and *Lesley* return'd time enough to relieve and support the *Scotish* Army, after they were compell'd to rise from *Hereford*.

Thence to
Newark.

Mountrose
defeated by
David
Lesley.

The King
goes to Ox-
ford:

THE King now, with great expedition, prosecuted his Journey to *Oxford*, though not without making some Starts out of the way; by which he had opportunity, to beat up some Quarters of new levied Horse for the Service of the Parliament; and, before the end of *August*, he arrived at *Oxford*; where he did not stay more than two days, but departed from thence again to *Worcester*, with a resolution to attempt the relief of *Hereford*; which had defended it self bravely, and very much weaken'd the *Scotish* Army by frequent Sallies. They had only a Body of eight hundred tired Horse remaining, which *David Lesley* left behind him when he marched with the rest into *Scotland*; and therefore the raising that Siege was thought the less difficult; and with this resolution his Majesty left *Oxford*.

Oxford the third day after he came thither. Upon his arrival at *Rugland*, he was certainly inform'd, "that *Fairfax* had Be-^{Thence to} sieged *Bristol*; for which no body underwent any trouble; ^{Ragland.} for all Men looked upon that place as well Fortified, Manned, and Victualled; and the King even then receiv'd a very chearful Letter from Prince *Rupert*; in which, "he undertook to defend it full four Months. So that the Siege being begun so late in the year, as the beginning of *September*, there was reasonable hope that the Army might be ruined, before the Town taken. Therefore the King prosecuted his former resolution, at least to endeavour the relief of *Hereford*. And as he was upon his March thither, he receiv'd Intelligence, "that the *Scotish* Army, upon the notice of his Purpose, was "that Morning risen in great disorder and confusion, and resolved to make their retreat on the *West* side of the River, "and so to pass through *Glocester*. This news was so welcome, and his Majesty was receiv'd with so full joy into the City of *Hereford*, that he slipp'd the opportunity he then had of discommoding at least, if not ruining the *Scotish* Army; which now passed through a strange Country, where they had never been, and where the whole Nation was extremely odious to the People. Nor would the Governour of *Glocester* suffer them to pass through his Garrison, till they sent him word plainly "that if they might not pass through that Town, they "knew they should be very welcome to pass through *Worcester*; by which Argument he was convinced; so that he permitted them to go through that Town, from whence they prosecuted their march into the North. If, in all this time, they had been pursued by the King's Horse, considering the small Body they had of their own, there is little doubt to be made, very many, if not the greater part of that Army, had been destroyed.

*The Scotch
rise from be-
fore Here-
ford and
march into
the North.*

BUT the King's heart was now so wholly set upon the Relief of *Bristol*, that nothing else was thought upon, which might in any degree delay it. And so the King, from *Hereford*, adverted Prince *Rupert*, "that he had raised the Siege of *Hereford*, and that the *Scots* were marched Northward; that he "intended speedily to relieve him; and in order to it, that he "had then commanded General *Goring*, to draw what force "he could out of the West; and to march to the *Somerset-shire* "side of *Bristol*; and that his Majesty would himself have a "Body of three thousand Foot, drawn out of the several Gar-
"risons of those parts, which should pass over the *Severn*, about *Berkley-Castle* on *Glocester-shire* side; and that his Horse, "which were then above three thousand, should at the same "time Ford the *Severn* not far from *Glocester* (as they might have done) "and so joyn with his Foot; and by this means,

"all things being well concerted, they might hopefully fall on *Fairfax* his Quarters on both sides. And the better to bring all this to pass, the King himself went the second time to *Ragland*, the House of the Marquis of *Worcester*; sending the Horse to those several places, as might best facilitate the execution of the design that was form'd for the relief of *Bristol*.

BUT when the King came to *Ragland*, he receiv'd the terrible information of the Surrender of *Bristol*, which he so little apprehended, that if the evidence thereof had not been unquestionable, it could not have been believ'd. With what indignation, and dejection of mind, the King receiv'd this Advertisement, needs no other description and enlargement, than the setting down, in the very words of it, the Letter which the King writ thereupon to Prince *Rupert*; which, considering the unspeakable indulgence his Majesty had ever shew'd towards that Prince, is sufficient evidence, how highly he was offended and incens'd by that Act; which yet he took some time sadly to think of, and consider, before he would allow himself to abate so much of his natural candour towards him. As soon as he receiv'd that surprizing Intelligence, he presently remov'd from *Ragland*, and return'd to *Hereford*, the Post he chose wherein to consider the desperateness of the condition he was in, and to enter upon new consultations. To that purpose, he sent Orders "for all the Officers; and "their Troops, which had been sent into *Shrop-shire*, *Worcester-shire*, and South *Wales*, to provide for the relief of "*Bristol*, to attend him there. And as soon as he came to *Hereford*, he dispatch'd an Express with this Letter to Prince *Rupert*.

Hereford 14th Sept. 1645.

Nephew,

The King's
Letter to
Prince Ru-
pert upon
his Surrender
of Bristol.

"THOUGH the loss of *Bristol* be a great blow to me, yet
"your Surrendering it as you did, is of so much affliction to
"me, that it makes me not only forget the consideration of
"that place, but is likewise the greatest Trial of my con-
"stancy that hath yet befallen me; for what is to be done,
"after one that is so near me as You are, both in Blood and
"Friendship, submits himself to so mean an Action? (I give
"it the easiest term) such ---- I have so much to say, that I
"will say no more of it: only, lest rashness of judgement be
"laid to my charge, I must remember you of your Letter of
"the 12th of *August*, whereby you assur'd me, that, if no
"Mutiny happen'd, you would keep *Bristol* for four Months.
"Did you keep it four Days? Was there any thing like a
"Mutiny? More Questions might be asked, but Now, I
"confess, to little purpose: My conclusion is, to desire you
"to seek your Subsistence, until it shall please God to deter-
"mine

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"mine of my condition, somewhere beyond Seas ; to which
 "end I send you herewith a Pass ; and I pray God to make
 "you sensible of your present condition, and give you means
 "to redeem what you have lost ; for I shall have no greater
 "joy in a Victory, than a just occasion without blushing to
 "assure you of my being

Your loving Uncle, and most faithful Friend, C. R.

WITH this Letter, the King sent a Revocation of all Commissions formerly granted to Prince *Rupert*, and signified his Pleasure to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, whither Prince *Rupert* was retired with his Troops from *Bristol*, "that they should require Prince *Rupert* to deliver into their hands his Commission. And whether the King had really some apprehension that he might make some difficulty in giving it up, and make some disorder in *Oxford*, or whether it was the effect of other Men's Counsels, his Majesty, at the same time, sent a Warrant likewise for the present Imprisonment of Colonel *Leg* (who was Governour of *Oxford*) as a Person much in the Prince's favour, and therefore like to be subservient to any of his Commands. But this circumstance of rigour, made the other judgement upon the Prince thought to be over sudden, "that He should be made the first Example of the King's Severity, when so many high enormities, and "miscarriages of others had passed without being call'd in "question. And as no body suspected the Prince's want of Duty in submitting to the King's Pleasure, so Colonel *Leg* was generally believ'd to be a Man of that entire Loyalty to the King, that he was above all temptations: this circumstance of committing the Governour, made the other to be likewise suspected to be more the effect of the power of some Potent adversaries, than of the King's own Severity.

WHEN the Prince of *Wales* came to *Launceston* from *Exeter* (which was about the middle of *September*) after the loss of *Bristol*, and the motion of the Enemy inclined Westward, it was then thought fit to draw all the Train'd-bands of *Cornwall* to *Launceston*, and as many of them as could be persuaded, to march Eastward ; it being agreed at *Exeter*, "that, "if the Enemy gave time, the force of both Counties (save "what was necessary to be continued at *Plymouth*) should be "drawn to *Tiverton*, and, upon that Pass, to Fight with the "Rebels ; for the better compassing whereof, it was Order'd, "that *St Richard Greenvil* should Command all the *Cornish* "Train'd-bands, wherunto should be added his own three "Regiments, which he had formerly carried to *Taunton* ; who took themselves to be so disobliged, both Officers and Soldiers (as in truth they were) by the Lord *Goring*, that they were

absolutely disbanded, and could by no other means be gotten together, but upon assurance that they should be Commanded by *Sr Richard Greenvil*. Things being thus settled, *Greenvil* seem'd well satisfied, having all the respect, and encouragement from the Prince that was desired, or could be given; and without any other indisposition, than that, once in two or three days, he would write a Letter either to the Prince himself, the Lords, or *Mr Fanshaw*, extolling himself, and reproaching the Lord *Goring's* plundering Horse, and sometimes *Sr John Berkley*; in all which he used a very extraordinary Licence.

DURING the Prince's being at *Exeter*, *Sr John Berkley* had desired, "that, in respect his continual presence would be necessary at *Exeter*, since the Enemy apparently looked that way, his Highness would dispose the Command of the Forces before *Plymouth*, to such a Person as He thought fit; who might diligently attend that Service. There was a general inclination to have sent back *Sr Richard Greenvil* to that Charge, which it was visible he looked for; but there were three great points to be consider'd; the first, the pretence that General *Digby* had to that Command; to whom it Originally belonged; and both He, and the Earl of *Bristol*, expected it upon this alteration; he being at that time so well recover'd in his health, that he was well able to execute the Command: the next, that if it should be offer'd to *Greenvil*, he would insist upon such assignations of Contributions, as would make the subsistence of the Army, and of the Garrisons impossible; the last and the greatest, was, that the whole design being now to draw such a Body together, as might give the Rebel's Battle, this could not be without the *Cornish* Train'd-bands, and those other Soldiers, who had run from their Colours; neither of which, would march without *Sr Richard Greenvil*; and it was apparent, if he went to *Plymouth*, those old Soldiers would go to him. Besides, his experience and activity was then thought most necessary to the marching Army; where there was a great dearth of good Officers. Hereupon, it was resolv'd that General *Digby* should again resume the Charge about *Plymouth*, but upon any extraordinary occasion, and advance of the Enemy, he was to receive Orders from *Sr Richard Greenvil*; and accordingly, upon *Sr Richard Greenvil's* advancing into *Devon*, and fixing a Quarter at *Okington*, *Digby* was order'd so to do; which he observ'd accordingly.

IN the beginning of *October*, the Lord *Goring* perswaded the Commissioners of *Devon*, upon his promise to punish and suppress all disorders in the Soldiery, and that the Markets should be free, "to double the Contribution of the County

"County for six Weeks, and to assign half thereof to his Army; by vertue whereof he raised vast Sums of Money; but abated nothing of the former disorders, and pressures: and the Money so raised, instead of being regularly distributed amongst the Soldiers, was disposed to such Persons as he thought fit by his Warrants to direct. But no sooner was *Sr Thomas Fairfax* advanced as far as *Cullampton*, than the Lord *Goring* gave over the thought of defending *Devon*, and, by his Letter of the eleventh of *October* to the Lord *Colepepper*, said, "that he had sent all the Horse, but one thousand, Westward, under the Command of the Major General, to joyn with the *Cornish*; who were to advance; and that Himself, with one thousand Horse, and all his Foot, resolv'd to stay in *Exeter* to defend that Town, if the Enemy came before it; or to be ready to attend their Rear, if they march'd forward; and therefore desired, "that his Highness would appoint whom he thought fit, to give Orders to the Lord *Wentworth*, his Major General, who was prepared not to dispute Orders sent by any Substituted by the Prince. Hereupon, the Prince had appointed *Sr Richard Greenvil* "to advance with the *Cornish* to *Okington*, and directed the Major General "to receive Orders from him: But, by that time They two had disposed themselves in order, as they did very handsomely and chearfully, General *Goring* changed his mind, and within four days after his former Letter, he retired with his thousand Horse out of *Exeter* to *Newton Busbell*; and then sent to the Prince, by a Letter to the Lord *Colepepper*, to know "whether *Sr Richard Greenvil* should receive Orders from him; and offer'd to undertake any design with *Sr Richard Greenvil*, or by Himself, as the Prince should direct; or that if his Presence and Command should be thought, on the account of any indisposition in the *Cornish* towards him, probable to produce any inconvenience to the Service, he would willingly, for that expedition, resign his Command to any Person the Prince would design for it: intimating withal, "that if the Lord *Hopton* had it, the Lord *Wentworth* would willingly receive Orders from him. His Highness, the next day, writ to him, "that he committed the management of the whole to his Lordship; and had commanded *Sr Richard Greenvil* to receive Orders from him, "who had then a good Body of *Cornish* with him, and power "to draw off the Men from *Plymouth*, if there should be occasion.

THE King's having been in that perpetual motion, as hath been mention'd before, kept the Express that had been sent to him from the Counsellors, upon the first signification of his pleasure concerning the Prince's Transportation into *France*,

from delivering that Letter for some time. So that it was the middle of *October*, before they receiv'd his Majesty's further direction. Then this Letter to the Lord *Colepepper* was brought back by the same Express.

Colepepper,

*The King's
Letter con-
cerning the
Prince of
Wales.*

"I HAVE seen and consider'd your dispatches; and for this time you must be content with results without the Reasons, leaving you to find them; Lord *Goring* must break through to *Oxford* with his Horse, and from thence, if he can, find Me out, wheresoever he shall understand I shall be; the Region about *Newark* being, as I conceive, the most likely place. But that which is of more necessity, indeed absolute, is, that, with the best conveniency, the most secrecy, and greatest expedition, Prince *Charles* be Transported into *France*; where his Mother is to have the sole care of him, in all things but one, which is his Religion; and that must still be under the care of the Bishop of *Salisbury*; and this I undertake his Mother shall submit unto: concerning which, by my next dispatch, I will advertise Her; this is all; So I rest

Your most assured Friend, *Charles R.*

THOUGH this Letter was writ after the loss of *Bristol*, yet when it arrived, the hopes of the West were not thought desperate; and it was absolutely concluded between the Lords, that, as the Person of the Prince was never to be in hazard of being surprized, so he was not to be Transported out of the King's Dominions, but upon apparent, visible necessity, in point of safety: and the very suspicion of his going had been, both by the Lord *Goring* and others, enviously whisper'd, to the great disheartning of the People; so that (besides that an unseasonable attempt of going, might have been disappointed) they saw that the loss of the whole West, both Garrisons, and Army, would immediately have attended that Action, and therefore they thought, they should be absolv'd, in point of duty, by the King, if they only preserv'd themselves in a power of obeying him, without executing his command at that time; especially since General *Goring* thought it not reasonable to observe the Orders, which were sent to him at the same time, for marching towards the King, nor so much as advis'd with his Highness, or Communicated that he had receiv'd any such Orders; and yet his Highness let him know, that he was well content, that he should break through with his Horse to the King; which he might have done.

THE Enemy, having gain'd *Tiverton*, made no great hast to the West of *Exeter*, but spent their time in Fortifying some Houses

Houses near the Town, on the East side, without receiving the least disturbance from the Army; the Lord *Goring* entertaining himself in his usual jollity between *Exeter*, *Totness*, and *Dartmouth*; it being publickly spoken in *Exeter*, "that the Lord *Goring* intended to leave the Army, and speedily to go beyond Seas, and that Lieutenant General *Porter* resolv'd to go to the Parliament; long before the Prince understood General *Goring's* resolution to go into *France*, by any intimation from himself. The twentieth of *November*, his Lordship writ a Letter from *Exeter* to the Prince by the Lord *Wentworth*, "that, now that the Enemy and his Lordship were settled in their Winter Quarters (whereas the Enemy was then as stirring as ever) "he did beg leave of his Highness to spend some time for the recovery of his health, in *France*; intimating, "that he hoped to do his Highness some notable Service by that Journey; and desired, "that his Army might remain entirely under the Command of the Lord *Wentworth* (whereas, not above a Fortnight before, he had writ, "that the Lord *Wentworth* was very willing to receive Orders from the Lord *Hopton*) until his return; "which, he said, should be in two Months; and so having dispatched the Lord *Wentworth* with this Letter to the Prince to *Truro*, his Lordship, never attending his Highness's leave or Approbation, went the same, or the next day, to *Dartmouth*; where he stayed no longer than till he could procure a passage into *France*; whither, with the first wind, he was Transported; Lieutenant General *Porter*, at the same time, declining the Exercise of his Command, and having receiv'd several Messages, Letters, and a Pass from the Enemy for his going to *London*. After the knowledge whereof, General *Goring* sign'd a Warrant for the levying two hundred pounds upon the Country for the bearing his Charges. The Lord *Wentworth*, at the time of his being then at *Truro*, told some of his confidants, "that the Lord *Goring* intended to return no more to the Army, or into *England*; but relied "upon Him to preserve the Horse from being engaged, till "he could procure a Licence from the Parliament to Transport "them, for the Service of a Forreign Prince, which would "be a fortune to the Officers. And the Major General said "afterwards at *Launceston*, that he could not understand the "Lord *Goring's* designs; for that, at his going from the Army, "he gave the Officers great charge to preserve their Regiments, "for he had hope to get leave to Transport them; and within few days after he arrived at *Paris*, he sent Captain *Porridge* into *England*, to fetch all his Saddle Horses, and Horses of Service, upon pretence that he was to present them in *France*; though at the same time he assured his Friends, "that he was
"return-

The Lord
Goring re-
sires into
France.

“returning speedily with Men and Money; which was not the more believ’d by his sending for his Horses.

THOUGH there had been no great Modesty used in the discourses of the People towards General *Goring*, from the time of his first fastning in the West, especially of the *Cornish*, whom he had most unskillfully irreconciled to him, by his continual neglects and contempts of them (as he would usually before *Taunton*, when he view’d his Foot, clap an *Irish*-man, or one of those Soldiers who came out of *Ireland*, who doubtless were good Men, on the Shoulders, and tell him, in the hearing of the rest, “that he was worth ten *Cornish* Cowards, the greatest part of his present strength, and all his future hopes depending upon the *Cornish*, many whereof had reason to believe themselves not inferior to any who had serv’d the King) yet from the time that he left the Army, and went for *France*, they gave themselves a greater Licence; and declar’d, “that he had, from the beginning, combined with the Rebels; and having wasted and ruined all the Supplies which “had been sent him, had now left a dissolute and odious “Army to the Mercy of the Enemy, and to a County more “justly incensed, and consequently more merciless than They. “They compared the loss of *Weymouth*, in the view of his “Army, after he had been in the Town, and when the whole “direction was in him, with the Counter-suffle at *Petherton*- “Bridge, when two of his own Parties, pursuing the Orders “they had receiv’d, fought with each other, whilst the Enemy retired to their own strengths: they remember’d the “voluntary, wanton, incensing the Country; the discountenancing the Garrison of *Lampport*, and dissolving it; the eating the Provisions of the rest; the cherishing the Club-men; “and the lying with his whole Army before *Taunton* full six “Weeks (after he had declared the Enemy to be in his Mercy, within six days) and in that time (pretending that he “would in few days starve them) he suffer’d great quantities “of Provisions to be carried into them, through his own “Quarters, and several Interviews, and private Meetings to “be by his Brother *Porter* (whose integrity he had before suspected) and the chief Officers of the Rebels: the neglecting “his Body of Foot, during the time that he lay before *Taunton*, by which he suffer’d above two thousand to run away. “They talked of the beating up his Head Quarter the day “before the Rout at *Lampport* at Noon-day, for which no “Man was ever called to a Council of War; and that total “Rout at *Lampport*, as two of the most supine, and unsoldierly “Defeats, that were ever known; before which, or in those “streights, or upon any other occasions of Advice, that he “never called a Council of War to consider what was to be “done;

“done; and in that last business of *Lampport*, himself was so far from being present, that coming in great disorder to *Bridgewater*, he said, he had lost his Foot, and Cannon; which indeed were brought off entirely by the care, and diligence of the Lord *Wentworth*, and *Sr Joseph Wagstaff*. They talked of his unheard of neglecting the Army, after that Retreat at *Bridgewater*, insomuch, as of between three and four thousand Foot, which himself confessed he had after that business (and if his loss had been no greater than he own'd, must have been a far greater Number) within sixteen days, he had not thirteen hundred, nor ever after recover'd a Man, but what was gotten up by the Activity and Authority of the Prince. Lastly, they remember'd his lying in *Devon-shire* from the beginning of *July*, which was about the time of his Retreat from *Lampport*, to the end of *November*, when he went to *France* (which was five Months) with a Body of above four thousand Horse and Foot; destroying, and irreconciling the Country to the King, and the Cause, without making the least attempt, or in any degree looking after the Enemy; whilst the Rebels, by formal Sieges, took in the Garrisons of *Bridgewater*, *Sherborne*, and *Bristol*, and many other important holds.

UPON the whole matter, comparing his Words, and his Actions, laying his Doing and his Not doing together, they concluded, “that if he had been confederate with the Enemy, and been corrupted to betray the West, he could not have taken a more effectual way to do it; since he had not interest enough by any Overt Act to have put it into their power; and therefore they who had a greater opinion of his Wit, Courage, and Conduct, than of his Conscience, and Integrity, presum'd the failing was in the latter; towards which opinion they were the more inclined, by many discourses negligently let fall by the Enemy in their Quarters, “that they were Sure enough of *Goring*; and by *Sr Thomas Fairfax*'s applying himself to the taking those Strong places after the Rout at *Lampport*, without ever considering or looking after the Lord *Goring*'s Army; which he could not but know consisted of a body of Horse, equal in Number to his own; and had reason to apprehend those two populous Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, could quickly recruit the Foot; “which negligence (said they) *Fairfax* could never be guilty of, if he had not been well assured, that those Forces should work them no inconvenience; besides that, being unpursued, *Goring* might easily have made an escape, and joyn'd with the King, and so have diverted all the Enemies designs upon the West.

OTHERS, who were not enough in Love with the Lord *Goring*,

Goring, to desire to be joyn'd with him in any trust, yet in their opinions clearly absolv'd him from any Combination with the Enemy, or design of treachery, and imputed the slow managing the business, at his first coming into the West, and overslipping some opportunities of advantage, to his desire of being settled in that Command, and so not making hast, lest, the work being done, he might be necessitated to leave those Parts, and be call'd to the King; for without doubt, though there was a reconciliation made between Him and Prince *Rupert* to that degree, that all the Countenance General *Goring* receiv'd from Court in prejudice of the Prince's Authority, and of his Council, was procur'd for him purely by that Prince; who in one of his Letters to him, at such time as he was before *Taunton*, us'd these words; "what you desire in your Letter, on the 22^d of *May*, shall be observ'd; and assure your self that Prince *Rupert* shall maintain General *Goring's* Honour and Power, and shall lose his Life, rather than General *Goring* shall suffer for Prince *Rupert*; which Letter (as he did any others, which he receiv'd from his Majesty, or the Secretaries, in Cipher) he communicated to the Company in all his Acts of good fellowship; yet, I say, it was very evident, he was resolv'd never to be in the same Army with Prince *Rupert* under his Command; and all his loose and scandalous Speeches, they imputed to an Innate licence he had always given himself; and his gross and unfortunate Oversight, to the Lazyness, and Unactivity of his Nature; which could better pursue, and make advantages upon good Successes, than struggle and contend with difficulties and streights. And they who had been nearest the Observation, found a great difference between the presentness of his Mind and Vivacity in a suddain Attempt, though never so full of Danger, and an enterprize that requir'd more deliberation; and must be attended with patience, and a steady circumspection; as if his mind could not be long bent. And therefore he had been observ'd to give over a Game, sooner than Gamesters that have been thought to have less fire. Many other passages must be attributed to his perfect hatred of all the Persons of the Council, after he found they would not comply with his desires, and to his particular ambition; and both those passions of ambition, and revenge, might transport his Nature beyond any limits. But what he meant by his discourse at parting to the Officers, for the keeping the Horse for the Service of some Forreign Prince, was never understood, except he did really believe, that he should shortly return with a Body of Foot; and so that they should not be forward to engage with the Enemy, or else to keep such a dependence upon him from the Officers, that they should always hope for employment under him.

WHILST

WHILST *Sr Richard Greenvil* stay'd at *Okington*, he had several strange designs; which he always communicated to the Prince, or Lords, in Writing; one of which was, "to cut a deep Trench from *Barnstable* to the South Sea, for the space of near forty Miles; by which he said, he would defend all *Cornwal*, and so much of *Devon*, against the World; and many such impossible Undertakings; at which they who understood matters of that Nature, thought him besides himself. Notwithstanding the Train'd-bands of *Cornwal* return'd to their Homes (having stay'd out their Month; which was their first Contract) *Sr Richard Greenvil* stay'd still at *Okington*, with his three Regiments of old Soldiers, having barricadoed the Town; the Pass being of very great importance to hinder the Enemy from any Communication with *Plymouth*. And indeed the Reputation of his being there with a greater Strength than in truth he had at any time, was a great means of keeping the Rebels on the East side of *Exeter*; as appears by their suddain Advance, as soon as he remov'd from that Post; which he did about the end of *November*, without giving the least advice to the Prince of such his purpose, and contrary to the express desire of the Lords *Capel*, and *Colepepper*, who were then at *Exeter*, and, hearing of his Resolution, had written to him very earnestly "not to remove. He suddainly retir'd with his three Regiments from *Okington* into *Cornwal*, and Muster'd his Men upon the River *Tamar*, that divides *Cornwal* from *Devon*, with express Command "to Guard the Passes, and not to suffer any of the Lord *Goring's* Men, "upon what pretence or warrant soever, to come into *Cornwal*. For the better doing whereof, he caused the Country to come in to work at their Bridges, and Passes, as he had done before, most unreasonably, for the Fortifying of *Launceston*; and caused Proclamations, and Orders of his own, to be read throughout *Cornwal*, in the Churches, "that if any "of the Lord *Goring's* Forces (whom in those Writings he charged with all the odious Reproaches for Plundering) "should offer to come into *Cornwal*, they should Ring the Bells; and thereupon the whole County should Rise, and "beat them out; by these unheard of, and unwarrantable means, preparing the Country to such a hatred of the Lord *Goring*, and his Forces, that they rather desir'd the Company of the Rebels; so alienating all Mens Spirits from resisting of the Enemy; and all this without so much as Communication with the Prince, till it was executed.

ABOUT the last week of *November*, he came himself to *Truro* to the Prince, on the same day that his Highness had receiv'd Letters from the Lords at *Exeter*, of the extreme ill Consequence of *Sr Richard Greenvil's* drawing off from *Okington*;

ton; upon encouragement whereof, a strong Party of the Enemy was come to *Kirton*. Whereupon his Highness sent for *Sr Richard Greenvil*; and, in Council, acquainted him with those Letters, and other Intelligence that he had receiv'd of the Enemy, and desired him to consider what was now to be done. The next day, without attending his Highness any more, but returning to his House at *Worrington*, he writ a long Letter to *Mr Fanshawe* of his Advice, which he desired might be Communicated to the Lords; which was, "that his Highness should send to the Parliament for a Treaty, and should offer, if he might enjoy the Revenue of the Dutchy of *Cornwal*, and that they would not advance to disturb him in that County, that he would not attempt any thing upon them, but that they should enjoy the freedom of all their Ports in *Cornwal* for Trade, without any disturbance by his Majesties Ships: and so, in plain *Englsh*, to sit still a Neuter between the King, and the Parliament, at a time when there was a Body of Horse Superior to the Enemy in those Parts; and when an equal proportion of Foot might have been gotten together; and when his Majesty had not the face of an Army in any other part of *England*. The Prince was very much troubled at this Letter, and the more, because he found *Sr Richard Greenvil* had contracted a great friendship with such of his Highness's Servants, as he had reason to believe less zealous and intent upon the Honour, and Prosperity of the King; and because he had discover'd he laboured very much to infuse a jealousy into the Governour of *Pendennis-Castle*, "that the Prince intended to remove him from that Command, and to confer it upon the Lord *Hopton*; to which purpose he had written to the Governour from *Okington* (when the Lord *Hopton*, and the Chancellor, were sent down thither to assist him in the Fortifying and Supplying that Castle; which if they had not done, it would not have held out, as it did afterwards) "that the Lord *Hopton* had a Commission to take that Charge from him; "but that he should not suffer such an affront to be put upon him; for He, and all his Friends, would stick to him in it: Whereas there was never the least thought or intention to make any alteration in that Government.

SHORTLY after that Letter of the 27th, *Sr Richard Greenvil* writ again to *Mr Fanshawe*, to know how his Propositions were approv'd; to which, by direction, he return'd, "that the Council had not been yet together since the receipt of them; the Lords *Capel*, and *Colepepper*, being not then return'd from *Exeter*; and that therefore his Propositions had not been yet Debated. He proceeded in the mean time in his Fortifications there, and, about the middle of *December*,

the Prince continuing at *Tyuro*, he sent several Letters to the Gentlemen of the County "to meet him at *Launceston*: One of which Letters I saw, to Colonel *Richard Arundel*; in which, "He desired him to bring as many Gentlemen, and "others of Ability, as he could, as well the disaffected, as "well-affected; for that he intended to Communicate to them "some Propositions, which he had formerly preferr'd to the "Prince, and though they were not hearken'd to There, he "believ'd would be very acceptable to his Country-men of "*Cornwall*: but the Prince's suddain going to *Tavistock* disappointed that meeting.

SHORTLY after the Lord *Goring's* going into *France*, the Prince, being inform'd from *Exeter*, "that the Enemy, at "the same time having finished their works, which kept the "City from any Relief on the East side, were now drawing "their Forces to the West side, whereby that City would be "speedily Distressed; thought it necessary to send the Lords *Brentford*, *Capel*, *Hopton*, and *Colepepper*, to confer with the Lord *Wentworth*; who lay then at *Alb Burton*, six Miles from *Totnes*, and with *Sr Richard Greenvil*, who was ready to draw some Foot into *Devon*, to the end that such an understanding might be settled between them two, that the Service might proceed: their Lordships being directed, by Instructions under his Highness's hand, upon consideration of the state of the Forces, and conference with the Lord *Wentworth*, and *Sr Richard Greenvil*, to advise what speedy course should be taken for the Relief of *Exeter* (the Prince having at the same time disbursed a thousand pound ready Money to two Merchants of *Exeter*, for Provision of *Corn* for that City) presuming that both the one and the other would have been very ready to have receiv'd, and followed the advice which their Lordships should give.

THE place of meeting was appointed to be *Tavistock*; where every body was, save the Lord *Wentworth*; but He failing, the Lords, having directed *Sr Richard Greenvil* how to dispose of himself, went themselves to *Alb Burton*, near twenty Miles farther, to the Lord *Wentworth's* Quarter; where they spent a day or two, but found not that respect from him they had reason to have expected. His Lordship was very jealous of diminution in his Command, which General *Goring* had devolv'd to him, and expressing himself oftentimes to them very unnecessarily, "that he would receive Orders from none but the Prince Himself; whereupon, and upon the importunate calling for Relief from *Exeter*, their Lordships "thought it absolutely necessary, that the Prince "Himself should advance in Person, as well to bring up as "great a Body of the *Cornish*, as was possible (which with-
"out

“out his Presence was not to be hoped for) as to dispose the
 “Command of the whole Forces in such manner, as might
 “probably be for the best advantage; the best that was to be
 “hoped for being to bring the Enemy to Fight a Battle; and
 “that they might be enabled to that purpose, by joyning with
 “the Foot that were in *Exeter*; which was a considerable
 “Body. For the conducting so great a design, upon which
 no less than three Crowns depended, the Lord *Wentworth*
 could not be thought of Interest, Experience, or Reputation
 enough; and yet there was so great regard, that he should
 not suffer in his Honour, or the imaginary Trust devolv'd to
 him by General *Goring*, or rather indeed that no notable haz-
 ard might be run, by any unnecessary mutation in Com-
 mands, at a time when the Soldier was to be led to Fight,
 that it was resolv'd, “that he should be rather Advised, than
 “Commanded; and that if he comported himself with that
 “Temper and Modesty, as was expected, all Resolutions
 “should be form'd in Council, and all Orders thereupon should
 “issue in His Name.

THE next day after *Christmas* day, the weather being very
 sharp, the Prince went from *Truro* to *Bodmin*; and the next
 day to *Tavistock*; where the Lords of the Council attended;
 the Lord *Wentworth* continuing at *Ash Burton*, and his Horse
 spread over that part of the Country which was at any dis-
 tance from the Enemy. *Sr Richard Greenvil*, who attended
 likewise at *Tavistock*, had sent three Regiments of Foot to
Okington, under the Command of Major General *Moleworth*;
 which were secured by the Brigade of Horse under Major Ge-
 neral *Web*, who was Quarter'd near those parts, and the *Cornish*
Train'd-bands were to come up within a week; the
 Blockade before *Plymouth* was maintain'd by General *Digby*,
 with about twelve or thirteen hundred Foot, and six hundred
 Horse; but the whole Contribution assign'd for the support
 of those Forces, was taken by the Lord *Wentworth's* Horse;
 so that the Prince was compell'd to supply those Men, out of
 the Magazines of Victual which he had provided in *Cornwall*
 for the Army when it should march; and to leave his own
 Guard of Horse upon the skirts of *Cornwal*; there being no
 Quarter to be had for them nearer his own Person.

ABOUT this time, *Sr Thomas Fairfax* Quarter'd at a House
 about two miles East of *Exeter*, *Sr Hardress Waller* with a Bri-
 gade of his Army at *Kirton*, and another part of the Army
 had possessed *Powdrum-House*, and the Church, *Hulford-House*,
 and some other Holds on the West side; so that no Provisions
 went in, and it hath been said before, how long the Army
 under *Goring* had subsisted upon the Provisions within, and
 kept all supply from entering: the advice taken at *Tavistock*,
 upon

upon the Prince's coming thither, was, "that as soon as the
 "Cornish Foot should be come up, his Highness should march
 "with those, his own Guards, and as many Foot as might
 "conveniently be taken from before *Plymouth*, by leaving
 "Horse in their place, to *Totnes*; where a Magazine should
 "be made of Provisions for the whole Army, both by Money
 "(for which the County would yield great store of Provi-
 "sions) and by Victuals brought out of *Cornwall* by Sea; for
 "which likewise directions were given: "From that place it
 "was concluded, that the Prince might joyn with the Forces
 "in *Exeter*, except the Rebels should draw their whole Body
 "between them; and then that Garrison would be able both
 "to relieve it self, and to infest the Enemy in the Rear; and
 "the Prince might retire, or Fight, as he found it most con-
 "venient and advantageous to him. Resolutions being thus
 "fixed, and the *Cornish* being not expected in full Numbers
 "till the Week following, the Prince chose to go to *Totnes*;
 "where all things necessary might be agreed with the Lord
Wentworth, who might conveniently attend there, his Quar-
 "ters being within six miles; and where directions might be
 "given for making the Magazine, towards which Money had
 "been return'd out of *Cornwall*.

THE next day after the Prince came thither, the Lord
Wentworth attended him, and was inform'd in Council, what
 "had been thought reasonable at *Tarvisstock*; the which he ap-
 "prov'd of; the Prince then call'd to see a List of the Quarters,
 "that thereupon it might be agreed how the whole Army
 "should be Quarter'd when they came together; to which end,
 "the next day, the Lord *Wentworth* brought the Quarter Ma-
 "ster General *Pinkney*, who indeed govern'd him. At the first
 "Council, the Lord *Wentworth* told the Prince, "that he was
 "to declare one thing to him, at the entrance into business,
 "and for the prevention of any mistakes, that he could receive
 "no Orders from any Person but his Highness; the Lord *Go-*
 "ring having repos'd that trust in him, and given him a
 "Commission and Instructions to that purpose; which he of-
 "ten repeated afterwards in Council; and, in the Debate of
 "Quartering, talk'd very imperiously, and very disrespectfully,
 "and one day, after he had been drinking, very offensively to
 "some of the Council, in the presence of the Prince. The time
 "was not conceiv'd seasonable for the Prince to declare how
 "the Army should be commanded, till he had brought it toge-
 "ther, and till he had his own Guards about him; and so the
 "Prince, though he was nothing satisfied in the Lord *Went-*
 "worth's carriage, only told him "that he would take the Com-
 "mand of the Army upon Himself, and issue out Orders as
 "he should think fit; and having visited the Port and Garrison

of *Dartmouth*, and taken sufficient course for the providing the Magazines, and settled the differences about Quarters, he return'd to *Tavistock*; resolving, with all possible expedition, to march with the whole Body of Foot to *Totness*, according to former appointment.

THE day before the Prince begun his Journey to *Tavistock*, he receiv'd a Letter from the King his Father, dated upon the seventh of *November*, in these words:

Oxford, 7th of November 1645.

Charles,

*A Letter
from the
King to the
Prince.*

"I LEAVE others to tell you the News of these parts, which are not so ill, as, I believe, the Rebels would make you believe: that which I think fit to tell you is, I command you, as soon as you find your self in a probable danger of falling into the Rebels hands, to Transport your self into *Denmark*; and, upon my blessing, not to stay too long upon uncertain hopes within this Island, in case of danger as above said. For, if I mistake not the present condition of the West, you ought not to defer your Journey one hour; in This I am not absolutely positive; but I am directly positive, that your going beyond Sea is absolutely necessary for me, as I do, to command you; and I do not restrain you only to *Denmark*, but permit you to choose any other Country, rather than to stay here: as for *Scotland* and *Ireland* I forbid you either, until you shall have perfect assurance, that Peace be concluded in the one, or that the Earl of *Mountrose*, in the other, be in a very good condition; which, upon my word, he is not now: so God bless you.

Your loving Father *Charles R.*

THOUGH the intimations in this Letter were strong for a present remove, yet they not being Positive, and the time of the year being such, as that the Prince could not be block'd up by Sea, and so could choose his own time, and having one County entire, and *Exeter* and *Barnstable* in the other well Garrison'd, besides the Blockade before *Plymouth*, and the reputation of an Army, the Council were of opinion, that the time was not yet ripe; and so pursued the former design of joining the *Cornish* to the Horse, and to endeavour the relief of *Exeter*; for which purpose, the Prince undertook the Journey before mention'd to *Tavistock*, the day after *Christmas* day; and, at his coming thither, receiv'd this other Letter from the King.

Oxford,

Oxford, the 7th of December 1645.

Charles,

"I WRIT to you this day Month; of which, few days
 "after, I sent you a Duplicate. The causes of my Commands ^{Another Letter from his Majesty.}
 "to You in that Letter, are now multiplied. I will name
 "but one, which I am sure is sufficient for what I shall now
 "add to my former: it is This; I have resolv'd to propose a
 "Personal Treaty to the Rebels at *London*; in order to which
 "a Trumpet is by this time there, to demand a Pass for my
 "Messengers, who are to carry my Propositions; which if
 "admitted, as I believe it will, then my real security will be,
 "your being in another Country, as also a chief Argument
 "(which speaks it self without an Orator) to make the Rebels
 "hearken, and yield to Reason: whereas therefore I left you
 "by my last to judge of the time, I absolutely command you
 "to seek for carefully, and take the first opportunity of Trans-
 "porting your self into *Denmark*, if conveniently you can;
 "but rather than not go out of this Kingdom, immediately
 "after the receipt of this, I permit, and command you to re-
 "pair to any other Country, as *France, Holland, &c.* whereto
 "you may arrive with most convenient security as to your
 "passage; for nothing else is to be fear'd: I need not recom-
 "mend to you the leaving the Country in the best posture you
 "may, it so speaks it self, as I shall always do to be,

Your loving Father *Charles R.*

HIS Highness, as he used to do, assoon as he had perused the Letter, which, as the rest, was written in the Lord *Colepepper's* Cipher, and by him Decipher'd, deliver'd it again to his Lordship, "to be secretly kept, and Communicated to the "other three; for it was by no means yet safe to trust it farther. They were much troubled at the receipt of this Letter; for, besides that it found them in the Article of the most probable design had been on foot since the late disasters, to preserve the West; if they should have attempted to have given Obedience to that Command, the suddain, unexpected, and unreasonable leaving the Army, would visibly have declared what the intent had been, and would probably have engaged the People, and the Soldiers (who would have wanted neither Intelligence, nor Instigation from the Prince's own Servants; of whom the Lords could not rely upon three Men) they being full of hope in the Enterprize they were upon, and full of dislike of the other they were to choose, to have prevented it; in which, they might reasonably have expected assistance from the Garrison of *Peudennis*; from which place his Highness was necessarily to remove Himself. So that if

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the Prince should attempt to go, and succeed, the Army, upon that discountenance, must dissolve; and if he succeeded not, there might be a fatal consequence of the endeavour and disappointment. Then, though they had long kept a Ship in the Harbour in readiness, and had at that time another Frigate of Mr *Hafduncks*, yet by its having been carried with so much secrecy that very few had taken notice of it, they could not be provided for so long a Voyage as to *Denmark*, which, with so important a Charge, would require two Months Victual at least. But that which troubled them most, was the very Argument which his Majesty was pleased to use for his so positive Command; which, to their understanding, seem'd to conclude rather, that his Highness's Transportation (at least without an immediate absolute necessity) was at that time most unseasonable: for if, in expectation of a Treaty, his Majesty should venture his Royal Person in *London*, and should be receiv'd there, and at the same time his Highness's Person should be Transported out of the Kingdom, by his Majesty's own Commands (which could not then have been conceal'd) it was reasonable to believe, that not only the Rebels would make great advantage of it, as an Argument against his Majesty's sincere intentions, and thereby draw unspeakable and irreparable prejudice upon him; but that his own Council, by which he was dispos'd to that Overture, and whose Assistance he must constantly use, would take themselves to be highly disobliged by that Act; and they would lose all confidence in their future Counsels.

UPON the whole Matter, the Lords were unanimously of opinion, "that the Relief of *Exeter* was to proceed in the manner formerly agreed, and that the Prince's Person was "to be present at it: and thereupon they sent an Express to the King, with a dispatch sign'd by the Four who were trusted, a duplicate whereof was sent by another Express the next day, in which they presented a clear state to his Majesty of his Forces, and the hopes they then had of improving their condition by the Prince's Presence; of the condition of *Exeter*, and of the Strength, as they conceiv'd, of the Enemy; and of the inconveniency, if not the impossibility of obeying his Majesty at that time. They farther inform'd his Majesty of "the great indisposition, that they perceiv'd in all the "vants towards his Highness's leaving the Kingdom; and "that the jealousy was so great of his going into *France*, that "they had reason to believe that many who were very faithful, and tender of his Safety, would rather wish him in the "hands of the Enemy, than in that Kingdom; and therefore, "when the time of Necessity should come (which they assured his Majesty they would with any hazard watch and

"observe."

"observe) they must prefer the continuing Him still within
 "his Majesty's own Dominions, and so to waite him to *Silly*, or
 "*Jersey*, and from thence conclude what was to be done farther. They presented likewise their humble opinion to him,
 "that in case he should be engaged in a Personal Treaty at
 "*London* (which they conceiv'd the Rebels would never admit,
 "without such Acts first obtain'd from his Majesty, as
 "might invalidate His Power, and confirm Theirs) how inconvenient it might be, without the Privy of those Coun-
 "sellors, whom he was then to trust, to Transport the Prince,
 "except in danger of Surprisal, before the issue of that Treaty
 "might be discern'd: assuring his Majesty, "that nothing
 "should put his Highness's Person into the hands of the Par-
 "liament, but his Majesty's own Commands; which they
 "should not resist in his own Dominions, nor, they conceiv'd,
 "any body else, if he were out of them.

THE appearance at *Tavistock* answer'd the expectation; *The Lord*
 there being full two thousand four hundred of the Train'd-
 bands, very chearful, and ready to march; at *Okington* were
 eight hundred old Soldiers, under Major General *Moleworth*; *Went-*
 the Foot with the Lord *Wentworth* were given out to be eight *worth's*
 hundred, with the Lord *Goring's* Guards which were in *Dart-*
mouth; and to be drawn thence, upon the advance to the *Horse beaten*
 Army: from *Barnstable*, the Governour had promised to
 send five hundred Men; and out of *Exeter*, at the least, a
 thousand five hundred Men were promised: all which, with
 his Highness's Guards, might well be depended upon for six
 thousand Foot. The Horse was very little fewer than five
 thousand; whereof his Highness's Guards made near seven
 hundred; so that, if all these could have been brought to
 Fight, the day seem'd not desperate. The Foot were appoint-
 ed to have marched the morrow, when the News came,
 "that the Enemy was advanced, and had beaten up the Lord
 "*Wentworth's* Quarters in two several places, and shortly af-
 ter the News, the Lord *Wentworth* himself came in, in great
 disorder, not inform'd of the particular of his loss, but con-
 ceiv'd it to be greater than in truth it was, though many Men,
 and more Horses, were taken in both places. The Prince
 was very desirous to pursue the former resolution, and to
 have advanced with the whole Body to *Totness*; but the Lord
Wentworth did not only alledge, "that probably the Enemy
 "was possessed by that time of *Totness*, but that he had in
 "truth no hope to rally his Horse together, in any Numbers,
 "till they might be allow'd three or four days rest. Whereas
 all that Rout had been occasion'd by small Parties of the Ene-
 my, who, at day time, came into their Quarters, and found
 no Guards, but all the Horse in the Stables; and their whole

Body moved not in two or three days after; encouraged, it was thought, by the great disorder they found those Troops to be in. Matters standing thus, and it being absolutely necessary, by reason of this disorderly retreat of the Horse, to draw off the Blockade from *Plymouth*, *Tavistock* was no longer thought a place for the Prince's residence; his Highness by the Advice of a Council of War remov'd to *Launceston*; whither all the Foot were drawn, and the Horse appointed to keep the *Devon-shire* side of the River; and from thence he hoped he should be speedily able to advance towards *Exeter*.

THE King had staid at *Hereford*, as hath been said, in great perplexity, and irresolution; not knowing which way to take, but most inclined to go to *Worcester*; till he was assured, "that the whole strength of the Parliament in the North was gather'd together under the Command of *Pointz*; and "that he was already come between *Hereford* and *Worcester*, "with a Body of above three thousand Horse and Dragoons; "with which he was appointed always to attend the King's "motion: so that it would be very hard for his Majesty to get to *Worcester*, whither his purpose of going was, upon the new resolution he had taken again to march into *Scotland* to joyn with *Mountrose*, who was yet understood to be prosperous. This being the only design, it was not thought reasonable "to prosecute that march by *Worcester*, and thereby "to run the hazard of an engagement with *Pointz*; but rather "to take a more secure passage through North *Wales* to *Chester*; "and thence, through *Lancashire*, and *Cumberland*, to find a "way into *Scotland*, unobstructed by any Enemy that could "oppose them. This Counsel pleased; and within four days, though through very unpleasant ways, the King came within half a days Journey of *Chester*; which he found in more danger than he suspected; for within three days before, the Enemy, out of their Neighbour Garrisons, had surpris'd both the out-works, and Suburbs of *Chester*; and had made some attempt upon the City, to the great terror, and consternation of those within; who had no apprehension of such a surpris. So that this unexpected coming of his Majesty, look'd like a designation of Providence for the preservation of so important a place: and the Besiegers were no less amazed, looking upon themselves as lost, and the King's Troops believ'd them to be in their power.

Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* was sent with most of the Horse over *Holt-Bridge*, that he might be on the East side of the River *Dee*; and the King, with his Guards, the Lord *Gerard*, and the rest of the Horse, march'd directly into *Chester*, with a resolution, "that, early the day following, Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* should have fallen upon the back of the "Enemy,

The King
marches to
Chester,
where his
Horse are
Routed by
Pointz.

"Enemy, when all the force of the Town should have Sallied out, and so inclosed them. But *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*, being that Night drawn on a Heath two miles from *Chester*, had intercepted a Letter from *Pointz* (who had march'd a much shorter way, after he was inform'd which way the King was bound) to the Commander that was before *Chester*, telling him, "that he was come to their rescue, and desiring to have "some Foot sent to him, to assist him against the King's "Horse: and the next Morning he appear'd, and was Charged by *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*, and forced to retire with loss; but kept still at such a distance, that the Foot from before *Chester* might come to him. The Besiegers begun to draw out of the Suburbs in such hast, that it was believ'd in *Chester*, they were upon their Flight; and so most of the Horse and Foot in the Town, had order to pursue them. But the others hast was to joyn with *Pointz*; which they quickly did; and then they Charged *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*; who, being overpowered, was Routed, and put to Flight; and pursued by *Pointz* even to the Walls of *Chester*. There the Earl of *Lichfield* with the King's Guards, and the Lord *Gerrard* with the rest of the Horse, were drawn up, and Charged *Pointz*, and forced him to retire. But the disorder of those Horse which first fled, had so filled the narrow ways, which were unfit for Horse to Fight in, that at last the Enemies Musqueteers compell'd the King's Horse to turn, and to rout one another, and to overbear their own Officers, who would have restrain'd them. Here fell many Gentlemen, and Officers of Name, with the brave Earl of *Lichfield*; who was the third Brother of that illustrious Family, that sacrificed their lives in this quarrel. He was a very faultless young Man, of a most gentle, courteous, and affable nature, and of a spirit and courage invincible; whose loss all Men exceedingly lamented, and the King bore it with extraordinary grief. There were many Persons of Quality taken Prisoners, amongst whom *Sr Philip Musgrave*, a Gentleman of a noble extraction, and ample Fortune in *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*; who liv'd to engage himself again in the same Service, and with the same Affection, and, after very great Sufferings, to see the King Restored. This Defeat broke all the Body of Horse, which had attended the King from the Battle of *Naseby*, and which now fled over all the Country to save themselves; and were as much dispersed, as the greatest Rout could produce.

THE design of marching Northward, was now at an end; and it was well it was so; for about this very time *Montrose* was Defeated by *David Lesley*; so that if the King had advanced farther, as he resolv'd to have done, the very next day after he came to *Chester*, he could never have been able to

The King
retires to
Denbigh
to rally his
Horse.

have retreated. He staid in *Chester* only one Night after this blow, but return'd, by the same way by which he had come, to *Denbigh*-Castle in North *Wales*, being attended only with five hundred Horse; and there he staid three days to refresh himself, and to rally such of his Troops as had stopped within any distance. So that, in a short time, he had in view four and twenty hundred Horse; but whither to go with them was still the difficult question. Some propos'd "the Isle of *An-glesy*, as a place of Safety, and an Island Fruitful enough "to support his Forces; which would defend it self against "any Winter attempt, and from whence he might be easily "transported into *Ireland* or *Scotland*. They who objected against this, as very many objections might well be made, propos'd "that his Majesty might commodiously make his "Winter Quarters at *Worcester*, and by Quartersing his Troops "upon the *Severn*, between *Bridgenorth* and *Worcester*, stand "there upon his Guard; and by the access of some other "Forces, might be able to Fight with *Pointz*; who, by this time, that he might both be able the more to strengthen *Chester*, and to watch the King's motion, had drawn his Troops over the River *Dee* into *Denbigh-shire*; so that he was now nearer the King, and made the march last propos'd, much the more difficult; but there was so little choice, that it was prosecuted, and with good Success; and there being another Bridge to pass the *Dee* some miles further, and through as ill ways as any those Countries have, his Majesty went over without any opposition; and had, by this means, left *Pointz* a full day's Journey behind. Here Prince *Maurice* waited on his Majesty with eight hundred Horse, part whereof was of Prince *Rupert's* Regiment that came out of *Bristol*. And now being thus strengthen'd, they less apprehended the Enemy; yet continued their march without resting, till, by Forcing the *Severn*, they came to *Bridgenorth*, the place design'd. Now every body expected, that they should forthwith go to *Worcester*, and take up their Winter Quarters; but upon the news of the Surrender of *Berkley*-Castle in *Glocester-shire*, and of the *Devizes* in *Wilt-shire*, two strong Garrisons of the King's, it was urg'd, "that *Worcester* would not be a good place for "the King's Winter residence, and *Newark* was propos'd as "a place of more security. This advice was the more like to be embraced, because it was vehemently pursued upon a private, and particular Interest.

Thence to
Bridge-
north.

THOUGH Prince *Rupert* had Submitted to the King's pleasure, in resigning his Commission, yet he resolv'd not to make use of his Pass, and to quit the Kingdom, till he might first see his Majesty, and give an account of the Reasons which oblig'd him to deliver up *Bristol*; and was ready to

begin

begin his Journey towards him, as soon as he could be inform'd where the King intended to rest. The Lord *Digby*, who had then the chief influence upon his Majesty's Councils, and was generally believ'd to be the sole cause of revoking the Prince's Commission, and of the Order sent to him to leave the Kingdom, without being heard what He could say for himself, found that the odium of all this proceeding fell upon Him; and therefore, to prevent the breaking of that Cloud upon Him, which threatned his Ruin (for he had not only the indignation of Prince *Rupert*, and all His Party to contend with, but the extreme Malice of the Lord *Gerrard*; who used to hate heartily upon a Suddain accident, without knowing why; over and above this, as Prince *Rupert* would have an easy Journey to *Worcester*, so Prince *Maurice* was Governour there, who had a very tender sense of the severity his Brother had undergone, and was ready to revenge it; whereas if the King went to *Newark*, the Journey from *Oxford* thither would be much more difficult, and Prince *Maurice* would be without any Authority there) these Reasons were Motives enough to the Lord *Digby*, to be very Sollicitous to divert the King from *Worcester*, and to incline him to *Newark*; and his Credit was so great, that against the opinion of every other Man, the King resolv'd to take that course; so having stay'd only one day at *Bridgenorth*, and from thence sent *St Thomas Glemham* to receive the Government of *Oxford*, he made hast to *Lichfield*; and then pass'd with that speed to *Newark*, Thence to Newark. that he was there as soon as the Governour had notice of his purpose. In this manner, in the greatest perplexity of his own Affairs, was his Majesty compell'd to condescend to the particular, and private Passions of other Men.

WHEN the King came to *Newark*, he betook himself to the regulating the disorders of that Garrison; which, by their great Luxury and Excesses, in a time of so general Calamity, had given just scandal to the Commissioners, and to all the Country. The Garrison consisted of about two thousand Horse and Foot; and to those there were about four and twenty Colonels and General Officers, who had all liberal Assignments out of the Contributions, according to their Qualities; so that though that small County paid more Contribution than any other of that bigness in *England*, there was very little left to pay the Common Soldiers, or to provide for any other Expences. This made so great a noise, that the King found it absolutely necessary to reform it; and reduced some of the Officers entirely, and lessened the Pay of others; which added to the number of the Discontented; which was very much too numerous before. Now reports were spread abroad with great confidence, and the advertisement sent from several

The condition of the Garrison of Newark at this time.

several places, though no Author named "that *Mountrose*, "after his Defeat, by an access of those Troops which were "then absent, had Fought again with *David Lesley*; and to- "tally Defeated him; and that he was marched towards the "Borders with a strong Army. This News, how groundless soever, was so very good that it was easily believ'd, and believ'd to that degree, that the King himself declared a Resolution, the third time, "to advance, and joyn with *Mountrose*; and the Lord *Digby* (who knew that Prince *Rupert* was already upon his way from *Oxford*, and that Prince *Maurice* had met him at *Banbury*) prevail'd so far, that the King resolv'd, without delay, or expecting any Confirmation of the Report, "to move Northward to meet the News, and if it "fell not out to his Wish he would return to *Newark*. In this Resolution, after a Weeks stay at *Newark*, he marched to *Tuxford*; and the next day to *Wellbeck*, having, in his way, met with the same General Reports of *Mountrose's* Victories; which were interpreted as so many Confirmations; and therefore, though the King assembled his Council to consult at *Wellbeck*, he declared "that he would not have it Debated, "whether he should advance or retire; but concerning the "manner of his advancing; since he was resolv'd not to retire; which he was sure would be attended with more mischief than could accompany his advancing.

THIS Declaration, how disagreeable soever it was to the sense of much the Major part, left very little to be consulted upon; for since they must advance, it was easily agreed "that "they should march the next day to *Rotheram*; and that the "Troops should be drawn to a Rendezvous, the next Morning, at such an Hour; and so the Officers were rising to give Orders out for the execution of what was Resolv'd; when, in the instant, one knocked at the door; who, being call'd in, was found to be the Trumpeter formerly sent from *Cardiff* to the *Scotish* Army, with a Letter to the Earl of *Leven*, General thereof; who had taken him with him as far as *Berwick*, before he would suffer him to be discharged. The King asked him, "what he had heard of the Marquis of *Mountrose*? He answer'd, "that the last News he had heard of him, was, "that he was about *Sterling*, retiring farther North; and that "*David Lesley* was in *Lothian*, on this side *Edenborough*; and "that the *Scotish* Army lay between North *Allerton* and *Newcastle*. This so unexpected Relation, dashed the former purpose; and the Lord *Digby* himself declared, "that it was "by no means fit for his Majesty to advance; but to retire "presently to *Newark*; which was, by every body, agreed to; and the Rendezvous of the Army for the next Morning to continue. When they were at the Rendezvous, the King declar'd,

declar'd, "that though it was not judged fit for Himself to advance Northward, yet he thought it very necessary, that *Sr Marmaduke Langdale* should, with the Horse under his Command, march that way; and endeavour to joyn with *Mountrose*. And, having said so, his Majesty look'd upon *Sr Marmaduke*; who very chearfully submitted to his Majesty's pleasure; and said, "he had only one Suit to make to his Majesty; which was that the Lord *Digby* might Command in Chief, and He under him. All who were present, stood amazed at what was now said; of which, no word had passed in Council; but when the Lord *Digby* as frankly accepted of the Command, they concluded, that it had been concerted before between the King and the other Two.

No Man contradicted any thing that had been propos'd; and so immediately, upon the place, a short Commission was prepar'd, and Sign'd by the King, to constitute the Lord *Digby* Lieutenant General of all the Forces rais'd, or to be rais'd for the King on the other side of *Trent*; and with this Commission he immediately departed from the King, taking with him from the Rendezvous all the Northern Horse, with *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*, and *Sr Richard Hutton*, High Sheriff of *York-shire*, together with the Earls of *Carnewarthy*, and *Niddisdale*, and several other *Scotish* Gentlemen: he marched in the head of fifteen hundred Horse; and so in a moment became a General, as well as a Secretary of State; and marched presently to *Doncaster*.

BECAUSE this Expedition was in a short time at an end, it will not be amiss to finish the relation in this place; there being no occasion to resume it hereafter. The Lord *Digby* was inform'd at his being at *Doncaster*, "that there was, in a Town two or three miles distant, and little out of the way of the next day's march, one thousand Foot newly rais'd for the Parliament; which he resolv'd, the next Morning, to fall upon; and did it so well, that they all threw down their Arms, and dispersed; whereupon he prosecuted his march to a Town called *Sherborne*, where he stay'd to refresh his Troops; and whilst he stayed there, he had notice of the advance of some Troops of Horse towards him, under the command of Colonel *Copley*: *Digby* presently Sounded to Horse, and having gotten some few Troops ready, marched with them out of the Town; and finding *Copley* standing upon a convenient ground, he would not stay for his other Companies, but immediately charg'd them with that Courage, that he routed most of their Bodies; which, after a short resistance, Fled, and were pursued by his Horse through *Sherborne*; where the other Troops were refreshing themselves; who discerning the Flight of Horse, in great consternation, concluded, that they were

The Lord
Digby
Routed at
Sherborne
in York-
shire.

were their own Fellows, who had been Routed by the Enemy; and so with equal confusion they mounted their Horses, and fled as fast as the other, such ways, as they severally conceiv'd to be most for their safety. By this means, a Troop that remain'd upon the Field unbroken, fell upon the Lord *Digby*, and those Officers, and Gentlemen, who remain'd about him; who were compell'd to make their retreat to *Skipton*; which they did with the loss of *St Richard Hutton* (a gallant and worthy Gentleman, and the Son and Heir of a very venerable Judge, a Man famous in his Generation) and two or three other persons; and with the loss of the Lord *Digby's* Baggage; in which was his Cabinet of Papers; which, being published by the Parliament, administred afterwards so much occasion of discourse.

At *Skipton*, most of the scattered Troops came together again, with which he marched, without any other misadventures, through *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*, as far as *Dumfrieze* in *Scotland*; and then, neither receiving directions which way to march, nor where *Mountrose* was, and less knowing how to retire without falling into the hands of the *Scottish* Army upon the Borders; in the highest despair, that Lord, *St Marmaduke Langdale*, the two Earls, and most of the other Officers, Embarked themselves for the Isle of *Man*; and, shortly after, for *Ireland*; where we shall leave them, all the Troops being left by them, to shift for themselves. Thus those fifteen hundred Horse which marched Northward, within very few days were brought to nothing; and the Generalship of the Lord *Digby*, to an end. But if it had not been for that extraordinary accident of the flying of his own Troops, because the Enemy fled (as the greatest misfortunes which befall that noble Person, throughout the whole course of his life, usually fell out in a conjuncture when he had near attain'd to what he could wish) he had without doubt been Master of *York*, and of the whole North; the Parliament having no other Forces in all those parts, their Garrisons excepted, than those Foot, which he first defeated, and those Horse which he had so near broken. The temper, and composition of his Mind was so admirable, that he was always more pleased and delighted that he had advanced so far, which he imputed to his own Virtue and Conduct, than broken or dejected that his Success was not Answerable, which he still charg'd upon second causes, for which he thought himself not accountable.

When the Lord *Digby* and *St Marmaduke Langdale* left the King, his Majesty marched back to *Newark* with eight hundred Horse of his own Guards, and the Troops belonging to the Lord *Gerrard*; and quickly heard of the misfortune that befall the Northern Adventurers; upon which he concluded

cluded that it would not be safe for him to stay longer in the place where he was, for by this time *Pointz* was come with all his Troops to *Nottingham*, and *Rossiter* with all the Force of *Lincoln-shire* to *Grantham*; and all the power his Majesty had, was not in any degree strong enough to oppose either of them; so that he was only to watch an opportunity by the Darkneſs of the Nights, and good Guides, to ſteal from thence to *Worceſter*, or *Oxford*; in either of which he could only expect a little more time, and leiſure to conſider what was next to be done.

BUT before his Majesty can leave *Newark*, he muſt undergo a new kind of Mortification from his Friends, much ſharper than any he had undergone from his Enemies; which, without doubt, he ſuffered with much more grief, and perplexity of mind. Prince *Rupert* was now come to *Belvoir-Caſtle*, with his Brother Prince *Maurice*, and about one hundred and twenty Officers who attended him; with which he had ſuſtained a charge from *Rossiter*, and broke through without any conſiderable loſs. When the King heard of his being ſo near, he writ a Letter to him, by which "he required him to ſtay at *Belvoir* till further Order; and reprehended him for not having given obedience to his former Commands. Notwithſtanding this Command, he came the next day to *Newark*, and was met by the Lord *Gerrard*, and *Sr Richard Willis*, Governour of the Town, with one hundred Horſe, two miles in his way. About an hour after, with this Train, he came to the Court; and found the King in the preſence; and, without Ceremony, told his Majesty, "that he was come to render an account of the loſs of *Briſtol*, and to clear himſelf from thoſe imputations which had been caſt upon him. The King ſaid very little to him; but, meat being brought up, went to Supper; and, during that time, asked ſome Queſtions of Prince *Maurice*, without ſaying any thing to the other. After he had Supped, he retir'd to his Chamber, without admitting any farther diſcourſe; and the Prince return'd to the Governour's Houſe, where he was well treated and lodged. The King, how diſpleaſed ſoever, thought it neceſſary to hear what Prince *Rupert* would ſay, that he might with the more eaſe provide for his own eſcape from thence; which it was high time to make. So he appointed the next day to hear his defence, which the Prince made with many proteſtations of "his innocence, and how impoſſible it was "long to defend the Fort, after the Line was entred. His Majesty did not ſuſpect his Nephew to have any Malicious deſign againſt his Service, and had no mind to aggravate any circumſtances which had accompanied that Action; and therefore, after a day or two's debate, cauſed a ſhort Declaration to be

An account of the Diſcontents of ſome of his Chief Commanders againſt the King at Newark.

be drawn up, by which Prince *Rupert* was absolv'd and clear'd from any Disloyalty, or Treason in the rendring of *Bristol*, but not of Indiscretion. So that matter was settled; upon which the King expected the Prince should have departed, as himself resolv'd to prosecute the means for his own escape, without communicating it to him.

THE change of the posture of the Enemy, and *Pointz's* coming to the North side of *Trent*, made his Majesty resolve to begin his march on the Sunday Night, being the twentieth of *October*; which he imparted to none but two or three of the nearest trust. But the differences were grown so high between the Governour and the Commissioners (who were all the principal Gentlemen of the Country, and Who had with Courage and Fidelity adher'd to the King from the beginning, and whose interest alone had preserv'd that place) and had been so much increased by the mutual Contests which had been between them in the presence of the King, that there was no possibility of reconciling them, and very little of preserving the Garrison, but by the removal of the Governour; which was so evident to the King, that he resolv'd on that expedient; and, on the Sunday Morning, sent for *Sr Richard Willis* into his Bed-Chamber; and after many gracious expressions of "the Satisfaction he had receiv'd in his Service, and of "the great abilities he had to serve him, he told him, "his "own design to be gone that Night; and that he resolv'd to "take him with him, and to make him Captain of his Horse "Guards, in the place of the Earl of *Lichfield*, who had been "lately kill'd before *Chester* (which was a Command fit for "any Subject) "and that he would leave the Lord *Bellasis* "Governour of *Newark*, who being Allied to most of the "Gentlemen of the adjacent Counties, and having a good "Estate there, would be more acceptable to them. His Majesty condescended so far, as to tell him, "that he did not "hereby give a judgement on the Commissioners side, who he "declared had been to blame in many particulars; and that "he himself could not have an ampler vindication, than by "the honour and trust he now conferred upon him; but he "found it would be much easier to remove Him, than to "reform the Commissioners; who, being many, could not be "any other way united in his Service.

Sr Richard Willis appeared very much troubled; and excused the not taking the other command, "as a place of too great "Honour, and that his Fortune could not maintain him in "that employment; he said, that his Enemies would triumph "at his removal, and he should be looked upon as cast out, "and disgraced. The King replied, "that he would take "care, and provide for his Support; and that a man could
"not

“not be looked upon as disgraced, who was placed so near his Person; which, he told him, he would find to be true, when he had thought a little of it. So his Majesty went out of his Chamber, and presently to the Church. When he return’d from thence, he sat down to dinner; the Lords, and other of his Servants, retiring likewise to their Lodgings. Before the King had din’d, *Sr Richard Willis*, with both the Princes, the Lord *Gerrard*, and about twenty Officers of the Garrison, entred into the presence Chamber: *Willis* address’d himself to the King, and told him, “that what his Majesty “had said to him in private, was now the publick Talk of the “Town, and very much to his Dishonour: Prince *Rupert* said, “that *Sr Richard Willis* was to be remov’d from his Government, for no Fault that he had committed, but for being His Friend: the Lord *Gerrard* added, “that it was the “Plot of the Lord *Digby*, who was a Traytor, and he would “prove him to be so. The King was so surpris’d with this manner of behaviour, that he rose in some disorder from the Table, and would have gone into his Bed-Chamber; calling *Sr Richard Willis* to follow him; who answer’d aloud, “that “he had receiv’d a Publick injury, and therefore that he expected a Publick satisfaction. This, with what had pass’d before, so provoked his Majesty, that, with greater indignation than he was ever seen possess’d with, he commanded them “to depart from his Presence, and to come no more into it; and this with such circumstances in his looks and gesture, as well as words, that They appear’d no less confounded; and departed the Room, astonish’d of what they had done; yet as soon as they came to the Governour’s House, they Sounded to Horse, intending to be presently gone.

THE noise of this unheard of insolence, quickly brought the Lords who were absent, and all the Gentlemen in the Town, to the King, with expressions full of Duty, and a very tender sense of the usage he had endured. There is no doubt, he could have proceeded in what manner he would against the Offenders. But his Majesty thought it best, on many considerations, to leave them to themselves, and to be punished by their own reflections; and presently declared the Lord *Bellasis* to be Governour; who immediately betook himself to his Charge, and placed the Guards in such a manner as he thought reasonable. In the Afternoon, a Petition and Remonstrance was brought to the King, sign’d by the two Princes, and about four and twenty Officers; in which they desired, “that *Sr Richard Willis* might receive a Trial by a “Court of War; and if they found him faulty, then to be “dismiss’d from his charge; and that, if this might not be “granted, they desired Passes for themselves, and as many

“Horse

"Horse as desired to go with them. Withal, they said, "they hoped, that his Majesty would not look upon this Action of theirs as a Mutiny. To the last, the King said, "he would not now Christen it, but it looked very like one: As for the Court of War, he would not make that a judge of His Actions; but for the Passes, they should be immediately prepared for as many as desired to have them. The next Morning the Passes were sent to them; and in the Afternoon they left the Town; being in all about two hundred Horse; and went to *Wyverton*, a small Garrison depending upon *Newark*; where they stayed some days; and from thence went to *Belvoir-Castle*; from whence they sent one of their Number to the Parliament, "to desire leave, and Passes, to go beyond the Seas.

BESIDES the exceeding trouble and vexation that this Action of his Nephews, towards whom he had always expressed such tenderness and indulgence, gave the King, it had well nigh broke the design he had for his present escape; which was not possible to be executed in that time: and *Pointz* and *Rossiter* drew every day nearer, believing they had so encompassed him round, that it was not possible for him to get out of their hands. They had now Besieged *Shetford-House*, a Garrison belonging to *Newark*, and kept strong Guards between that and *Belvoir*, and stronger towards *Lichfield*; which was the way they most suspected his Majesty would incline to take; so that the truth is, nothing but Providence could conduct him out of that Labyrinth; but the King gave not himself over. He had fixed now his Resolution for *Oxford*, and sent a trusty Messenger thither with directions, that the Horse of that Garrison should be ready, upon a day he appointed, between *Banbury* and *Daventry*. Then, upon *Monday*, the third of *November*, early in the Morning, he sent a Gentleman to *Belvoir-Castle*, to be inform'd of the true State of the Rebels Quarters, and to advertise *St Gervais Lucas*, the Governour of that Garrison, of his Majesty's design to march thither that Night, with order that his Troops and Guides should be ready at such an hour; but with an express charge, "that he should not acquaint the Princes, or any of their company, with it. That Gentleman being return'd with very particular information, the resolution was taken "to march that very night, but not publish'd till an hour after the shutting the Ports. Then order was given, "that all should be ready in the Market place, at ten of the Clock; and by that time the Horse were all there, and were in number between four and five hundred, of the Guards and of other loose Regiments; they were all there put in order; and every Man was placed in some Troop; which

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which done, about eleven of the Clock, they began to march; the King himself in the head of his own Troop, march'd in the middle of the whole Body. By three of the Clock in the Morning, they were at *Belvoir*; without the least interruption or alarm given. There *St Gervas Lucas*, and his Troop, with good Guides were ready; and attended his Majesty till the break of day; by which time he was past those Quarters he most apprehended; but he was still to march between their Garrisons; and therefore made no delay, but march'd all that day; passing near *Burleigh* upon the Hill, a Garrison of the Enemy, from whence some Horse waited upon the Rear, and took and kill'd some Men, who either negligently staid behind, or whose Horses were tired. Towards the Evening the King was so very weary, that he was even compell'd to rest and sleep for the space of four hours, in a Village within eight miles of *Northampton*. At ten of the Clock that Night, they began to march again; and were, before Day, the next Morning past *Daventry*; and before Noon, came to *Banbury*; where the *Oxford* Horse were ready, and waited upon his Majesty, and conducted him safe to *Oxford* that Day; so he finish'd the most tedious and grievous march that ever King was exercised in, having been almost in perpetual motion from the loss of the Battle of *Naseby* to this hour, with such a variety of dismal accidents as must have broken the Spirits of any Man who had not been truly magnanimous. At *Oxford*, the King found himself at rest, and ease to revolve, and reflect upon what was past, and to advise and consult of what was to be done, with Persons of entire devotion to him, and of steady Judgements; and presently after his coming thither, he writ that Letter of the seventh of *November*; and, shortly after, the other of the seventh of *December*; both which are mention'd before, and set down at large.

THE Prince of *Wales* did not enjoy so much rest and ease in His Quarters; for, upon the hurry of the Retreat of the Horse, which is mention'd before, and which indeed was full of confusion, very many of the Train'd-bands of *Cornwall* broke loose, and run to their Houses, pretending "they fear'd that the Horse would go into that County, and plunder them; for which fear they had the greater pretence, because, upon the Retreat, many Regiments had Orders from the Lord *Wentworth* to Quarter in *Cornwall*; of which his Highness was no sooner advertised, than he sent his Orders positive, "that no one Regiment of Horse should be there, but that they should be all Quarter'd on the *Devon* side. Upon that, they were disperfed about the County, for the space of thirty miles breadth, as if no Enemy had been within two days march of them. There were now drawn together, and to be engaged

together in one Action against the Enemy, all the Horse and Foot of the Lord *Goring*; the Command whereof, the Lord *Wentworth* challenged to himself by deputation; the Horse and Foot of *St Richard Greenvil*; and the Horse and Foot of General *Digby*, neither of which acknowledged a superiority in the other, besides the Guards; which no body pretended to Command but the Lord *Capel*. When the Prince remov'd from *Tavistock*, the raising the Blockade from *Plymouth* was absolutely necessary, and it was concluded, as hath been said, at a Council of War, "that it would be fit for his Highness "to remove to *Launceston*; whither the Train'd-bands, and "the rest of the Foot should likewise come, and the Horse "march on the *Devon-shire* side, and Quarter most conveniently in that County. The care of the Retreat, and bringing the Provisions from *Tavistock*, was committed to *St Richard Greenvil*; which was perform'd by him so negligently, that besides the disorders he suffer'd in *Tavistock*, by the Soldiers, a great part of the Magazine of Victuals, and three or four hundred pair of Shoes, were left there; and so lost. The day after the Prince came to *Launceston*, *St Richard Greenvil* writ a Letter to him, wherein he represented "the impossibility of keeping that Army together, or fighting with it in "the condition it was then in; told him, "that he had, the "night before, sent directions to Major General *Harris* (who Commanded the Foot that came from about *Plymouth*) "to "guard such a Bridge; but that he return'd him word, that "he would receive Orders from none but General *Digby*; "that General *Digby* said, that he would receive Orders from "none but his Highness; that a Party of the Lord *Wentworth's* "Horse had the same night come into his Quarters, where "his Troop of Guards, and his Firelocks were; that neither "submitting to the Command of the other, they had fallen "foul, and two or three Men had been kill'd; that they continued still in the same place, drawn up one against another; that it was absolutely necessary, his Highness should "constitute one Superior Officer, from whom all those independent Officers might receive Orders; without which, it "would not be possible for that Army to be kept together, "or do Service; that for His own part, he knew his Severity and Discipline had render'd him so odious to the Lord *Goring's* Horse, that they would sooner choose to serve the "Enemy, than receive Orders from Him; therefore he desired his Highness to constitute "the Earl of *Brentford*, or "the Lord *Hopton*, to Command in Chief, and then he hoped, "some good might be done against the Enemy.

THE mischief was more visible by much than a remedy; it was evident some Action must be with the Enemy within
few

few days, and what inconvenience would flow from any alteration, at such a conjuncture of time, was not hard to guess, when both Officer and Soldier were desirous to take any occasion, and to find any excuse to lay down their Armes; and it was plain, though there was very few who could do good, there were enough that could do hurt; besides, whoever was fit to undertake so great a trust and charge, would be very hardly entreated to take upon him the Command of a dissolute, undisciplin'd, wicked, beaten Army, upon which he must engage his Honour, and the hope of what was left, without having time to reform, or instruct them. That which made the resolution necessary, was, that though there was little hope of doing good by any alteration in Command, there was evident and demonstrable ruin attended No alteration; and they who were trusted might be accountable to the World, for not advising the Prince to do that, which, how hopeless soever, only remain'd to be done.

THEREUPON, on the fifteenth of *January*, his Highness ^{The Lord} made an Order, "that the Lord *Hopton* should take the Charge ^{Hopton} of the whole Army upon him; and that the Lord *Wentworth* ^{made General of the} should Command all the Horse, and *Sr Richard Green-* ^{remains of} *vil* the Foot. It was a heavy imposition, I confess, upon the Lord *Hopton* (to the which nothing but the most abstracted Duty and Obedience could have Submitted) to take charge ^{the western} of those Horse whom only their Friends feared, and their Enemies laughed at; being only terrible in Plunder, and resolute in Running away. Of all the Train'd-bands of *Cornwall*, ^{Army. Lord} there were not three hundred left; and those, by some insu- ^{Went-} ^{worth to} ^{Command} ^{the Horse,} ^{Greenvil} ^{the Foot.} fusions from *Greenvil* and others, not so devoted to him as might have been expected. The rest of the Foot (besides those who belonged to the Lord *Goring*, which were two Regiments of about four hundred) were the three Regiments of about six hundred; which belong'd to *Sr Richard Greenvil*, and the Officers of them entirely His Creatures; and those belonging to General *Digby*, which were not above five hundred; To these were added (and were indeed the only Men, but a small Troop of his own of Horse and some Foot, upon whose affection, courage, and duty he could Rely; except some particular Gentlemen, who could only undertake for themselves) about two hundred and fifty Foot, and eight hundred Horse of the Guards; who were Commanded by the Lord *Capel*, and entirely to receive Orders from his Lordship.

THE Lord *Hopton* very generously told the Prince, "that it was a custom now, when Men were not willing to submit to what they were enjoyn'd, to say, that it was against their Honour; that their Honour would not suffer them to do this or that; for His part, he could not obey his High-

"ness at this time, without resolving to lose his Honour, "which he knew he must, but since his Highness thought it "necessary to Command him, he was ready to obey him with "the loss of his Honour. Since the making of this Order was concluded an Act of absolute necessity, and the Lord *Hopton* had so worthily Submitted to it, it was positively resolv'd by his Highness, "that it should be dutifully Submitted to by all "other Men; or that the Refusers should be exemplarily punished. There was not the least suspicion that *Sr Richard Greenvil* would not willingly have Submitted to it, but it was believ'd that the Lord *Wentworth*, who had carried himself so high, and more insolently since his disorderly retreat than before, would have refus'd, which if he had done, it was resolv'd by the Prince presently to have committed him, and to have desired the Lord *Capel* to have taken the charge of the Horse.

His Highness sent *Sr Richard Greenvil* a Letter of thanks, "for the advice which he had given; and which, he said, he "had followed, as by the inclosed Order he might perceive; "by which his Highness had committed the care and charge "of the whole Army to the Lord *Hopton*, appointing that the "Lord *Wentworth* should Command all the Horse, and *Sr Richard Greenvil* all the Foot, and both to receive Orders "from the Lord *Hopton*: no Man imagining it possible that, besides that he had given the advice, he could have refused that Charge, by which he was to have a greater Command than ever he had before, and was to be commanded by none but by whom he had often been formerly commanded. But the next day after he receiv'd that Letter and Order, contrary to all expectation, he writ to his Highness "to desire to be "excused, in respect of his indisposition of health; expressing, that he could do him better service in getting up the "Soldiers who stragled in the Country, and in suppressing "Malignants; and at the same time, writ to the Lord *Colepepper*, "that he could not consent to be commanded by the "Lord *Hopton*. It plainly appeared now, that his drift was to stay behind, and Command *Cornwall*; with which, considering the premises, the Prince thought he had no reason to trust him. He sent for him therefore, and told him "the extreme ill consequence that would attend the publick Service, "if he should Then, and in such a manner, quit the Charge "his Highness had committed to him; that more should not "be expected from him, than was agreeable to his health; and "that if he took the Command upon him, he should take "what Adjutants he pleased to assist him. But notwithstanding all that the Prince could say to him, or such of his Friends who thought they had Interest in him, he continued obstinate; and positively refused to take the Charge, or to receive Orders from the Lord *Hopton*.

WHAT

WHAT should the Prince have done? for besides the ill consequence of suffering himself to be in that manner condemned, at a time when that Army was so indisposed, it was very evident, if *Greenvil* were at liberty, and the Army once marched out of *Cornwal*, he would have put himself in the head of all the discontented Party, and at least endeavour'd to have hindred their retreat back into *Cornwal*, upon what occasion soever; and for the present that he would under-hand have kept many from marching with the Army, upon the senseless pretence of defending their own Country. So that, upon full consideration, his Highness thought fit to commit him to Prison to the Governour of *Launceston*; and within two or three days after, sent him to the Mount; where he remain'd till the Enemy was possessed of the County; when his Highness, that he might by no means fall into their hands, gave him leave to Transport himself beyond the Sea.

*Sr R Green-
vil refusing
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THE Lord *Wentworth*, though he seem'd much surpris'd with the Order when he heard it read at the Board, and desired "time to consider of it till the next day, that he might confer with his Officers; yet, when the Prince told him, that he would not refer his Acts to be scanned by the Officers; but that he should give his positive Answer, whether he would submit to it, or no; and then his Highness knew what he had to do; he only desired "to consider till the Afternoon; when he submitted; and went that Night out of Town to his Quarters; of which most Men were not glad, but rather wish'd (since they knew he would never obey chearfully) that he would have put the Prince to have made further alterations; which yet would have been accompanied with hazard enough. By this time the Intelligence was certain of the loss of *Dartmouth*, which added neither courage, nor numbers to our Men; and the importunity was such from *Exeter* for present relief, that there seem'd even a necessity of attempting somewhat towards it, upon how great disadvantage soever; and therefore the Lord *Hopton* resolv'd to march by the way of *Chimley*; that so, being between the Enemy and *Barnstable*, he might borrow as many Men out of the Garrison, as could be spared; and by strong Parties at least to attempt upon their Quarters. But it was likewise resolv'd, that in respect of the smallness of the numbers, and the general indisposition, to say no worse, both in Officer and Soldier, it would not be fit for his Highness to venture his own Person with the Army; but that he should retire to *Truro*, and reside there; against which there were objections enough in view, which were however weigh'd down by greater.

WHOEVER had observ'd the temper of the Gentry of
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that County towards *St Richard Greenvil*, or the clamour of the common People against his Oppression, and Tyranny, would not have believ'd, that such a necessary proceeding against him, at that time, could have been any Unpopular Act; there being scarce a day, in which some Petition was not presented against him. As the Prince passed through *Bodmin*, he receiv'd Petitions from the Wives of many substantial, and honest Men; amongst the rest, of the Mayor of *Lisfithiel*; who was very eminently well affected and useful to the King's Service; all whom *Greenvil* had committed to the Common Goal, for presuming to fish in that River; the Royalty of which he pretended belonged to him, by Virtue of the Sequestration, granted him by the King, of the Lord *Roberts's* Estate at *Lambetherick*; whereas they who were committed, pretended a Title, and had always used the liberty of fishing in those Waters, as Tenants to the Prince of his Highness's Mannor of *Lisfithiel*; there having been long Suits between the Lord *Roberts* and the Tenants of that Mannor, for that Royalty. And when his Highness came to *Tarvisstock*, he was again Petition'd by many Women for the liberty of their Husbands, whom *St Richard* had committed to Prison, for refusing to grind at his Mill, "which, he said, "they were "bound by the Custom to do. So by his Martial Power he had Asserted whatever Civil Interest he thought fit to lay claim to; and never discharged any Man out of Prison, till he absolutely submitted to his Pleasure.

THERE were in the Goal at *Launceston*, at this time when himself was committed, at least thirty Persons, Constables and other Men, whom he had committed, and imposed Fines upon, some of three, four, and five hundred pounds, upon pretence of Delinquency (of which he was in no case a proper judge) for the payment whereof they were detain'd in Prison. Amongst the rest, was the Mayor of *St Ives*, one *Hammond*, who had then the reputation of an honest Man; and was certified to be such by Colonel *Robinson* the Governor, and by all the Neighbouring Gentlemen. After the late Insurrection there, which is spoken of before, he had given his Bond to *St Richard Greenvil*, of five hundred pound, to produce a young Man, who was then absent, and accused to be a favourer of that Mutiny, within so many days. The time expired before the Man could be found; but within three days after the expiration of the term, the Mayor sent the Fellow to *St Richard Greenvil*; That would not satisfy; but he sent his Marshal for the Mayor himself, and required fifty pound of him for having forfeited his Bond, and upon his refusal forthwith to pay it, committed him to the Goal at *Launceston*. The Son of the Mayor presented a Petition to the Prince,

Prince, at *Truro*, for his Father's liberty, setting forth the matter of fact as it was, and annexing a very ample testimony of the good Affection of the Man. The Petition was refer'd to *St Richard Greenvil*, with direction, "that if the case were in truth such, he should discharge him. As soon as the Son brought this Petition to him, he put it in his Pocket; told him, "the Prince understood not the business; and committed the Son to Goal, and caused Irons to be put upon him for his presumption. Upon a second Petition to the Prince, at *Launceston*, after the time that *St Richard* himself was committed, he directed the Lord *Hopton*, "upon examination of the truth of it, to discharge the Man; of which, when *St Richard* heard, he sent to the Goaler "to forbid him, at "his peril, to discharge *Hammond*; threatening him "to "make him pay the Money; and, after that, caused an Action to be enter'd in the Town-Court at *Launceston* upon the forfeiture of the Bond. Yet, notwithstanding all this, he was no sooner committed by the Prince, than even those who had complained of him as much as any, expressed great trouble; and many Officers of those Forces which he had Commanded, in a Tumultuous manner, Petition'd for his release; and others took great pains to have the indisposition of the People, and the ill accidents that followed, imputed to that proceeding against *St Richard Greenvil*; in which none were more forward, than some of the Prince's own Household Servants; who were so tender of Him, that they forgot their duty to their Master.

It was *Friday* the sixth of *February*, before the Lord *Hopton* could move from *Launceston*, for want of carriages for their Ammunition, and provision of Victual. Neither had he then Carriages for above half their little Store, but relied upon the Commissioners to send the remainder after; and so went to *Torrington*; where he resolv'd to fasten, till his Provisions could be brought up; and he might receive certain Intelligence of the motion, and condition of the Enemy. He had not continued there above four days, in which he had Barricadoed, and made some little Fastnesses about the Town, when *St Thomas Fairfax* advanced to *Chimley*, within eight miles of *Torrington*, with six thousand Foot, three thousand five hundred Horse, and five hundred Dragoons; of which so near advance of the Enemy (notwithstanding all the strict Orders for keeping of Guards; whereof one Guard was, or was appointed to be, within two miles of *Chimley*) he had not known but by a Lieutenant, who was accidentally plundering in those parts, and fell amongst them. So negligent, and unfaithful, were both Officers and Soldiers in their duty.

The Lord
Hopton's
Forces routed
at Torrington by Sir
Thomas
Faustax.

THE Lord *Hopton* having this Intelligence of the Strength, and Neighbourhood of the Enemy, had his Election of two things, either to retire into *Cornwal*, or to abide them where he was; the first, besides the disheartning of his Men, seem'd rather a deferring, than a preventing of any mischief that could befall him; for he foresaw, if he brought that great Body of Horse into *Cornwal*, the few that remain'd of the Train'd-bands, would immediately dissolve, and run to their Houses; and the remainder of Horse and Foot, in a short time, be destroyed without an Enemy. Therefore he rather chose, notwithstanding the great disadvantage of Number in Foot, to abide them in that place; where, if the Enemy should attempt him in so fast a Quarter, he might defend himself with more advantage, than he could in any other place. So he placed his Guards, and appointed all Men to their Posts, having drawn as many Horse (such as on the suddain he could get) into the Town, as he thought necessary; the rest being Ordered to stand on a Common, at the East end of the Town. But the Enemy forced the Barricado in one place by the baseness of the Foot; with which the Horse in the Town more basely receiv'd such a Fright, that they could neither be made to charge, nor stand; but, in perfect confusion, run away; whose example all the Foot upon the Line, and at their other Posts, followed; leaving their General (who was hurt in the Face with a Pike, and his Horse kill'd under him) with two or three Gentlemen, to shift for themselves; one of the Officers publicly reporting, lest the Soldiers should not make hast enough in running away, "that he saw their General run through the Body with a Pike. The Lord *Hopton* recovering a fresh Horse, was compell'd (being thus deserted by his Men) to retire; which he did, to the borders of *Cornwal*; and stay'd at *Stratton* two or three days, till about a thousand or twelve hundred of his Foot came up to him. It was then in consultation, since there was no likelyhood of making any stand against the Enemy with such Foot, and that it was visible that Body of Horse could not long subsist in *Cornwal*, whether the Horse might not break through to *Oxford*; which, in respect of their great weariness, having stood two or three Days and Nights in the Field, and the Enemies strength being drawn up within two Miles of them, was concluded to be impossible. Besides (that there was at that time a confident assurance, by an Express (Sir *D. Wyat*) out of *France*, "of "four or five thousand Foot to come from thence within three "Weeks, or a Month at farthest; those Letters, and the Messenger, averring, "that most of the Men were ready, when "He came away.

The Enemy advanced to *Stratton*, and so to *Launceston*; where

where Mr *Edgecomb*, who had always pretended to be of the King's Party, with his Regiment of Train'd-bands, joyn'd with them; and the Lord *Hopton* retir'd to *Bodmin*; the Horse Officers and Soldiers, notwithstanding all the strict Orders, very negligently performing their duty; insomuch as the Lord *Hopton* protested, "that, from the time he undertook the charge, to the hour of their dissolving, scarce a party or guard appeared with half the Number appointed, or within two hours of the time; and *Goring's* Brigade, having the Guard upon a Down near *Bodmin*, drew off without Orders, and without sending out a Scout; insomuch as the whole gross of the Rebels, were at day time marched within three miles, before the Foot in *Bodmin* had any Notice. So that the Lord *Hopton* was instantly forced to draw off his Foot and Carriages Westward; and kept the Field that cold Night, being the first of *March*; but could not, by all his Orders diligently sent out, draw any considerable Body of Horse to him by the end of the next day; they having Quartered themselves at pleasure over the Country, many above twenty miles from *Bodmin*, and many running to the Enemy; and others purposely staying in their Quarters, till the Enemy came to dispossess them.

WHEN by the disorders and distractions of the Army, which are before set down, his Highness was perswaded to make his own Residence in *Cornwal*, he came to *Truro* on the 12th day of *February*; where he received a Letter from the King, directed to those four of the Council who had Signed that to his Majesty at *Tavistock*. This Letter was dated at *Oxford* the fifth of *February*, and contained these words;

"YOURS from *Tavistock* hath fully satisfied me, why my Commands concerning Prince *Charles* his going beyond Sea were not obeyed. And I likewise agree with you in opinion, that he is not to go until there be an evident necessity; also approving very much of the Steps whereby you mean to do it. But withal, I reiterate my Commands to you for the Prince's going over, whensoever there shall be a visible hazard of his falling into the Rebels hands. In the mean time, I like very well that he should be at the head of the Army; and so much the rather, for what I shall now impart to you of my resolution, &c. And so proceeded in the Communication of his own design of taking the Field; which was afterwards frustrated by the defeat of my Lord *Astley*, and the ill success in the West.

THE Prince having staid some days at *Truro*, went to *Pendennis*; intending only to recreate himself for two or three

The Prince goes to Pendennis.

three days; and to quicken the Works, which were well advanced; his Highness having issued all the Money he could procure, towards the finishing of them. But, in the very Morning that he meant to return to *Truro*, his Army being then retired, and *Fairfax* at the edge of *Cornwal*, the Lord *Hopton* and the Lord *Capel* sent Advertisements, "that they "had severally receiv'd Intelligence of a design to seize the "Person of the Prince; and that many Persons of Quality of "the Country were privy to it. Hereupon the Prince thought it most convenient to stay where he was, and so return'd no more to *Truro*. The time of apparent danger was now in view, and if there were in truth any design of seizing the Prince's Person, they had reason to believe that some of his own Servants were not strangers to it. The Lords *Capel* and *Hopton* being at the Army; only the Prince, the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, knew the King's pleasure, and what was to be done. And they two had no confidence, that they should have reputation enough to go through with it; the Earl of *Berk-shire* continuing very jealous of the design of going into *France*, whatever they said to the contrary: the Governour of the Castle was Old and Fearful, and not resolute enough to be trusted; and his Son, though a gallant Gentleman, and worthy of any Trust, had little credit with his Father.

THERE was no Letter from the King (though they had long before desired such a one, and proposed the Form) fit to be publicly shew'd, in which there were not some clauses which would have been applied to his Majesty's disservice; especially if he should have been at *London*, which was then confidently averr'd by some, who swore "they met him at "Uxbridge. Therefore these two Counsellors concluded, "that "the Prince's going away must seem to be the effect of Coun- "sel upon necessity, and the appearance of danger to his Per- "son, without any mention of the King's Command. But how to procure this Resolution from the Council was the difficulty. They very well knew the Lords minds who were absent, but durst not own that knowledge, lest the design might be more suspected: In the end, having advised *Baldwin Wake*, to cause the Frigate belonging to *Hafdunck*, and the other Ships, to be ready upon an hours warning; they proposed in Council, when the Lords *Berk-shire*, and *Brentford* were present, "to send Mr *Fanshawe* to the Army, to receive the "opinion and advice of the Lords that were there, what was "best to be done with reference to the Person of the Prince, "and whether it were fit to hazard him in *Pendennis*; which was accordingly done. Their Lordships, according to the former agreement between them, return'd their advice, "that "it

"it was not fit to adventure his Highness in that Castle (which would not only not preserve his Person, but probably, by his stay there, might be lost; but by his absence might defend it self) and that he should remove to *Jersey* or *Silly*. This, upon Mr *Fanshaw's* report, was unanimously consented to by the whole Council.

BUT because *Jersey* was so near to *France*, and so might give the greater umbrage, and that *Silly* was a part of *Cornwal*, and was by them all conceiv'd a place of unquestionable strength, the publick resolution was for *Silly*, it being in their power, when they were at Sea, to go for *Jersey*, if the Wind was fair for one, and cross to the other. So the resolution being imparted to no more than Night, than was of absolute necessity (for we apprehended clamour from the Army, from the Country, and from that Garrison in whose Power the Prince was) the next Morning, being *Monday*, the second of *March*, after the News was come that the Army was retiring from *Bodmin*, and the Enemy marching furiously after, and thereby Men were sufficiently awaken'd with the apprehension of the Prince's Safety; the Governour and his Son were call'd into the Council, and made acquainted with the Prince's resolution, "that Night to embark himself for *Silly*, "being a part of *Cornwal*; from whence, by such aids and relief, as he hoped he should procure from *France* and Foreign parts, he should be best able to relieve them. And accordingly, that Night, about ten of the Clock, he put himself on Board; and on *Wednesday* in the Afternoon, arriv'd safe in *Silly*; from whence, within two days, the Lord *Colepepper* was sent into *France*, to acquaint the Queen "with Thence by Sea to Silly. "his Highness's being at *Silly*, with the Wants and Commodities of that place; and to desire supply of Men and Monies for the Defence thereof, and the Support of his own Person; it being agreed in Council, before the Lord *Colepepper's* going from *Silly*, "that if, upon advancement of the Parliament Fleet, or any other apparent danger, his Highness should have cause to suspect the security of his Person there (the Strength of the place in no degree answering expectation, or the fame of it) "he would immediately embark himself in the same Frigate (which attended there) "and go to *Jersey*.

WHEN the Lord *Hopton* found that he could put no restraint to the Licence of the Soldiers, he called a Council of War to consider what was to be done. The principal Officers of Horse were so far from considering any Means to put their Men in order, and heart to face the Enemy, that they declared, in plain English, "that their Men would never be brought to Fight; and therefore proposed positively,

"to

"to send for a Treaty: From which not one Officer dissented, except only Major General *Web*, who always profess'd against it. The Lord *Hopton* told them, "it was a thing he could not consent to without express leave from the Prince (who was then at *Pendennis-Castle*) to whom he would immediately dispatch away an Express; hoping, that, by that delay, he should be able to recover the Officers to a better resolution; or that, by the advance of the Enemy, they would be compelled to Fight. But they continued their importunity, and at last (no doubt by the advice of our own Men; for many, both Officers and Soldiers, went every day in to them) a Trumpet arriv'd from *Sr Thomas Fairfax* with a Letter to the Lord *Hopton*, offering a Treaty, and making some Propositions to the Officers and Soldiers. His Lordship communicated not this Letter to above one or two, of principal trust; conceiving it not fit, in that disorder and dejectedness, to make it publick. Hereupon, all the principal Officers assemble together (except the Major General, *Web*) and expressing much discontent that they might not see the Letter, declare peremptorily to the Lord *Hopton*, "that "if he would not consent to it, they were resolv'd to treat "Themselves. And from this time they neither kept Guards, nor perform'd any Duty; Their Horse every day mingling with those of the Enemy, without any Act of Hostility. In this streight, the Lord *Hopton* having sent his Ammunition and Foot into *Pendennis*, and the Mount, and declared, "that "he would neither Treat for himself nor the Garrisons, he gave the Horse leave to Treat; and thereupon those Articles were concluded, by which that Body of Horse was dissolv'd; and Himself and the Lord *Capel*, with the first Wind, went from the Mount to *Silly*, to attend his Highness; who, as is said, was gone thither from *Pendennis-Castle*, after the Enemies whole Army was enter'd *Cornwal*.

The Lord
Hopton's
Army dissolv'd.

Touching
Duke Hamilton Prisoner at
Pendennis.

HAVING left the Prince in *Silly*, so near the end of that unprosperous year 1645 (for it was upon the three and twentieth of *March*) that there will be no more occasion of mentioning him till the next year, and being now to leave *Cornwal*, it will be necessary to inform the Reader of one particular. It is at large set down, in a former Book, what proceedings had been at *Oxford* against Duke *Hamilton*; and how he had been first sent Prisoner to *Bristol*, and from thence to *Pendennis-Castle* in *Cornwal*. And since we shall hereafter find him acting a great part for the King, and General in the Head of a great Army, it would be very incongruous, after having spent so much time in *Cornwal* without so much as naming him, to leave Men ignorant what became of him, and how he obtain'd his Liberty; which he employ'd afterwards

wards with so much Zeal for the King's Service to the loss of his Life; by which he was not only vindicated, in the opinion of many Honest Men, from all those Jealousies and Aspersions, he had long suffer'd under; but the proceeding that had been against him at *Oxford*, was looked upon by many as void of that Justice and Policy, which had been requisite; and they concluded by what he did after a long Imprisonment, how much he might have done more Successfully, if he had never been restrain'd. Without doubt, what he did afterwards, and what he Suffer'd, ought, in great measure, to free his Memory from any Reproaches for the Errors, or Weakness, of which he had before been guilty. What were the Motives, and Inducements of his Commitment, have been at large set down before in the proper place. It remains now, only to set down how he came at last to be possess'd of his Liberty, and why he obtain'd it no sooner, by other more gracious ways from the King; which might have been an obligation upon him; when it might easily have been foreseen, that he must be, in a short time, at Liberty, notwithstanding any opposition.

WHEN the Prince first visit'd *Cornwall*, to settle his own Revenue of that Dutchy; which was the only support he had, and out of which he provided for the carrying on the King's Service, upon many emergent occasions; he spent some days at *Truro*, to settle his duty upon the Tinn, by Virtue of his ancient Privilege of Preemption. And in that time, which was about the end of *July*, the Governour of *Pendennis-Castle* invited him to dine there; which his Highness willingly accepted, that he might take a full View of the Situation and Strength thereof; having it then in his view, that he might probably be compell'd to resort thither. Every Man knew well that Duke *Hamilton* was then a Prisoner there, and therefore it was to be consider'd, what the Prince was to do, if the Duke should desire, as without doubt he would, to kiss his hand. And it was resolv'd without dispute, "that the Prince was not to admit such a Person into his Presence, who stood so much in his Father's displeasure, and was committed to Prison by him; and that none of the Council, or of his Highness's Servants, should visit, or enter into any kind of correspondence with him. Thereupon the Governour was advis'd, in regard the Accommodations in the Castle were very narrow, "that, during the time the Prince was in the Castle, the Duke should be removed out of his Chamber into one of the Soldier's Houses; which was done accordingly. This the Duke took very heavily, lamenting "that he might not be admitted to see the Prince; and had a desire to have conferr'd with the Lord

Cole-

Colepepper, or the Chancellor, which they were not then at liberty to have satisfied him in. He afterwards renew'd the same desire to them both, by his Servant Mr *Hamilton*. Hereupon, when the Chancellor was shortly after sent to visit the Ports of *Padstow*, the Mount, and *Pendennis*, which was about the middle of *August* (the business being, under that disguise, to provide for the Prince's Transportation, when it should be necessary) the Prince referr'd it to him "to see the Duke, if he found it convenient. When he came to *Pendennis*, and was to stay there necessarily some days, he was inform'd, "that the Duke came always abroad to Meals, and "that at that time all Men spoke freely with him: So that, either he was to be made a close Prisoner by his being there, or they were to meet at Supper and Dinner. The Governour then asked him, "whether the Duke should come abroad. The Chancellor had neither Authority nor Reason to make any alteration; therefore he told him, "he knew "his own course, which he presumed he would observe who- "ever came; and that if the Duke pleased, he would wait "upon him in his Chamber, to kiss his hands before Supper; the which he did.

WHEN the Duke, after some Civilities to him whom he had long known, and some Reproaches to the Governour, who was present, "of his very strict usage and carriage towards "him; which, he said he believ'd he could not justify (whereas the Chancellor well knew, that the Governour was absolutely govern'd by him) spoke to him of his own condition, and of "his Misfortune to fall into his Majesty's displeasure, without having giving him any Offence. He told him, "that he had very much desired to speak with him, "that he might make a Proposition to him, which he thought "for the King's Service; and he desired, if it seem'd so to "Him, that he would find means to recommend it to his "Majesty, and to procure his acceptance of it. Then he told him, "that he was an absolute Stranger to the Affairs of both "Kingdoms, having no other Intelligence, than what he receiv'd from Gentlemen whom he met in the next Room at "Dinner; but he believ'd, by his Majesty's late loss at "*Naseby*, that his condition in *England* was very much worse "than his Servants hoped it would have been; and therefore, "that it might concern him to transact his business in *Scotland* as soon as might be: that he knew not in what state "the Lord *Mountrose* was in that Kingdom, but he was persuaded that he was not without opposition. He said, "he "was confident that if he himself had his liberty, he could "do the King considerable Service, and either incline that "Nation powerfully to mediate a Peace in *England*, or po-
sively

“fitively to declare for the King, and joyn with *Mountrose*. He said, “he knew, it was believ’d by many, that the Animosity was so great from him to *Mountrose*, who indeed “had done him very causeless injuries, that he would rather “meditate Revenge than concur with him in any Action; “but, he said, he too well understood his own danger, if the “King and Monarchy were destroy’d in this Kingdom, to “think of Private Contention and matters of Revenge, when “the Publick was so much at Stake. And he must acknowledge, how unjust soever the Lord *Mountrose* had been to “him, he had done the King great Service; and therefore protested with many Assèverations, “he should joyn with “him in the King’s behalf, as with a Brother; and if he could “not win his own Brother from the other Party, he would “be as much against Him. He said, he could not apprehend “that his Liberty could be any way prejudicial to the King; “for he would be a Prisoner still upon his Parole; and would “engage his Honour, that if he found he could not be able “to do his Majesty that acceptable Service, which he desired “(of which he had not the least doubt) he would speedily “return, and render himself a Prisoner again in the place “where he then was. In this discourse he made very great professions, and expressions of his Devotion to the King’s Service, of his Obligations to him, and of the great confidence he had in this particular, of being useful to his Majesty.

AFTER he made some pause, in expectation of what the Chancellor would say, the Chancellor told him, “he doubted “not but he was very able to serve the King both in that and “in this Kingdom; there being very many in both who had “a principal dependence upon him: that he heard the King “was making some Propositions to the *Scotish* Army in *England*, and that it would be a great instance of his Affection “and Fidelity to the King, if by any Message from him to “his Friends, and Dependents in the *Scotish* Army then before *Hereford*, or to his Friends in *Scotland*, his Brother being the head or prime Person of Power there that opposed “*Mountrose*, they should declare for the King, or appear willing to do him Service; and that he having free liberty to “send, through the Parliament’s Army, to *London*, or into “*Scotland*, he might as soon do the King this Service, as receive a Warrant for his enlargement; which, he presumed, “he knew could not be granted but by the King himself.

THE Duke replied, “that he expected that Answer, but “that it was not possible for him to do any thing by Message “or Letter, or any way but by his Presence: First, that they, “in whom he had interest, would look upon any thing he “should write, or any Message he should send, as the result
“ of

“of distress and compulsion, not of his affection or judgement.
 “Besides, he said, he look’d upon himself as very odious to
 “that Nation, which was irreconciled to him for his zeal to
 “the King, and thought this a just judgement of God upon
 “him for not adhering to them. And, he said, for his own
 “Brother, who he heard indeed had the greatest influence
 “upon their Counsels, he had no reason to be confident in
 “him, at that distance; for, besides the extreme injury he
 “had done him, in making an escape from Oxford, by which
 “both their innocencies were made to be suspected, and for
 “which he should never forgive him, he was the Heir of the
 “House and Family; and he believ’d, would be content that
 “himself should grow old and dye in Prison: whereas, if he
 “were at liberty, and amongst them, he was confident some
 “for love, and others for fear, would stick to him; and he
 “should easily make it appear to those who were fiercest a-
 “gainst the King, that it concern’d their own interest to sup-
 “port the King in his just power. However, he concluded,
 “that the worst that could come was his returning to Prison,
 “which he would not fail to do. So the discourse ended for
 that Night.

THE next day the Duke enter’d again into the same Ar-
 gument, with much earnestness, that the Chancellor would
 interpose, upon that ground, for his liberty; who told him,
 “that he was so ill a Courtier, that he could not dissemble to
 “him: that he was not satisfied with his Reasons, and could
 “not but believe, he had interest enough, at that distance, to
 “make some real demonstration of his Affection to the King,
 “by the impression he might make upon his Dependents, and
 “Allies: and therefore that he could not offer any advice to
 “the King, to the purpose he desired. He told him, “that
 “he had been present at the Council-Table when the King
 “Communicated that business, which concern’d him, to the
 “Board; and that he gave his opinion fully, and earnestly,
 “for his Commitment; being satisfied, upon the Information
 “that was given concerning him, that his Affection to the
 “King was very Questionable; and that it appear’d, that he
 “had been earnestly pressed by those Persons of Honour in
 “that Kingdom, upon whom his Majesty relied, to declare
 “himself; and that if he could have been induced so to do,
 “having promised the King he would, and having Autho-
 “rity to that purpose from him, they might very easily have
 “suppressed that Rebellion in the bud: but that his Lordship
 “and his Brother, were so far from opposing it, that the very
 “Proclamation which had issued out there for the general In-
 “surrection (which Proclamation, was perused at Council-
 “Table, when he was committed) was not only set forth in

his Majesty's own Name, but Sealed with his Signet; which was then in the Custody of the Earl of *Laurel* his Brother, he being Secretary of State in that Kingdom. That those who were the principal Informers against him; and who professed that they could do no Service, if he were at liberty, now since his restraint, being arm'd with no more Authority than he had, at his last being there, when the Kingdom was in Peace; had, upon all disadvantages imaginable, when that Kingdom was totally lost to the King, reduced the greatest part of it again to his obedience; and therefore, whether it was his Lordship's Misfortune, or his Fault; since things prosper'd so well in his absence; he could not as a Counsellor, advise the King, without the privacy and consent of the Lord *Mountrose*, or without some such Testimony of his Service, as he had before propos'd, to give him his Liberty: and that any ill success, which possibly might have no relation to that Act, would yet be imputed to that Counsel; and the Lord *Mountrose*, have at least a just, or probable excuse, for any thing that should happen amiss.

THE Duke thanked him for the freedom he had us'd towards him; and said, "upon the Information which was given against him, he must acknowledge the proceedings to be very just; but he was confident, whenever he should be admitted to a fair hearing, he should appear very innocent from the Allegations which had been given. He said, he had never made the least promise to the King, which he had not exactly perform'd; that he had not Authority or Power to cross any thing that was done to the prejudice of the King; and therefore to have made any such Attempt, or Declaration, as some Lords had desired, in that conjuncture of time, had been to have destroyed themselves to no purpose: and therefore, he made haste to the King with such Propositions, and Overtures, that he was confident, if he had been admitted to have spoken with his Majesty, at his coming to *Oxford*, he should have given good satisfaction in them; and then intended immediately to have return'd into *Scotland*, with such Authority and Countenance, as the King could well have given him; and doubted not but to have prevented any inconveniences from that Kingdom: but that by his Imprisonment (which he could have prevented, for he had notice upon his Journey, what was intended, and trusted so much in his innocence, that he would not avoid it) all those designs failed. For his Brother, he could say nothing; but he believ'd him an honest Man; and for the proceedings of the Lord *Mountrose*, though he had receiv'd good assistance from *Ireland*, which was a good Foundation,

"he could not but say, it had been little less than miraculous :
 "However, he presumed the work was not so near done
 "there, but that His Assistance might be very seasonable.
 After this they spoke often together; but this was the substance and result of all; he insisting upon his present Liberty, and the other as pressing, that he would write to his Friends. Yet the Chancellor promised him "to present, by the first
 "convenience, his Suit and Proposition to the King; which he shortly after did in a Letter to the Lord Digby.

UPON the first news of the loss of the Battle of *Naseby*, it was enough foreseen, that the Prince himself might be put to a retreat to *Pendennis*-Castle. Therefore they wished, "that
 "it might be in the Prince's power, upon an emergent occasion, to remove the Duke from that place. Which consideration the Lord *Colepepper* presented to the King, at his being with him in *Wales*; and thereupon a Warrant was sent from the King, for the removal of the Duke to *Silly*; which was likewise foreseen that the Prince might repair to. As the Enemy drew nearer the West, many good Men were very solicitous, that the Duke should be removed from *Pendennis*, having a great jealousy of the interest he had in the Governour; of which there was so universal a suspicion, that many Letters were writ to the Council, "that if he were not
 "speedily disposed to some other place, they feared the Castle
 "would be betrayed: and *Sr Richard Greenville* writ earnestly to the Prince about it, as did *Sr Harry Killigrew* (a Person of entire Affections to the King, and a true Friend of the Governour) very importunately. So that about the Month of *November*, the King's Warrant for his removal was sent to *Sr Arthur Bassett* Governour of the Mount; who went to *Pendennis* in the Morning, and took him with him to the Mount, in order to remove him to *Silly*, when the time should require it; the Duke expressing great trouble and discontent that he should be removed, and pretending, "that he could not ride
 "for the Stone (of which he complain'd so much, that he had Petition'd the King for leave to go into *France* to be cut) and the Governour, and all that Family and Garrison, made shew of no less grief to part with him, he having begotten a great opinion in that People of his Integrity and Innocence. But when the Duke saw there was no Remedy, he mounted a Horse that was provided for him, and passed the Journey very well.

Duke Hamilton is
 remov'd to
 the Mount.

AFTER the loss of *Dartmouth*, some Persons of near trust about the Prince resumed the discourse again of enlarging the Duke, and believ'd that he would be able to do the King great Service in the business of *Scotland*; and this prevailed so far with one of the Lords of the Council, that, upon the confidence

confidence of Dr Frazier, the Prince's Physician, he made a Journey with the Dr to the Mount; and did think, that he had so much prevailed with the Duke, that he had consented "to send a Servant speedily to the *Scotish* Army in *England* " (who should likewise pass by the King, and carry any Letters to his Majesty from the Prince) to persuade them to "comply with the King; and that he would likewise dispatch "*Charles Murry* into *Scotland*, instructed to his Brother *Lanrick*, and that Party, to oblige them to joyn with *Mountrose*. " But Dr Frazier confessed to those he trusted, that the Duke "rather consented to it to satisfy that Lord's vehemence and "importunity, than that he had any great hope of success by "it; insisting still, that nothing but his own Liberty would "do it: for which he gave a reason, that before had never been heard of, and was very contrary to what the Duke had said to the Chancellor, which was, "that the State of *Scotland* "was so sensible of the injury done to the Duke by his imprisonment (which he had said before that they were very glad "of) that they had made an Order, that there should never be "Treaty with the King, or agreeing with *Mountrose*, till he "was at Liberty, or brought to a legal Trial. And when *Charles Murry* went to him for his instructions, though he said much for him to say again to his Friends, and his Brother, towards their declaring for the King, he discouraged him much as to the Journey, representing to him "his own danger, and the strict Orders that were in *Scotland* against divisive Motions; of which, he said, he feared this would be "taken for one.

THIS made the Council to have no mind to be engaged in any Treaty with him, and less in proposing or consenting to his Liberty; not only upon the former knowledge they had of his disposition and nature, but also that they believ'd, if he were not sincere, he would do much mischief; and the more for being in any degree trusted; if he were sincere, that he would be able to do more good for the King, by being redeem'd out of Prison by the Enemy, than by being released by the King or Prince. And therefore, when the Prince remov'd in that hast and disorder from *Pendennis* to *Silly*, there was no possibility of removing him; so that, at the surrender of the Mount, which was, by his advice, much sooner than they had reason to do it, when they were able to defend themselves for many Months, he was enlarged, and remov'd himself to *London* by speedy Journeys on Horseback; and did never after complain of the Stone; which he before protested "would kill him, if he were not cut within a year.

Upon the
Surrender of
the Mount
he obtain'd
his Liberty.

The King's
transactions
at Oxford.

WE left the King in *Oxford*, free from the trouble and uneasiness of those perpetual and wandering Marches, in which he had been so many Months exercised; and quiet from all rude and insolent provocations. He was now amongst his true and faithful Counsellors and Servants, whose Affection and Loyalty had first engaged them in his Service, and made them stick to him to the end; and who, if they were not able to give him assistance, to stem that mighty Torrent that overbore both Him and Them, paid him still the Duty that was due to him, and gave him no vexation when they could not give him comfort. There were yet some Garrisons remaining in his Obedience, which were like, during the Winter Season, to be preserv'd from any attempt of the Enemy. But upon the Approach of Spring, if the King should be without an Army in the Field, the Fate of those few places was easie to be discern'd. And which way an Army could possibly be brought together, or where it should be rais'd, was not within the compass of the wisest Man's comprehension. However, the more difficult it was, the more vigour was to be applied in the attempt. *Worcester*, as it was Neighbouring to *Wales*, had the greatest Outlet and Elbow-room; and the Parliament party that had gotten any Footing there, behaved themselves with that Insolence and Tyranny, that even they who had called them thither, were weary of them, and ready to enter into any combination to destroy them. Upon this prospect, and some invitation, the King sent the Lord *Astley* (whom he had before, at his being at *Cardiff*, constituted Governour of those Parts, in the place of the Lord *Gerrard*) to *Worcester*, with order "to proceed, as he should find himself able, towards the gathering a Body of Horse together, "against the Spring, from those Garrisons which were left, "and from *Wales*: and what progress he made towards it will be soon known.

Cromwell
takes Win-
chester and
Basing.

WHEN a full prospect, upon the most mature deliberation, was taken of all the hopes which might with any colour of reason be entertain'd; all that occur'd, appear'd so hopeless and desperate, that it was thought fit to resort to an old expedient, that had been found as desperate as any; which was a new Overture for a Treaty of Peace: for which, they who advis'd it, had no other reason, but that they could not tell what else to do. *Cromwell* had left *Fairfax* in the West, and with a Party Selected had set down before *Basing*, and his imperious Summons having been reject'd, he Storm'd the Place and took it, and put most of the Garrison to the Sword: and a little before *Winchester* had Surrender'd upon easy conditions. The lesser Garrisons in the North, which had stood out till now, were render'd every day; and the

Scotish Army, which had march'd as far as their own Borders, was called back, and required to Besiege *Newark*. So that whoever thought the sending to the Parliament (puffed up and swoln with so many Successes) for a Peace, would prove to no purpose, was not yet able to tell, what was like to prove to better purpose. This reflection alone prevail'd with the King, who had enough experimented those inclinations, to refer entirely to the Council, "to choose any expedient, they thought most probable to succeed, and to prepare any Message they would advise his Majesty to send to the Parliament. And when they had consider'd it, the Overtures he had already made, by two several Messages, to which he had receiv'd no Answer, were so ample, that they knew not what addition to make to them; but concluded, "that this Message should contain nothing but a resentment of That, "and a demand of an Answer to the Messages his Majesty had formerly sent for a Treaty of Peace.

THIS Message had the same entertainment which the former had receiv'd. It was receiv'd, read, and then laid aside without any Debate; which they who wish'd well to it, had not credit or courage to advance; yet still found means to convey their advice to *Oxford*, "that the King should not give over that importunity: and they who had little hopes of better effects from it, were yet of opinion, "that the neglecting those gracious invitations, made by his Majesty for Peace, would shortly make the Parliament so odious, that they would not dare long to continue in the same obstinacy. The *Scots* were griev'd and enraged, to see their Idol Presbytery so undervalued, and slighted, that besides the Independents power in the City, their very Assembly of Divines every day lost Credit and Authority to support it; and desired nothing more than a Treaty for Peace: and many others who had contributed most to the suppression of the King's Power, were now much more afraid of their own Army, than ever they had been of His Authority; and believ'd, that if a Treaty were once set on foot, it would not be in the power of the most violent to render it ineffectual: or whatever they believ'd themselves, they conveyed this to some about the King, as the concurrent advice of all who pretended to wish well: and some Men took upon them to send the Subject of what Message the King should send, and cloath'd in such expressions, as they conceiv'd were like to gain ground; which his Majesty could not but graciously accept; though he very seldom imitated their Style.

AFTER the King had long expected an Answer to his last Message, induced by those and the like reasons above mention'd, he sent again to the Parliament, "that they would

*The King
sends another
Message for
Peace, which
was laid a-
side by the
House.*

*His Majesty
sends again
for a Safe
Conduct for
the Duke of
Richmond
and others.*

Their Answer.

The King sends to desire a Personal Treaty at Westminster.

Their Answer.

“send a Safe Conduct for the Duke of *Richmond*, and the
 “Earl of *Southampton*, Mr *John Asburnham*, and Mr *Geoffery*
 “*Palmer*; by whom he would make such particular Propo-
 “sitions to them as he hoped would produce a Peace. To
 “this they return’d an Answer, such as it was, “that it would
 “be inconvenient, and might be of dangerous consequence,
 “to admit those Lords and Gentlemen to come into their
 “Quarters; but that they were preparing some Propositions,
 “which, when finish’d, should be sent to his Majesty in Bills,
 “to be Sign’d by him; which would be the only way to pro-
 “duce a Peace. The King understood well what such Bills
 “would contain, and which when he had granted, he should
 “have nothing left to deny; and therefore liked not, that such
 “conclusions should be made without a Treaty. He resolv’d
 “once more to try another way, which having been never yet
 “try’d, he believ’d they could not deny; and if granted, what
 “hazard soever his Person should be in, he should discover,
 “whether he had so many Friends in the Parliament, and the
 “City, as many Men would perswade him to conclude; and
 “whether the *Scots* had ever a thought of doing him Service.
 “He sent to them, towards the end of *December*, “that, since
 “all other Overtures had prov’d ineffectual, he desired to
 “enter into a Personal Treaty with the two Houses of Par-
 “liament at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parlia-
 “ment of *Scotland*, upon all matters which might conduce
 “to the Peace and Happiness of the distracted Kingdoms;
 “and to that purpose his Majesty would come to *London*, or
 “*Westminster*, with such of his Servants as now attended him,
 “and their followers, not exceeding in the whole the Num-
 “ber of three hundred Persons, if he might have the engage-
 “ment of the two Houses of Parliament, the Commissioners
 “of the Parliament of *Scotland*, of the chief Commanders in
 “*St Thomas Fairfax’s* Army, and of those of the *Scotish* Army,
 “for his Free and Safe coming to, and abode in *London*, or
 “*Westminster*, for the space of forty days; and after that
 “time, for his Free and Safe repair to *Oxford*, *Worcester*, or
 “*Newark*, if a Peace should not be concluded: For their bet-
 “ter encouragement to hope well from this Treaty, his Ma-
 “jesty offer’d to settle the Militia in such Persons as should
 “be acceptable to them.

THIS Message indeed awaken’d them, and made them be-
 lieve that the Gamesters who were to play this Game, look’d
 into their hands, and hoped to find a Party in their own
 Quarters; and that if they should neglect to send an Answer
 to this Message, their Silence might be taken for consent,
 and that they should quickly hear the King was in *London*;
 which they did not wish. They made thereupon more than
 ordinary

ordinary haſt, to let his Maſteſty know, "that there had been
 "no delay on Their parts; but for the perſonal Treaty de-
 "ſired by his Maſteſty, after ſo much innocent blood ſhed in
 "the War by his Commands, and Commiſſions (with the
 "mention of many other odious particulars) "they conceiv'd,
 "that until Satisfaction and Security, were firſt given to both
 "Kingdoms, his Maſteſty's coming thither could not be con-
 "venient, nor by them aſſented to; nor did they apprehend
 "it a means conducing to Peace, to accept of a Treaty for
 "few days, with any thoughts or intentions of returning to
 "Hoſtility again. They obſerv'd, "that his Maſteſty deſired
 "the engagement, not only of the Parliament, but of the
 "Chief Commanders in *Sr Thomas Fairfax's* Army, and thoſe
 "of the *Scotiſh* Army; which, they ſaid, was againſt the Pri-
 "vilege and Honour of Parliament, to have thoſe joyn'd with
 "them, who were Subject and Subordinate to their Autho-
 "rity. They renew'd what they had ſaid in their laſt An-
 "ſwer, "that they would ſhortly ſend ſome Bills to his Maſteſty,
 "the ſigning of which would be the beſt way to procure a
 "good, and a ſafe Peace.

THOUGH the King was not willing to acquieſce with this *The King ſends again.*
 ſtubborn rejection, but ſent Meſſage upon Meſſage ſtill to
 them for a better Answer, and at laſt offer'd "to diſmantle
 "all his Garrifons, and ſo come to and reſide with his Par-
 "liament, if all they who had adhered to him, might be at
 "liberty to live in their own Houſes, and to enjoy their own
 "Eſtates, without being obliged to take any Oaths, but
 "what were enjoyn'd by the Law; he could never procure
 any other Answer from them. And leſt all this ſhould not
 appear Affront enough, they publiſh'd an Ordinance, as they *Their Ordi-*
 call'd it, "that if the King ſhould, contrary to the advice of *nance there-*
 "the Parliament already given to him, come, or attempt to *upon.*
 "come, within the Lines of Communication, the Committee
 "of the Militia ſhould raiſe ſuch Forces as they ſhould think
 "fit, to prevent any tumult that might ariſe by his coming,
 "and to ſuppreſs any that ſhould happen; and to apprehend
 "any who ſhould come with him, or reſort to him; and to
 "ſecure his Perſon from Danger: which was an expreſſion
 they were not aſhamed always to uſe, when there was no
 danger that threaten'd him, but what themſelves contriv'd,
 and deſign'd againſt him. To this their Ordinance, they
 added another Injunction, "that all who had ever borne
 "Armes for his Maſteſty (whereof very many upon the Sur-
 render of Garrifons, and liberty granted to them, by their
 Articles upon thoſe Surrenders, were come thither) "ſhould
 "immediately depart, and go out of *London*, upon penalty of
 "being proceeded againſt as Spies. So that all doors being,

in this obstinate manner, shut against a Treaty, all thoughts of That, at least with reference to the Parliament, were laid aside; and all endeavours used to get such a power together, as might make them see that his Majesty was not out of all possibility of being Yet able to defend himself.

*The King
wishes to deal
with the In-
dependents:*

WHEN all hopes, as I said, were desperate of any Treaty with the Parliament, and consequently many hazards were to be run, in the contriving a Peace any other way; the sustaining the War, with any probability of Success, was the next desirable thing to a Peace, and preferable before any such Peace, as was probably to be hoped for from the Party that govern'd the Army, which govern'd the Parliament. The King therefore used all the means which occur'd to him, or which were advis'd and propos'd by others, to divide the Independent Party; and to prevail with some principal Persons of them, to find their Content and Satisfaction in advancing His Interest. That Party comprehended many who were not so much Enemies to the State, or to the Church, as not to desire heartily that a Peace might be establish'd upon the foundations of Both, so their own particular Ambitions might be comply'd with. To them the King thought he might be able to propose very valuable Compensations for any Service they could do Him; and the power of the Presbyterians, as they were in conjunction with the *Scots*, seem'd no unnatural Argument to work upon those, who profess'd to be sway'd by matter of Liberty of Conscience in Religion: since it was out of all question, that they should never find the least satisfaction to their Scruples, and their Principles in Church Government, from those who pretended to Erect the Kingdom of *Jesus Christ*. And it was thought to be no ill Presage towards the repairing of the Fabrick of the Church of *England*, that it's two mortal Enemies, who had expos'd it to so much Persecution and Oppression, hated each other as mortally, and labour'd each others Destruction, with the same Fury and Zeal, they had both practiced towards Her. This reasonable imagination very much dispos'd the King, who was well acquainted with the unruly Spirit and Malice of the Presbyterians, to think it possible that he might receive some benefit from the Independents; a Faction newly grown up, and with which he was utterly unacquainted; and his Majesty's extraordinary Affection for the Church made him the less weigh, and consider the incompatibility, and irreconcilableness of that Faction with the Government of the State; of which, it may be, he was the less sensible, because he thought nothing more impossible, than that the *English* Nation should submit to any other than Monarchical Government. There were besides an over-active and busy kind of Men, who still undertook

undertook to make Overtures as agreeable to the wish of some principal Leaders of that Party, and as with their Authority, and so prevail'd with the King, to suffer some Persons of Credit near him, to make some Propositions, in his Name, to particular Persons. And it is very probable, that as the same Men, made the expectations of those People appear to the King much more reasonable and moderate, than in truth they were, so they perswaded the others to believe, that his Majesty would yield to many more important Concessions, than he would ever be induced to grant. So either *But in vain.* side had, in a short time, a clear view into each others intentions, and quickly gave over any expectation of benefit that way; save that the Independents were willing, that the King should cherish the hopes of their compliance, and the King as willing that they should believe that his Majesty might be prevail'd with to grant more, than at first he appear'd resolv'd to do.

THE truth is, though that Party was most prevalent in the Parliament; and comprehended all the Superior Officers of the Army (the General only excepted; who thought himself a Presbyterian) yet there were only three Men, *Vane, Cromwell, and Ireton*, who govern'd and disposed all the rest according to their Sentiments; and without doubt they had not yet published their dark designs to many of their own Party, nor would their Party, at that time, have been so numerous and considerable, if they had known, or but imagin'd, that they had entertain'd those thoughts of Heart, which they grew every day less tender to conceal, and forward enough to discover.

THERE was another intrigue now set on foot, with much more probability of Success, both in respect of the thing itself, and the circumstances with which it came accompanied; and that was a Treaty with the *Scots*, by the Interposition and Mediation of the Crown of *France*; which, to that purpose at this time, sent an Envoy, one *Montrevil*, to *London*, with some formal Address to the Parliament, but intentionally to Negotiate between the King and the *Scots*; whose Agent at *Paris* had given encouragement to the Queen of *England*, then there, to hope that That Nation would return to their Duty; and the Queen Regent, in the great generosity of her Heart, did really desire to contribute all that was in Her Power to the King's recovery. To that purpose, she sent *Montrevil* at this time with Credentials to the King, as well as to the Parliament; by which the Queen had opportunity to Communicate her Advice to the King her Husband; and the Envoy had Authority "to engage the Faith of *France*, "for the performance of whatsoever the King should promise "to the *Scots*.

A Treaty between the King and the Scots, set on foot by the interposition of France: And Montrevil is sent for that purpose.

THIS

THIS was the first instance, and it will appear a very sorry one, that a Forreign Sovereign Prince gave, of wishing a Reconciliation, or to put a period to the Civil War in his Majesty's Dominions; towards the contrivance whereof, and the frequent fomenting it, too many of them contributed too much. The old Maxim, "that the Crown of *England* could "Ballance the Differences which fell out between the Princes "of *Europe*, by it's inclining to either Party, had made the Ministers of our State too negligent in cultivating the Affections of their Neighbours by any real Obligations; as if they were to be Arbiters only in the Differences which fell out between others, without being themselves lyable to any impression of adverse Fortune. This made the unexpected Calamity that beset this Kingdom, not ingrateful to it's Neighbours on all sides; who were willing to see it weaken'd and chastised by it's own strokes.

CARDINAL *Richelieu*, out of the haughtiness of his own nature, and immoderate appetite of revenge, under the disguise of being jealous of the Honour of his Master, had discover'd an implacable hatred against the *English*, ever since that unhappy provocation by the Invasion of the Isle of *Ree*, and the declared Protection of *Rochel*; and took the first opportunity from the indisposition and murmurs of *Scotland*, to warm that People into Rebellion, and saw the Poyson thereof prosper, and spread to his own wish; which he fomented by the *French* Embassadour in the Parliament, with all the Venome of his Heart; as hath been mention'd before. As he had not unwisely driven the Queen Mother out of *France*, or rather kept her from returning, when she had unadvisedly withdrawn her self from thence, so he was as vigilant to keep her Daughter, the Queen of *England*, from coming thither; which she resolv'd to have done, when she carried the Princess Royal into *Holland*; in hope to work upon the King her Brother, to make such a seasonable Declaration against the Rebels of *England*, and *Scotland*, as might terrify them from the farther prosecution of their wicked purposes. But it was made known to her, "that her presence would not be acceptable 'in *France*; and so, for the present, that enterprize was declin'd.

BUT that great Cardinal being now dead, and the King himself dying within a short time after, the Administration of the Affairs of that Kingdom, in the infancy of the King, and under his Mother, the Queen Regent, was committed to Cardinal *Mazarin*, an *Italian* by birth, and raised by *Richelieu* to the degree of a Cardinal, for his great dexterity in putting *Casal* into the hands of *France*, when the *Spaniard* had given it up to him, as the Nuntio of the Pope, and in trust that it should

should remain in the Possession of his Holiness, till the Title of the Duke of *Mantua* should be determin'd. This Cardinal was a Man rather of different, than contrary parts from his Predecessor; and fitter to build upon the Foundations which he had laid, than to have laid those Foundations; and to cultivate, by Artifice, Dexterity, and Dissimulation (in which his Nature and Parts excell'd) what the other had begun with great resolution and vigour, and even gone through with invincible Constancy and Courage. So that, the one having broken the heart of all opposition and contradiction to the Crown, by the cutting off the head of the Duke of *Montmorancy*, and reducing Monsieur, the Brother of the King, to the most tame submission, and incapacity of fomenting another Rebellion, it was very easy for the other, to find a compliance from all Men, now sufficiently terrified from any contradiction. And how great things soever this last Minister perform'd for the Service of that Crown, during the Minority of the King, they may all, in justice, be imputed to the prudence and providence of Cardinal *Richelieu*; who had reduced and disposed the whole Nation to an entire Subjection and Submission to what should be imposed upon them.

CARDINAL *Mazarin*, when he came first to that great Ministry, was without any Personal Animosity against our King, or the *English* Nation; and was no otherwise delighted with the distraction and confusion they were both involv'd in, than as it disabled the whole People from making such a conjunction with the *Spaniard*, as might make the prosecution of that War (upon which his whole Heart was set) the more difficult to him: which he had the more reason to apprehend by the Residence of *Don Alonso de Cardenas*, Embassadour from the King of *Spain*, still at *London*, making all addresses to the Parliament. When the Queen had been compell'd in the last year, upon the advance of the Earl of *Essex* into the West, to Transport her self out of *Cornwall* into *France*, she had found there as good a reception, as she could expect; and receiv'd as many expressions of kindness from the Queen Regent, and as ample promises from the Cardinal, as she could wish. So that she promised her self a very good effect from her Journey; and did procure from him such a present supply of Armes and Ammunition, as, though of no great value in it self, she was willing to interpret, as a good evidence of the reality of his intentions. But the Cardinal did not yet think the King's condition low enough; and rather desired, by administering little and ordinary Supplies, to enable him to continue the struggle, than to see him victorious over his Enemies; when he might more remember, how slender Aid he had receiv'd, than that he had been assisted; and might hereafter

after make himself Arbitrer of the Peace between the two Crowns. Wherefore he was more sollicitous to keep a good correspondence with the Parliament, and to profess a Neutrality between the King and them, than inclined to give them any jealousy, by appearing much concern'd for the King.

BUT after the Battle of *Naseby* was lost, and that the King seem'd so totally defeated, that he had very little hope of appearing again in the head of an Army, that might be able to resist the Enemy, the Cardinal was Awakened to new Apprehensions; and saw more cause to fear the Monstrous power of the Parliament, after they had totally subdued the King, than ever he had to apprehend the excess of greatness in the Crown: and therefore, besides the frequent incitements he receiv'd from the generosity of the Queen Regent, who really desired to supply some Substantial relief to the King, he was himself willing to receive any Propositions from the Queen of *England*, by which She thought that the King her Husband's Service might be advanced; and had always the Dexterity and Artifice, by letting things fall in discourse, in the presence of those, who, he knew, would observe and report what they heard or conceiv'd, to cause that to be proposed to him, which he had most mind to do, or to engage himself in. So he had Application enough from the Covenanting Party of *Scotland* (who from the beginning had depended upon *France*, by the encouragement and promises of Cardinal *Richelieu*) to know how to direct them, to apply themselves to the Queen of *England*, that they might come recommended by her Majesty to him, as a good Expedient for the King's Service. For they were not now reserv'd in their Complaints of the Treatment they receiv'd from the Parliament, and of the terrible apprehension they had of being disappointed of all their hopes, by the prevalence of the Independent Army, and of their Faction in both Houses; and therefore wished nothing more, than a good opportunity to make a firm conjunction with the King; towards which they had all encouragement from the Cardinal, if they made their address to the Queen, and if her Majesty would desire the Cardinal to conduct it. And because many things must be promised, on the King's behalf, to the *Scots* upon this their engagement, "the Crown of *France* should give credit and engage, as well that the *Scots* should perform all that they should promise, as that the King should make good whatsoever should be undertaken by Him, or by the Queen on his behalf,

Montrevil's Negotiation with the King.

THIS was the occasion and ground of sending Monsieur *Montrevil* into *England*, as is mention'd before. He arriv'd there in *January*, with as much credit as the Queen Regent could give him to the *Scots*, and as the Queen of *England* could

could give him to the King; who likewise perswaded his Majesty, to believe, "that *France* was now become really kind to him, and would engage all it's power to serve him; and "that the Cardinal was well assured, that the *Scots* would be- "have themselves henceforwards very honestly: which his Majesty was willing to believe, when all other hopes had failed; and all the Overtures made by him for a Treaty had been rejected. But it was not long before he was undeceiv'd; and discern'd that this Treaty was not like to produce better fruit, than his former Overtures had done. For the first Information he receiv'd from *Montrevil*, after his arrival in *England*, and after he had conferred with the *Scotish* Commis- sioners, was, "that they peremptorily insisted upon his Ma- "jesty's Condescension, and Promise, for the Establishment of "the Presbyterian Government in *England*, as it was in *Scot-* "land; without which, he said, there was no hope, that they "would ever joyn with his Majesty; and therefore the Envoy pressed his Majesty "to give them satisfaction therein, as the "advice of the Queen Regent and the Cardinal, and likewise "of the Queen his Wife; which exceedingly troubled the "King. And the *Scots* alledged confidently, "that the Queen "had expressly promised to *St Robert Moray* (a cunning and a dextrous Man, who had been employ'd by them to her Ma- jesty) "that his Majesty should consent thereunto. They produced a Writing Sign'd by the Queen, and deliver'd to *St Robert Moray*, wherein there were such expressions concern- ing Religion, as nothing pleased the King; and made him look upon that Negotiation, as rather a Conspiracy against the Church between the Roman Catholicks and Presbyterians, than as an Expedient for his Restoration, or Preservation: and he was very much displeased with some Persons, of near trust about the Queen, to whose misinformation, and advice, he imputed what her Majesty had done in that particular.

THEREUPON he deferr'd not to let Monsieur *Montrevil* know, "that the alteration of the Government in the Church "was expressly against his Conscience; and that he would "never consent to it; that what the Queen his Wife had "seem'd to promise, proceeded from her not being well in- "form'd of the constitution of the Government of *England*; "which could not consist with the change, that was propos'd. But his Majesty offer'd, "to give all the assurance imaginable, "and hoped that the Queen Regent would engage her Royal "word on his behalf in that particular, that the Maintenance "and Support of the Episcopal Government in *England*, should "not in any degree shake, or bring the least prejudice to that "Government that was then settled in *Scotland*; and, far- ther he offer'd, "that, if the *Scots* should desire to have the
"free

“free exercise of their Religion, according to their own practice and custome, whilst they should be at any time in *England*, he would assign them convenient places to that purpose in *London*, or any other part of the Kingdom, where they should desire it. Nor could all the Importunity or Arguments, used by *Montrevil*, prevail with his Majesty to enlarge those Concessions, or in the least to recede from the constancy of his resolution; though he inform'd him of the dissatisfaction both the *Scottish* Commissioners, and the Presbyterians in *London* had in his Majesty's resolution, and averfeness from gratifying them in that, which they always had, and always would insist upon; and that the *Scots* were resolv'd to have no more to do with his Majesty; but to agree with the Independents; from whom they could have better conditions than from Him; and he fear'd such an Agreement was too far advanced already.

MANY Answers and Replies pass'd between the King and *Montrevil* in Cipher, and with all imaginable Secrecy; in which, whatever reproaches were cast upon him afterwards, he always gave the King very clear and impartial information of the temper, and of the discourses of those People with whom he was to Transact. And though he did, upon all occasions, with much earnestness, advise his Majesty to consent to the unreasonable demands of the *Scots*, which, he did believe, he would be at last compell'd to do, yet it is as certain, that he did use all the Arguments the Talent of his Understanding, which was a very good one, could suggest to him, to persuade the *Scots* to be contented with what the King had so frankly offer'd and granted to them; and did all he could to persuade and convince them, that their own preservation, and that of their Nation depended upon the preservation of the King, and the support of his Regal Authority. And it is very memorable, that, in Answer to a Letter which *Montrevil* writ to the King, and in which he perswaded his Majesty, to agree with the *Scots* upon their own demands, and amongst other Arguments, assured his Majesty, “that the *English* Presbyterians were fully agreed with the *Scots* (which his Majesty believ'd they would never be) the *Scots* having declared, “that they would never insist upon the settling any other Government than was at that time practiced in *London*; urging many other successes, which they had at that time obtain'd; the King, after some expressions of his adhering to what he had formerly declared, used these words in his Letter of the 21th of *January* to Monsieur *Montrevil*, “Let them never flatter themselves so with their good successes, without pretending to Prophecy, I will foretel their ruin; except they agree with Me; however it shall please God to dispose of
“Me;

"Me; which they had great reason to remember after.

BUT because, though this Treaty was begun, and proceeded so far as is recited, before the end of the present Year, yet it was carried on, and did not conclude, till some Months after the next Year was begun, we shall put an end to our Relation of it at present, and resume what remains, in it's place of the Year ensuing: Only, before we finish our Account of the Actions of this unfortunate Year forty five, we must mention one more, which happen'd on the two and twentieth of *March*, just as the Year was expiring.

THE King had hoped to draw out of the few Garrisons The Year 1645 concludes with the Defeat of the Lord Astley's Forces. still in his possession, such a Body of Horse and Foot, as might enable Him to take the Field early in the Spring, though without any fixed design. But this was dash'd in the very beginning, by the total Rout and Defeat the Lord *Astley* underwent; who being upon his March from *Worcester* towards *Oxford*, with two thousand Horse and Foot, and the King having appointed to meet him, with another Body of fifteen hundred Horse and Foot, Letters and Orders miscarried, and were intercepted; whereby the Enemy came to have notice of the Resolution, and drew a much greater strength from their several Garrisons of *Glocester*, *Warwick*, *Coventry*, and *Evesham*. So that the Lord *Astley* was no sooner upon his March, but they follow'd him; and the second day, after he had marched all night, when he thought he had escaped all their Quarters, they fell upon his wearied Troops; which, though a bold and stout Resistance was made, were at last totally Defeated; and the Lord *Astley* himself, *Sr Charles Lucas*, who was Lieutenant General of the Horse, and most of the other Officers, who were not kill'd, were taken Prisoners. The few who escaped, were so scatter'd and disperfed, that they never came together again; nor did there remain, from that time, any possibility for the King to draw any other Troops together in the Field.

THE END OF THE NINTH BOOK.

